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Contents

<i>Cross Cultural Perspective of Research Ethics in Southeast Asia</i> Mary Ditton	p. 1
<i>Original or Western Imitation: The Case of Arab Theatre</i> Abdulaziz Alabdullah	p. 26
<i>"And in my heart unmake what seems inhospitable and out of place": Landscapes of Inclusion in Marlene van Niekerk's Memorandum (2006)</i> Lara Buxbaum	p. 37
<i>Knowledge Transfer Process of Thai Traditional Drum by Local Philosophers</i> Thuntuch Viphathphumiprathes	p. 50
<i>The Polarization of Hindi and Urdu</i> Christine Everaert	p. 62
<i>Redefining Kung Fu Body: The Spectacle of Kung Fu Panda</i> Wayne Wong	p. 76
<i>Politics of Negotiation: Thai Gay Men's Appropriation of Public Space</i> Jaray Singhakowinta	p. 84
<i>Good Community for a New Brave World</i> Andrzej Szahaj	p. 97
<i>'Brave New World' Bridging the Divide through Collaboration Beyond Boundaries: An Examination of Ensuing Interdependence between the West and Africa in the 21st century</i> Chukwunenye Clifford Njoku	p. 104
<i>Postmodern Sex and Love in Murakami Haruki's Norwegian Wood</i> Yat-him Michael Tsang	p. 119
<i>Discovering Minorities in Japan: First Korean Representations in Japanese Cinema</i> Marcos Pablo Centeno Martin	p. 125
<i>Methodological Trouble: Re-Considering the Phenomenologist Exploration on the Identity of Thai Architecture</i> Sant Suwatcharapinun	p. 139
<i>Tourism as the Cultural Governance: Jiangs, Mainland Tourist and the (de)politicization of Cross-border Mobility</i> Chun-Kai Woo	p. 147
<i>Consumption Performativity, Deployment and Boycott Among Taiwanese Gay Men - A</i>	

<i>Critical Case Study of the 'Chao Ge Phenomenon'</i> Dennis Chwen-der Lin	p. 162
<i>American Migrants in the Yokohama Treaty Port: The Construction of National Identity</i> Chester Proshan	p. 175
<i>The Reconstruction of Good and Bad through Melodrama in Modern Thai Society</i> Nareenoot Damrongchai	p. 196
<i>A Study of the Memory of Place of Tadao Ando's Architecture</i> Ping-Yu Tsai Ching-I Wu Cheng-Chih Liu	p. 208
<i>The Seduction of Nonsense: From Kuso to Baudrillard and Back</i> Tsung-huei Huang Yen-bin Chiou	p. 221
<i>Are Civilizations Closed Monads? (F. Koneczny and S.P. Huntington)</i> Marek Jakubowski	p. 224
<i>The Kimono in the Mirror of European Oriental-ism</i> Svitlana Rybalko	p. 231
<i>The Impact of Politics in the Development of Contemporary African and Palestinian Literatures</i> Ali Yigit Mahmut Kaleli	p. 256
<i>Comparative Studies on the Collective Learning Processes Involved in the Establishment and Operation of local Museums in Thailand</i> Yanin Rugwongwan	p. 266
<i>The Impact of Social Change on the Transformation in the Traditional Dwelling of Central Thailand</i> Piyarat Mullard	p. 276
<i>The Poor and the Media in Turkey: Looking at Each Other</i> Emre Gokalp Hakan Ergul Incilay Cangoz	p. 290
<i>"We share the work but not the role"</i> Anette Schumache	p. 307
<i>Feminist Aesthetics and the 'Art' of Cosmetics</i> Alice Yeow	p. 320

Research Ethics: Cross cultural perspective of research ethics in Southeast Asia.

Mary Ditton

ABSTRACT:

Cross cultural perspective of research ethics in Southeast Asia is important in the brave new world of post colonial migration studies where border and boundary issues abound. Indeed, the boundary position of the outsider, or the intellectual at the margins made famous by Said (1994) is often that of the Western researcher conducting humanitarian research with chronically oppressed, disadvantaged populations in Southeast Asia. Interest in cross cultural perspective of research ethics developed from research into the health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with migrants from Burma in Thailand (Authors names, 2009a 2009b). This paper deals with: issues encountered by researchers as they seek approval from Western ethics committees prior to conducting research; the ethical review process of ASEAN countries; the ethical involvement of interpreters in cross-cultural research; and the impact of interpreters on informed consent, data collection and analysis. The latter part of the paper contains discussion for improved Human Research Ethics Committees' deliberations and recommendations for good practice; educational implications and future research.

Endnote:

¹In 1989 the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) of Burma (now the State Peace and Development Council, SPDC) renamed Burma *Myanmar Naing-Ngan*. This article will follow South (2003) in retaining the country name of "Burma"

Keywords: Research ethics committees; exploited populations; developing countries; interpreters; oppression.

“Cross cultural perspective of research ethics in Southeast Asia” is the third in a series of papers that developed from research into barriers to achieving the health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in migrants from Burma living in the Sangkhlaburi District of Thailand. The first paper presented the results of the empirical research (Ditton & Lehane 2009a). The second, “The control of foreigners as researchers in Thailand” (Ditton & Lehane 2009b), examined reasons why some Southeast Asian countries have a permit-style control system for researchers, and what researchers need to do to satisfy the conditions imposed. This paper continues discussion of research ethics in developing countries (Benatar, 2002; Benatar & Singer, 2000; Emanuel, Wendler & Grady 2000; Hawkins & Emanuel, 2008) by considering humanitarian research with exploited populations. Communities of migrants from Burma living in border communities in Thailand are typical of such populations.

The authors sought approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of the University of New England (UNE), Australia, in 2006 to conduct research into the barriers to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals for migrants from Burma in Thailand. The process of seeking approval from a Western ethics review committee that has little knowledge of and no practical experience in the research topic or research site was complex and the conditions for approval, described here, were beneficial, although arduous and costly. The Australian National Ethics Application Form, available since October 2007, invites researchers to submit two peer review summaries of the application together with the Application Form to the Ethics Committee. This procedure may go some way towards alleviating the problems that arise when Ethics Committees have no previous experience in issues raised by the particular application.

Extrapolating from a general framework of ethical guidelines to a particular research protocol is difficult in developed countries. The difficulty is increased when HRECs are considering research which is to be conducted in developing countries, and still more increased when it involves health research with exploited populations.

Best ethical practice requires questioning the intelligent application of ethical principles to new contexts (Sieber, 2006), but committees are not always aware of how different the contexts of exploited populations in developing countries can be. We discuss the ethics review process at the individual level for exploited populations in developing countries and the ethical research issues of exploited populations in developing countries at the macro level, in particular, the chronicity of complex humanitarian emergencies; interdependence of actors and activities; and webs of knowledge that facilitate and/or obstruct.

Method

In 2006, the authors submitted a research ethics application to the HREC of UNE, Australia. It was proposed to interview migrants from Burma living in Thailand near the border area of Sangkhlaburi about their health and living conditions, so that an assessment of their position in relation to the attainment of the health-related Millennium Development Goals could be made. We intended to recruit participants from the stream of migrants that walked to and from work in a border area.

The HREC had no experience of humanitarian research of this type and sought advice from a Thai post-graduate student at the university. The student was hostile towards migrants from Burma in Thailand, and advised the committee not to approve the research. Only when the principal researcher asked for an appointment to discuss the matter with the committee, did she become aware that a third party hostile to the research had been consulted. The HREC was amenable to discussion with the researcher and imposed conditions for approval which stated that the researcher must:

1. obtain approval and assistance from a non-government organisation (NGO);
2. access the participants only through the activities of the NGO; and
3. not access refugee camps, or enter Burma.

Condition three was easily managed as it was never intended to recruit participants from the migrants in refugee camps, and it was never planned to travel to Burma. The reasons given for imposing these conditions were concern about the possible harm to the migrants from Thai authorities with researchers directly accessing the migrants

and concern for the researchers' welfare. Conditions one and two created the necessity of conducting a preliminary feasibility study.

Feasibility Study

We conducted a self-funded feasibility study in Thailand from 6–19 August 2007 for two research projects: 1) the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals for women workers from Burma in Thailand, and 2) coping of migrants from Burma in Thailand in relation to the social determinants of health. The second project was still in the planning stages, and HREC approval had not yet been sought for it.

The feasibility study was aimed at determining a research setting in which access to the women workers from Burma was good, and cooperation with appropriate stakeholders was assured. We toured the known migrant sites in border areas in the western and northern areas of Thailand by van, taking in three of the four passes on the Burma–Thai border and some established work sites for migrant women workers. We interviewed some migrants, as well as Thai Government and non-government stakeholders, using Thai or Burmese interpreters when necessary.

Before embarking on the 1500-km border trip, government officials from the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Public Health in Bangkok took us to Samut Sakorn province, where 500 000 aliens (mainly from Burma) live, and discussed migrant employment issues with us. We were shown one of the biggest fish processing factories, Unicord Public Co. Ltd., and the local Srivichai Hospital, and met the local Secretary of Federation of Thai Industries and the Superintendent of the hospital where registered migrants from Burma are treated.

During the tour of the border, we approached seven NGOs including Migrant Assistance Program (MAP) Foundation, Yaung Chi Oo Worker's Association, Empower, Mao Tao Clinic, Baan Unrak Orphanage and Pattanarak Foundation. All were interested in our proposed research, were willing to participate, and pledged

assistance. Three Pagodas Pass, where Mon and some other minority ethnic groups from Burma enter Thailand, and adjacent areas in the Sangkhlaburi District, offered the most suitable fit for our requirements as a research setting. Approval for the research was given when documentation of support from the NGOs was offered to the HREC,

Results

Beyond meeting the conditions of approval of HREC, the feasibility study tour informed the research in several ways. First, the target group of participants was expanded from “migrant women workers” to “migrants from Burma living in Thailand”. We decided that “migrants from Burma living in Thailand” would give a better view of the attainment of health-related Millennium Development Goals for that community than the younger, healthier population of migrants from Burma who had obtained work in Thailand. The women workers in the “sweatshop rag trade” were generally young and unmarried. In fact, pregnancy meant that they lost their jobs. Although the conditions of employment and living for these young people were extremely poor and had been researched (Arnold, 2004), the living conditions of women and children who could not work were even worse.

Second, it was apparent that the border pass areas of Mae Sai, Mae Sot and Three Pagodas Pass were socio-demographically different from the rest of Thailand. The populations of these areas comprised rural Thais and non-Thais, the latter mainly represented by minority ethnic groups from Burma. (We called the migrants “migrants from Burma” rather than “Burmese migrants”, because the majority were from ethnic groups other than Burman, and do not like to be referred to as “Burmese”.) Within the border areas, Thai police and military, and Thai Government Departments, were highly visible, as were NGOs. Stories abounded of corruption, people trafficking, a flourishing sex industry, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, drug trafficking and addiction, and abuse of migrant workers.

Following the HRECs conditions and in order to negotiate in this oppressive environment, we developed a relationship with a Thai non-government organisation, Pattanarak Foundation, which had an office and a training centre in the Sangkhlaburi District of Kanchanaburi Province.

Third, through informal networking with academics from Burma working in Thailand, we saw and heard the “inside” story of how migrants survive as non-citizens in Thailand. The ethics of conducting research with oppressed populations or refugee populations is challenging and rests on acquiring this type of in-depth understanding of the individuals and their communities (Smith 2009) and we were able to ensure that the research methods were appropriate for the people and their communities. Migrant communities were mobile, with young adults tending to move into big cities and towns of Thailand, and older people and children staying either in Burma or in the border area. Although the migrants from Burma are an exploited population, they have, over many years, developed enduring social formal and informal networks that support their survival and ethnic identity. Remittances were sent back to Burma through a reliable but informal system called ‘*hundi*’ (Khine, 2007). A few of the better-educated migrants protest against stigma, injustice, and discrimination in the host country. . Data collection for the research into the health-related Millennium Development Goals with migrants from Burma in Thailand was carried out in July 2008 in the Sangkhlaburi District of Thailand (Ditton & Lehane 2009a).

Discussion

Western ethics committees and oppressed populations in developing countries

Human Research Ethics Committees (HRECs) in Australia review research proposals if the research involves humans. These committees are established by organisations that register their HRECs with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC). The *National Health and Medical Research Council Act 1992* (NHMRC

Act) establishes the NHMRC as a statutory body and sets out its functions, powers and obligations (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2009). The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) provides the most recent guidelines for ethics committees and was developed jointly by the NHMRC, the Australian Research Council and the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee in fulfilment of the statutory obligations of NHMRC.

Western ethics committees such as those in Australia have a legal basis and experience tension in extrapolating from a general framework of ethical guidelines to a particular research protocol. The tension is increased when research is conducted in developing countries, and still greater tension exists for Western ethics committees when that research involves health research with exploited populations in developing countries. These tensions are often expressed in a tendency to be highly cautious in granting approval to research projects outside Australia and in imposing requirements that are intended to eliminate all possibility of ethical problems but which can be onerous and may be unnecessary.

Western ethics committees considering research conducted on exploited populations in developing countries derive their perspective from the Nuremberg Code of 1947. Emanuel, Wendler and Grady (2000: 2702), in their analysis of guidelines on the ethics of biomedical research with human subjects in Western countries from its origin with the Code to the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans in 1999, state that there are seven ethical requirements. These are social and scientific value, scientific validity, fair subject election, favourable risk–benefit ratio, independent review, informed consent, and respect for enrolled subjects. These requirements are universal because they are based on human rights.

Respect for basic human rights includes basic civil and political rights, rule of law, freedom of expression and association, equality of opportunity, and the right to have a basic level of material well-being (Lukes, 1993). According to Rawls (1993:68), these rights do not rely on a particular moral philosophy, but are the minimum standard required for a well-ordered society.

Emanuel, Wendler and Grady (2000) insisted that researchers and ethics review committees have the necessary expertise to evaluate ethical requirements. In our case UNE's HREC, recognising the limitations of their own knowledge, asked advice from a post-graduate student at the university. He happened to be a Thai national hostile to migrants from Burma in Thailand, and the research proposal had then to overcome Thai resistance to humanitarian research, which had infiltrated the Australian HREC. Seeking information opportunistically rather than impartially from experts, the ethics committee betrayed one of the theoretical foundations of ethics review — that of procedural fairness. In Keith-Spiegel and Koocher's (2006) research into what scientists want from their research ethics committee, they found that fair treatment and respectful consideration of the proposal were the most important issues.

As inappropriate as this consultation by the HREC was, it did prepare the researchers for the hard reality of the research environment. The principal researcher made a special request to speak to the HREC about the research and the meeting was helpful in clarifying the issues. The Committee was ignorant of the different categories of migrants from Burma and had jumped to the conclusion that we wanted to interview refugees in camps believing that all migrants in Thailand were in refugee camps, even though the research proposal has stated this was not the case. In addition, it was concerned about potential participant harm resulting from loss of confidentiality to the exclusion of all other ethical considerations. However, eventually, to their credit, the HREC recognized that the project had strong potential to contribute to the welfare of the oppressed two to four million migrants in Thailand and gave approval, with conditions, for the research.

In the conditions for approval, the HREC placed the NGO as the selector and access point for the participants. This decision was based on the belief that NGOs are good and non-political. In our case, we were fortunate in being able to work with NGOs that were genuinely humanitarian. This, however, is not the case in

every situation. While this requirement separated us somewhat from the participants, it did allow the participants to access an organisation they were familiar with to discuss problems associated with the research if necessary.

The principal researcher was free to choose any NGO, with no assistance or advice on this aspect from the HREC, which influenced sample selection greatly. The HREC was concerned that harm might possibly come to the participants if their contact with the researchers enabled the authorities to identify them as illegal migrants. The Committee was also concerned about possible harm for the researchers in a socio-politically contentious environment. Particularly, although the researchers had no intention of entering Burma, and no indication of any such intention was given in the research proposal, the committee forbade the researchers to enter Burma.

The feasibility tour, although costly for us, was necessary in fulfilling the conditions of the HREC and giving us a first-hand overview of living conditions of migrants from Burma living in Thailand. The tour also gave us direct access to supportive NGOs — some Thai, some Burmese, and some foreign — and the Thai Government Health and Employment Ministries that deal with migrants. The extensive nature of the feasibility tour multiple objectives proved to be invaluable not only in meeting the conditions of the HREC but in informing the definitive research.

Benatar (2002) proposed a wider role for ethics committees beyond informed consent, universal standards, justice, exploitation and distribution of risks/harms in order to encompass an educational component and responsibility for audit. Benatar's argument lay in the disparities in health and wealth between rich and poor countries and emphasised that the transposition of ethical guidelines into ethical practices in cross-cultural and political oppressed groups is complex. For the benefit of whole populations, ethics committees need to debate the social determinants of health inequalities (Marmot, 2001), and the structural factors and pathologies of power that determine those social determinants (Farmer, 2005). The feasibility tour was educative for UNE's HREC as well as for the researchers, because the committee saw by the extensive nature of the tour and the support from NGOs that those NGOs thought that

the research was ethically sound and in the best interests of the oppressed population. Every one of the NGOs that the researchers approached offered support for the research.

Ethics review process in developing countries for oppressed populations at the individual level

Research ethics has been a growth discipline in Asia over the past ten years. The Strategic Initiative for Developing Capacity in Ethical Review (SIDCER) was established by the World Health Organization and the Special Programme for Research and Training in Tropical Diseases (WHO/TDR) as a Public–Private Partnership Project. (TDR was established in 1975 to combat major diseases that impact on the poor and disadvantaged globally.) The objective was to bring regional fora together in a global strategic initiative focused on addressing human subjects' protections in global health research. There are five fora: Asia, Africa, Latin America, North America and Eastern Europe. The SIDCER objective is to contribute to the protection of human research subjects globally by developing capacity in ethics review and the ethics of health research (SIDCER, 2008). SIDCER does this by acting through the fora, for example, the Forum for Ethical Review Committees in the Asian and Western Pacific Region (FERCAP), and providing operational guidelines for 1) Ethics committees that review biomedical research; and 2) Surveying and evaluation of ethical review practice.

Despite historical differences in contact with Western countries and in contemporary tolerance and interaction with Western culture, the international principles of research ethics have penetrated ASEAN countries. All ASEAN countries except Brunei and Burma are members of FERCAP, which holds annual conferences and training workshops. Member countries have workshops on research ethics as well. The World Commission on the Ethics of Scientific Knowledge and Technology (COMEST) was held in Bangkok, 23–25 March 2005, and in Kuala Lumpur 16–19 June 2009 (COMEST, 2009). All the ASEAN countries are member states of

UNESCO and adopted by acclamation the Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights in October 2005 (UNESCO 2005). At the national level, the ASEAN countries have ethics committees in universities and health facilities with the Ministry of Health or similar government departments taking an oversight. The National Research Council of Thailand (NRCT) does not require that foreign researchers seek approval from a Thai ethics review committee.

We used Beyrer and Kass's (2002) advice about research in settings where human rights violations are suspected. These authors suggest that researchers:

- learn about the political and human rights conditions;
- get local opinions about local risks;
- have informed consent explained by a trusted intermediary of the participants; and
- determine whether and from whom to seek official approval.

The first two points and the last point have been discussed in the second paper in this series (Ditton & Lehane 2009b). The third point that considers informed consent and how to ensure participants' voluntary contributions was of the utmost importance to this research.

Informed consent is the cornerstone of ethical research. The ability of research participants to give informed consent is sometimes qualified or even compromised by the circumstances of exploitation etc. in which they live. Researchers need to consider concepts like undue inducement, poor understanding, historical expectations, and coercion (Pace & Emanuel, 2005). Oppressed populations live in violent and restricted environments and often survive only through humanitarian aid from Western governments. Voluntary consent is hard to determine when these people live in a condition of subservience to outside agencies. The test, according to Pace and Emanuel (2005), is whether the researcher is gaining more than the participants in the exchange. Of course 'gain' is difficult to define, but it does imply that the research should be concerned about solving the practical immediate and long term problems of

living that the participants are experiencing and not just enhancing the researcher career with another publication. The favourable risk–benefit ratio must not lie with the researcher- meaning, that the participant should not risk more than he or she will get. All of these concepts are difficult to evaluate. In this case the researchers relied on honest and lengthy communication with the participants and their intermediaries to come to mutual agreement about the research and participation in it.

In our research, we used two levels of trusted intermediaries to assist the participants comprehend the information about the research and assess the risks of involvement — the Thai non-government organisation, Pattanarak Foundation, and the interpreter.

The migrants from Burma were familiar with Pattanarak Foundation, as its staff visited the migrant communities frequently, helping them learn the rudiments of sustainable farming; pig, fish and chicken rearing; taking children to be enrolled at school; retrieving women abused in domestic help work from cities and returning them to their communities; providing food parcels to people with HIV/AIDS; educating young people about environmental issues, retaining ethnicity and getting emergency medical help; and transporting people to hospital. Prior to talking to any participants, we talked to Pattanarak staff about our research aims and purposes, and about what we wanted from the participants and the essential features of informed consent. The staff helped us approach the communities and individuals. As we were paying for the use of a Pattanarak car and driver, the communities saw that we were “with” Pattanarak. Because the participants could not read or write English and they feared bureaucratic forms, the Director of Pattanarak Foundation suggested that consent be requested verbally, obtained and taped recorded. Local leaders of communities (“headmen”) gave us approval, through Pattanarak Foundation, to enter the community.

The interpreter is of central importance to cross-cultural research and when dealing with oppressed populations in developing countries, crucial. It was essential that our interpreter speak English, Thai and Burmese. Pattanarak staff found us an

interpreter in Sangkhlaburi — a Mon from Burma who was a Prospect Burma scholar. She took time from her studies in human resource management of non-government organisations in the Thai–Burma border region to act as our interpreter. The salary we paid her helped her and her family. She was firmly rooted with her family at the research site and politically aligned with Aung San Suu Kyi’s “war of endurance” — using the political conscience and freedom of Westerners to work for human rights for people in Burma and for those that had fled Burma (Wintle, 2007:401).

The interpreter was a trusted intermediary of the participants because of her “belonging” to the participants. The participants trusted her because they shared ethnicity, networks, solidarity, knowledge and participation in the protest of the migrants against their oppression at home in Burma and in Thailand — all features of social movements, according Della Porta and Diani (1999:4-15).

The interviews were conducted in bamboo huts, and very often neighbours would drop in and listen to the talk and contribute their thoughts about various issues. This neighbourly participation seemed to be common in the communities. It did not stop or interrupt the flow of the conversation but rather expanded the details.

No incentive was paid to the participants in the research. However, we handed out tennis balls and marbles to children. On one occasion, we approached a woman who would have agreed to participate, but was unable to because she had been suffering for four days with a tooth abscess, and her child had diarrhoea. We took her to the local hospital and paid for her and the child’s treatment. She received several medications and the dosage regime had to be translated from Thai to Burmese for her so she could understand when to take the various tablets. On other occasions, when a mother had no rice to feed her family we gave her 100 Thai baht (about \$4). When we were concerned about the health of a participant, for example, when a person had a history of coughing and weight loss and was possibly suffering from tuberculosis, the interpreter, through her community networks, would arrange for the

person to receive attention and we would give a small amount of money to assist.

The interpreter is not only important as a trusted intermediary of the participants to facilitate informed consent, but also important in the faithful recording of participants' narratives. Traditional ethnography involves long-term engagement in a culture or community (Chase, 2005:659), but when investigating oppressed populations it may not be possible for foreigners to stay in the research site for long. Rather, they rely on shorter periods of involvement and ongoing contact with community networks and key stakeholders to truly understand the voice of those they represent in findings and discussion of the empirical work. Denzin and Lincoln (2005:19) refer to this as the triple crisis of "representation, legitimation, and praxis" that confronts qualitative researchers in contemporary times.

The worthy depiction of the lived experience of the cross-cultural and oppressed "other" relies on Geertz' "thick description" of particular events, rituals and customs. Thick description refers not only to the microscopic detail of descriptive data but also to the interpretation of those data in their cultural context (Geertz, 1973, reprinted in Bryman & Burgess 1999: 346–68). This detailed rendering of participants' narratives allows local small scale theories to be fitted to specific problems and situations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:20).

The ethics of interpretation has not been explored fully in cross-cultural qualitative studies, although the "interpreter effect" on cross-cultural research has been noted (Jentsch, 1998) and the push to render the interpreter visible in cross-cultural research and methodology is acknowledged. We needed an interpreter with whom we could work in the interpretation of the process of data production and narrative content (Temple 2002b). There is always a risk of well-intentioned (and occasionally even malicious) distortion by the interpreter, so recruitment, selection, training and evaluation was very important. The NGO assisted us to find and hire suitable interpreters in the nearby town of Sangkhlaburi. The working arrangements were discussed with the interpreter including pay, hours of work, length of the project and travel, and mutual agreement was reached.

The training of the interpreter was a bilateral and ongoing process throughout the research. In fact it could be described more as an exchange of ‘intellectual biographies’ between the researchers and the interpreter. ‘Intellectual biographies’ is Stanley’s (1990) term to refer to understanding how we hold the views of the world that we do. Temple (2002a: 47) states that ‘Researchers use their own lives (their autobiographies) to understand and interpret the lives of their subjects’, as do interpreters. The researcher-outsider view of migrant health is a distillation of the literature’s comparative view of the health of the migrants from Burma. The interpreter-insider view of migrant health is formed by life experiences of escaping the worst of the migrant situation into a life of comparative good living and education.

We considered ourselves fortunate in that, while the interpreters shared a common background with the participants, having fled from Burma for a better life, they had both received sufficient education in Burma to speak English fluently.

In each case, the principal researcher (MD in the first study and LL in the second) spent a considerable time talking to the interpreter in advance of the data collection and making sure she was familiar with our methods and goals. Subsequently, in each case, the interpreters, both of whom had community work experience, assisted the migrants in understanding the research and its purpose, the concept of informed consent, and the fact that maintaining confidentiality was of paramount importance. All migrants approached in this way were happy to participate in the projects.

Our research used an “active interpreter model” (Pitchforth & Teijlingen, 2005), allowing the interpreter to shape many questions and keep the flow of the conversation going with the participant. Our sensitive interpreter participated in “representation, legitimation and praxis” by learning about the research inquiry process, engaging with probing questions that we sought answers for, and tracing similar issues through the responses of one informant to another. We had an ongoing dialogue of thought-provoking analysis of interviews with the interpreter as we moved from one participant to the next. Certainly there are multiple interpretative practices and processes involved in qualitative analysis, but the actual guidelines for research ethics to recruit, select, and engage with a linguistic interpreter have not been developed.

Ethical research issues of exploited populations in developing countries

This paper accepts Benatar's (2002) recommendation to deal with ethical considerations beyond the interpersonal level when the magnitude of the problem is vast. In the preceding papers of this series, the structural factors that operate in chronic humanitarian emergencies (e.g. government departments administering the legality of migrants tenure, NGOs offering relief development and advocacy, and entrepreneurial individuals operating in the informal sector) have been discussed, and methods to create a space for research and manage stakeholders have been put forward (Ditton & Lehane 2009b). However, there are other process issues to consider in research with exploited populations in developing countries — the chronicity of complex humanitarian emergencies; interdependence of actors and activities; and webs of knowledge that facilitate human right and/or obstruct them.

Exploitation is usually a chronic phenomenon, with oppression hidden within a subculture with occasional sporadic violence, but sustained with structural arrangements that ensure human rights abuses. Social reproduction continues and when education and health rights are denied, promoting the continuation of an oppressed underclass to following generations. This is the case for the migrants from Burma, some of whom have lived as non-citizens on Thai soil for more than thirty years. According to the 2008 report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), an estimated 200,000 migrant children younger than 17 are in the Thailand. However, some NGOs estimate there could be as many as 500,000 children born to Burmese parents in Thailand (IRIN, 2009). At least 2,000 Burmese children are born in Thai hospitals each year, while unknown numbers are born at home or outside, in orchards or plantations. Since August 2005, when the Thai government adopted a policy entitled "Education for All", the children of migrants have been allowed to attend Thai schools. However, many informal barriers, for example, parental fear of detection and deportation, language and cost of uniforms prevent their attendance.)

The chronicity of oppression bends norms and perceptions, and when the rule of law is arbitrary corruption spreads. When people are hungry, obtaining food seems right, regardless of the rules of property. When life is not worth living, taking life-and-death risks seem reasonable. When there is no one to witness anger, resentment and greed, these emotions may go to their extremes. The chronicity of migrants' illegality in Thai–Burma border areas has created a corrupt subculture. Drug and people trafficking, sex exploitation and HIV/AIDS flourish. Poverty, alienation from mainstream society's benefits, and cycles of deprivation separate the migrants as an underclass and many Thai see them as a threat to normal society.

In the traditional Thai value system, advancement is derived from connections to power. In this way, it forms the basis for a patron–client relationship in political society (Muntarbhorn, 2006; Nelson, 2004:167). Migrants from Burma have no power other than that which can be bought. At the border areas Thai citizenship varies in price for the migrants as they have to pay off Thai officials in the process (Ditton & Lehane 2009a). As trafficked cargo concealed in vegetable trucks, migrants pay about 10,000 baht for the trip from Mae Sot to Bangkok. The trafficking cost is high because of the cost of paying off the police who have permanent road-blocks on the roads from the border areas to the main freeways accessing Bangkok. In addition, most of the illegal factory workers in Mae Sot pay a monthly bribe fee of 100 baht to the local police, which is called the “police fee” (Khine, 2007). This is a manifestation of corrupt practices in the border areas, but Thai society in general is considered by Transparency International (2006) as fairly corrupt, ranking 93rd out of 179 countries.

The perspectives of the different stakeholders all indicate some elements of the story of the migrants from Burma in Thailand. Some of these stakeholders are: government officials, army personnel, policemen, public health officials, aid workers, volunteers, staff of non-government organisations. The ethical responsibility of the researcher is to tell it as it is to improve the

wellbeing of research participants, recognising always that some stories are chosen and others ignored. The researcher must defend this stand with her peers. Risk and vulnerability comes with this responsibility but the goal of speaking truth is, as Said (1994:73-74) says:

. . . mainly to project a better state of affairs and one that corresponds more closely to a set of moral principles — peace, reconciliation and abatement of suffering — applied to the known facts ... one's aim is not to show how right one is, but rather, in trying to induce a state of change in the moral climate whereby aggression is seen as such, the unjust punishment of peoples or individuals is either prevented or given up, the recognition of rights and democratic freedom is established as the norm for everyone, not invidiously for the select few.

Recommendations for Human Research Ethics Committees

Researchers should nominate two experts who are familiar with ethical research issues that are contentious in the proposal. Human Research Ethics Committees who are not themselves familiar with ethical issues applied to the specific research site should be obliged to use one of these experts, or seek appropriate alternative experts.

Of course, it is sometimes difficult to determine what is 'appropriate expertise'. Nevertheless the process of HREC seeking assistance beyond itself and setting up a dialogue with the researcher would create a richer and more mutually beneficial research ethics learning environment.

Thus a three-way confidential and educative dialogue would be set up between the researcher, Ethics Committee and the external adviser.

1. The presumed advantages of the above suggestion are that it would:
 - o teach the researcher about addressing the ethics committees concerns.
 - o expose the research proposal to impartial and greater scrutiny.

- o develop greater understanding in all members of the ethics committee.
 - o allow the researcher to learn practical ways to become a better researcher.
2. The main disadvantage of this suggestion is that it would:
- o add to the time and cost of Human Research Ethics Committees' decisions

The process would be more participatory, transparent and fair. It would also be respectful and professional for all parties. In considering the overall cost of research, the additional cost of electronic communication seeking greater knowledge for decision-making is small.

Recommendations regarding use of an interpreter

Cross-cultural health research very often needs to involve an interpreter. It is recommended that researchers take time to recruit, select, and engage with an interpreter. The interpreter should have cultural as well as linguistic knowledge of the community being researched and preferably some training in the discipline of the research. Rapport between the researcher and the interpreter needs to be developed, and understanding about nature of the interviewing needs to be reached. Confidentiality of participants' information should be discussed. Creating dialogue with the interpreter about issues that arise in the interviews allows the researcher to test the accuracy of the data and also to test the interpreter's commitment to seeking deeper information about the topics in the interviews beyond the surface answers that are first given by the participants. This process goes some way to teaching the interpreter about in-depth interviewing (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays, 2008) and generates richer data.

Field behaviour and future research

The researcher is highly visible in the field when working with oppressed populations in developing countries. His or her behaviour and attitudes to participants, interpreters, and other field research assistants and other stakeholders must reflect Said's (1994) opinion of the intellectual as existing at the margins, seeing not the status quo but what to change and how to change it, and always representing those that cannot represent themselves. This duty, however, is qualified by the risk to the local people. The researcher's behaviour in the field has educational impact that cannot be underestimated.

The rules that bind an exploited population in a developing country as an underclass are demonstrated to a foreign researcher by the behaviour of its members. Members of the underclass do not talk about who harasses them, or who makes them carry contraband, or when or where drug runs are occurring. They participate to survive, and keep quiet. Denying the corruption, criminality and violence that operates to enforce and maintain the underclass and, by contrast, ensures the survival of its members, is naive. Macro-level research that looked at the part the informal sector plays in excluding exploited populations from society would bring to the surface an oppressive element that has hitherto been hidden. This research would make the researcher very vulnerable.

Less controversial, but no less important, research would explore the coping strategies of the migrants from Burma living to Thailand, identifying why and how oppressed people make the decisions they do to achieve what quality they can in the context of their lives, and investigating why some are able to cope better than others. Recognising migrants as active decision-makers, although restricted in choices, gives them dignity and may elucidate research avenues to loosen the power of those restrictions.

Conclusions

The ethical considerations of research with exploited populations in developing countries are important to researchers, Western ethics

committees, ethics committees of the country in which the research is conducted, participants, and stakeholders. In conducting research into the health-related Millennium Development Goals with migrants from Burma in Thailand, problems that the researchers encountered have provided useful discussion about the practical application of ethical guidelines in health research with oppressed populations. Humanitarian research is complex because of the ethical approval processes and the process of oppression itself that promotes an underclass that survives mainly through engagement with the informal economy, and subservience to outside agencies.

Western ethics committees are obliged to respect the rights of research participants and researchers by continual reflective practice so that ethical guidelines can be more intelligently applied to new contexts. Ethics committees in ASEAN countries are based on the same principles of human rights as in Western societies. The role of the interpreter in cross-cultural research has been discussed, and the point has been made that there is room for the development of ethical principles for the recruitment, selection and engagement of interpreters.

Researchers' behaviour in the field is significant because it demonstrates ethical practice in dealing with participants, non-participants, children, and other stakeholders. Two streams of future research that would grow from this would consider the nature of oppressed populations and how being oppressed influences research ethics particularly in accessing and accurately describing the population, and the coping styles and strategies of those in oppressed populations.

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Original or Western Imitation: The Case of Arab Theatre

The 19th century marked the birth of modern Arab theatre and the beginning of a period of interplay between Arab drama and Western drama. Many studies recognize the Bilad al-Sham (Greater Syria) as where the modern Arab theatre began its life in the mid-19th century. Many great writers in all the major genres of Arabic literature have emerged from that part of the Arab world, including such figures as Marun al-Naqqash, Ahmed Aby Khalil al-Qabbani, Mikhail Nuayma, Khalil Mutran, Jibran Khalil Jibran, and many others. Each one of these has left his own distinctive mark on his field of literature.

When discussing, as these writers have done, the roots of Arab theatre, we find ourselves confronting two main streams of thought. The first one, represented by Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad, Najib Mahfuz, Mustdafa Badawi and some critics, reject the theory that an Arab theatre existed before the mid-19th century. They consider that it was Europe that provided the impetus for the creation of modern Arab theatre. They argue that the Arabs were first exposed to the theatre as a modern literary genre during the military expedition led by Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt from 1798 to 1801, when some French amateurs entertained the French troops in Cairo by performing some plays. The Egyptian playwright and academic, Rashad Rushdi, considers any argument, regarding the roots and origins of Arab theatre, as futile. He argued that there is no doubt that we have borrowed the theatre, an artistic form, from Western civilization, as we have borrowed the novel and modern poetry.

The second stream, represented by Ali al-Rai, Ibrahim Hamada, Shmuel Moreh, and others see modern Arab theatre as part of a continuum, emphasizing the existence of some elements of dramatic manifestations in Arab literary heritage. Amongst such manifestations or pre- theatre forms, where those performers who recited popular

story-tales, or presented *the shadow plays* (khayal al-zill) and *the carpet theatre* in North Africa during religious festivals. Some scholars consider the art of *maqama** as an early manifestation of semi-dramatic form. Some critics and scholars of this second group go even further by claiming that such pre-theatre forms can be traced back to pre-Islamic times, and were to be witnessed at the famous poetic festivals held in souks *Ukaz and Adhruat*, as well as being seen through the ages at marriage and religious ceremonies and other social celebrations such as the *samir*.*

In his valuable study, *The Background of Medieval Arabic Theatre* (1990), S. Moreh has produced evidence that the Arabs did know the theatre in the early years of Islam, but has suggested that their attitude towards such art as live theatre might have been influenced profoundly by the negative approach of Christian and Jewish religious authorities before Islam, who had rejected drama and considered it a vulgar and anti-religious genre.

There are also numerous historical references to acting or theatrical experiments in certain parts of the Islamic World. From which, during the Abbasside era, the plays of Ibn Danial (1248-1311), who produced the genre of shadow play (khayal al-zill), the most well-known traditional literary genre that could rightly be considered a precursor of the modern theatre. This kind of traditional popular theatre, often known as *Qarakuz*,* also survived in Syria, as well as in many Arab countries, alongside the modern Europeanized Arab theatre, to the late 19th century and in some places later, performed in the streets, private homes and cafes.

Manifestations of early Arab pre-theatrical forms

Popular entertainment in the Arab world was scant and very modest compared to the Far East, Persia or Hellenistic experience. There is only scant evidence for

Arab awareness of theatrical performances in the Byzantine Empire on the eve of Islam. Mainly poets and poetry supply such evidence. In one of these poems (Hassan Bin Thabit, The Prophet's Poet) mentions the term ' Mayamis ` which means literally { the person who is ridiculed. } And the word (yal`ab) {play} appears also in other poems to refer to some form of acting.

The main form of popular entertainment therefore, was the reciting of poetry, as it was accepted and seen as the highest level of the literary canon. Poets compete with each other during the festivals and feasts, especially at certain days in Souk `Ukaz {`Ukaz Market.} Poetry was the early and probably the only form of recording historical and political events of the time and passing it to the coming generations.

Players of Kurraj:

The word Kurraj is of Persian origin meaning colt, donkey or mule, which suggests that the acting was of Persian origin too. At all events, the definition of the Kurraj given by Arab lexicographers is 'a foal of wood with which one plays, ` or in other words a hoppy-horse. { not to be confused with the hoppy-horse used by children.} This foreign popular game is associated with Shamanic and seasonal fertility rituals. An Arab story speaks of the use of Qasaba (a horse-headed reed, or simply a stick horse) tells of the besieged Persian king Bahram Gour who put a reed between his legs and galloped about with a crown of sweet basil on his head, together with his two hundred maids, singing, shouting, and dancing.¹ This seems to have been a mock-play imitating a Shaman rite to defeat the besieging enemies. This form of popular entertainment was not widely performed; nevertheless, it was mentioned several times by prominent Islamic figures.

The description of Kurraj give by al-Isfahani and Ibn Khaldun show clearly that the player was hidden behind the drapery of the kurraj, which had no wheels or legs to support players.

Muharrijun (jesters):

This term is one of few Arabic theatrical terms which passed to some European languages. According to Wetzstein, the term ‘muharrij` was brought by the Umayyads to Spain.² On the other hand Dozy and Engelmann think that the Spanish term ‘muharrache` or ‘homarrache` are from the Arabic muharrij and are synonyms to ‘mascara`, and that both terms, i.e. mascara and moharrache have both the meaning of buffoon and a masquerade.³ {False face = mask}

A figure wearing a conical cap with bells and the tail of an animal describes the ‘muharrij`. Many performances involve players (actors) dressed as bears, monkeys and other animals were played in Damascus and Egypt:

There is in Damascus a class of people representing various crafts who perform at night at large assemblies. At these parties they have music at first; then the ‘hakawati` (story-teller) presents short witty declamations ‘shi`r mudhik (funny poetry); then come the muharrij, always in group of three or four; if there are only two of them they choose one from the assembly to perform ‘fasl al-naqa` (the play of the she-camel), where a Bedouin hires the naqa; then ‘fasl al-fadis` (the play of the carcass) { one is enveloped in a cloth and sold to the gypsies as a carcass }.⁴

In Egypt, a similar act is mentioned in Said al-Bustani’s novel *Riwayat Dhat al-Khidr* (1874). He mentions an actor called ‘Ali Kaka` who used to appear in the shape of various animals on the Prophet’s birthday (Mawlid al-Nabawi). Such performance is described by the author of tamthil and *hazl* (acting and jest):

(Dhat al-Khidr) saw a large crowd of people behind the circle of tents (of the Mawlid's square, where the prophet's Birthday was celebrated). They were staring at a man, stretching their necks in order to see him. He was playing in their midst, in such a way that good taste would reject it and a chaste soul would shun it. The man is called 'Ali Kaka'. He acts in his play with different forms and shapes. Once in the form of bear and once in the form of monkey.⁵

Many described the performance of 'muhaarrijun` as 'ape-like, obscene dances and absurd jokes`. Such performances are accompanied by music. No dialogue is attested to it in the beginning, but later it developed differently. It is a type of buffoonery, whereby actors wear masks and draw laughter from the audience by dance and funny acts.

Hikaya (Story):

Impersonation and plays: Arab lexicographers define *Hikaya* as meaning imitation, impersonation and aping, as well as a story or tale.⁶ The original meaning of the word is imitation, and in early Arabic literature it is sometimes used in the sense of performing an actual play. This term *Haki* (imitator) was well known in early Islam times.

Al-Jahiz, who also remarks on the ability of such persons to mimic animal cries, was clearly talking about professional performers, probably the type who performed in market places. Other accounts, however, refer to ordinary people

mimicking each other, and here the mimicry is invariably parody, the intention being to tease or humiliate the person mimicked.

The meaning of *Hikaya*, shifted by the 14th century to mean a tale, story or sketch. The early examples of *Hikaya* do not indicate that impersonation could be combined with any kind of plot, but rather attestations make it clear that *hikayat* sometimes amounted to actual plays, or more precisely scenes or sketches, which might be based on written texts.

The *Hakawati* (story-teller) recites and enacts stories and tales of heroism such as the story of ‘Antarah’, ‘Abu Zayd al-Hilali, and Shehrazad in café’s and public places, describing their bravery and heroism and reciting poetry in that regard. Such public entertainers attracted large audiences who listened and commented on what they hear. *Hikaya* served as a model for the narrative of the *Maqama* and *Khayal-alZill* later on.

The Maqama:

The *Maqama* elaborated by ‘Badi’ al-Zaman al-Hamadani (969-1007) is a short and ornate ‘picaresque’ work in a rhymed prose, couched in the first person singular.⁷ It usually contains a narrative element consisting of an amusing or surprising, real or true to life scene, and it is formulated in the present tense. In every *maqama* there is a narrator (*rawi*) called ‘Isa ibn Hisham, and a hero, Abulfath al-Iskandari, who generally appears as a disguised beggar (*mukaddi*) trying to earn his living by his wits, his linguistic virtuosity and rhetoric talent. Each *maqama* contains a separate episode in which the narrator meets the disguised hero, there being no connection between them except for the haphazard wanderings of narrator and hero.

There is no serious developing plot, narrative thread or full characterization.

However, the purpose of the *maqama* would appear to have been not just exhibition of rhetoric skills, and admonition, but also imitation of the dialogue of the *hikaya* (story) in the sense of play.

Some Egyptian scholars as ‘Abd al-Hamid Yunis says that the *maqama* has its origins in dramatic literature composed as early as the pre-Islamic period. The form was derived from ‘standing` (qiyam) in an assembly place (Dar al-Nadwa)...and, in fact, it consisted of one direct and continuous acting performance by single actor.⁸ The dramatic dialogue and structure of the *maqama* is an imitation of the *hikaya* or *khayal*. These were a useful composition of the category of fables (hikayat put in the mouth of animals and objects), known in Arabic literature as the stories of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. Such hikayat (stories), according to al-Hariri, were recited or performed by *ruwat* (story-tellers).

Khayal and Khayal al-Zill:

The term *khayal* means (figure) or (phantom). In its most prosaic sense it is a stick dressed in cloth so as to look like a man. It also means (statue), (shadow), (reflection), and (fantasy). *Khayal* was used in the sense of play or live performance, not just the implements associated therewith, before it came to be appropriated by the shadow play. Such *khayal* performers used to perform their acts or anecdotes during the day. Those live players used to be accompanied by music and used to tour many places to present their live entertainment.

Khayal al-Zill (Shadow play): The combination of the terms *khayal* and *al-Zill* (shadow) was adopted to describe a new type of entertainment originating in the Far East.⁹ Thus the word *khayal* acquired the meaning of ‘play` as part of this

expression. One of the most prominent figures of this type of entertainment was Ibn Daniyal (1248-1311), who wrote several shadow plays, one of which is *Babat Tayf al-Khayal* (the doors of the phantom of shadow). Ibn al-Haytham describes this type of entertainment saying “moreover, when the sight perceives the figures behind the screen, these figures being images which the presenter moves so that their shadows appear upon the wall behind the screen and upon the screen itself.”¹⁰

In conclusion many cultures such as the Hellenistic, Byzantine, Persian, Turkish and Far East influenced early Arab popular entertainment. By the eve of Islam these dramatic ceremonies came to be understood as commemorating some legendary or historical event and became seasonal folk tales. They tended towards parody and mockery of the former customs and rituals.¹¹

A reference to pre-modern popular drama in Egypt was made by the well-known Danish explorer, Carsten Niebuhr and the Italian archaeologist, Belzoni, who visited Egypt and saw in 1815 two such crude burlesques performed by a group of traveling players (Awlad Rabiya) in the outskirts of Cairo. Such itinerant players may well have been providing popular entertainment of this sort for centuries in different parts of the Arab world. However, the real inauguration of Arabic theatre in its modern sense was in 1847 when the merchant Marun-al-Naqqash directed – in Beirut – what was probably the first performance of his Arabic play *al-Bakhil* (the Miser), which was heavily indebted to Moliere’s *L’Avare*.

Al-Naqqash imported, on returning from his travels in Italy, the Western model of theatre believing that it was the only suitable and elevated form of literature in the world. In his Arabic theatre, he tried at a later stage to develop this imported art whilst

maintaining its original western structure, but he soon realized that the Arab audience wanted something closer to their own culture stemming from their own history. This led him to seek his subjects from the traditional Arab literary heritage *The Arabian Nights*.

The importation of the concepts of modern European theatre to the Arab world was not such a unique occurrence. The 19th century was an era of change in the Middle East that was to see a resurgence of Arab culture and identity under Ottoman rule. New, sometimes disturbing ideas began to circulate and threatened to disrupt traditional patterns of life: ideas of equality between Muslims and Christians, modernization, reform and nationalism. Most of these ideas came from Europe and were gradually absorbed into local society. The intellectual instability of this period, which accompanied these new ideas, persisted into modern times.

From the very beginning, Arab playwrights have problems in establishing a rapport between the stage and the audience from this alien proscenium arch stage of European theatre. In general, one may say that this new literary genre, drama, has been alien to the Arab audience, unlike poetry and other popular arts, it failed initially to elicit a response from the audience. This indifference was first noticed by Marun al-Naqqash; he was to say that despite his efforts the theatre was still alien in the Arab world. Al-Qabbani too had problems establishing the theatre in Damascus; he was forced to quit and flee Syria for Egypt. Similarly, the closure of the theatre of the Egyptian pioneer Ya'qub Sanu by the Egyptian ruler Khedive Isma'il, took place and succeeded, although Sanu claims otherwise, probably because this new art meant very little to the people of Egypt at the time.

Twentieth century Arab playwrights were to have similar problems; the Egyptian playwright Tawfiq al-Hakim has expressed the same notion regarding his own theatre.

He has described his theatrical journey as a “mission impossible”, and has said that his theatrical art did not reach wide numbers of theatergoers, because the theatre is still remote from the people’s hearts. This common feeling, shared by various playwrights throughout the history of the theatre in the Arab world, explains the difficult task faces any playwright in this part of the world. Despite the conflicting arguments which surround the origins of this literary genre in Arab literary history, it can clearly be seen that the modern Arab theatre laid its foundations by borrowing the forms and techniques of Western theatre, at first with little sense of the value of what it was borrowing. The English traveller David Urquhart remarked upon the enthusiastic manner by which Marun al-Naqqash copied the art of Western theatre when he saw a performance of al-Naqqash’s company, saying that “they had seen in Europe footlights and the prompter’s box, and fancied it an essential point to stick them on where they were not required”.

Arab playwrights have been trying since the modern theatre began to change the public’s attitude to the theatre producing something closer to the hearts of the people, something arising from their own culture and history. However no one can deny that modern Arab theatre is an imitation of Western theatre.



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**Title: “and in my heart unmake what seems inhospitable and out of place”:
Landscapes of Inclusion in Marlene van Niekerk’s *Memorandum* (2006).**

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“and in my heart unmake what seems inhospitable and out of place”: Landscapes of Inclusion in Marlene van Niekerk’s *Memorandum* (2006)¹.

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Introduction

The contemporary South African cityscape is inscribed with a history of dispossession and displacement. Although the noxious political system which enforced racial segregation has collapsed, many cities and their infrastructure remain divided in manners not too dissimilar from the past. There is a glaring lack of public space in which interactions across race and class lines are facilitated or encouraged. Many scholars and cultural critics have pointed to precisely this absence of shared public space as one of the key obstacles to the real transformation of South Africa and the fostering of a kind of shared national identity or even a shared community spirit. Thus, in this paper I argue that the most pressing challenge facing the brave new world of the democratic South Africa remains ensuring that the dominant spatial logic is one of inclusion rather than exclusion².

It should perhaps be emphasized that in this paper, although I do refer to specific cities, I am not presenting a reading of one of South Africa’s main city centres in particular, but rather composing an argument which speaks to the more general experience of what Sarah Nuttall and Achille Mbembe call “city-ness” in post-apartheid South Africa (Nuttall and Mbembe 2008, 15).

This paper falls into three main parts. In the first I introduce the concept of ‘landscapes of exclusion’ and summarize the arguments in the anthology *Blank_ Architecture, Apartheid and After* (1998) to contextualize my analysis. Secondly, I analyze the South African writer Marlene van Niekerk’s novel, *Memorandum* (2006) and illustrate its relevance for a discussion of transformations of self and space. I argue that the novel presents an innovative and poetic vision of what might be termed ‘landscapes of inclusion’. In the final part of this paper, I examine the wider cultural relevance of this theoretical and literary discussion for the public sphere in South Africa today.

Landscapes of exclusion

Cities in South Africa are scarred by the history of colonialism, market capitalism and apartheid. The city of Cape Town grew from the establishment of a colonial refreshment

¹This paper forms part of my larger ongoing PhD research project which is a comparative analysis of bodies and intimate relations in the three novels of the critically acclaimed Afrikaans writer, Marlene van Niekerk. I examine her novels in English translation.

² When I use the phrase ‘landscapes of inclusion’, I am not referring to it as part of the binary pair of inclusion and exclusion. Rather, I suggest that an authentic landscape of inclusion is not created by dint of the act of exclusion. I propose that an inclusive landscape is inclusive to all, and not defined by virtue of what it excludes; in fact it does not exclude at all.

station and Johannesburg came into being after the discovery of gold on the reef in 1886. Both these cities were governed by segregationist policies.³ Nevertheless these policies reached their apex with the adoption of the policy of apartheid by the National Party in 1948.

Apartheid policy relied on the strict geographical segregation and control of space along racial lines.⁴ Nowhere was the evidence of this cartographic discourse⁵ more apparent than in cities. As Glen Elder's discussion of apartheid spatial discourse argues,

Intricate links [existed] between the bodily encoding of apartheid's subjects and geography. [...] policy focusing on the city and the body are [thus] part of a [...] continuum of spatial control methods. (1998, 158)

Cities in South Africa were planned based on an exclusionary logic. Those who, in the negative parlance of the government of the day, were termed 'non-white' were excluded from accessing certain services, from living or working in certain areas and under 'petty' apartheid from, for example, swimming on certain beaches and even sitting on certain benches. Their "bodies" were, quite simply, deemed to be "out of place" (Robins 1998, J12). Furthermore, Achille Mbembe explains,

The apartheid state attempted to establish a relationship between spatial patterns and the moral order. The physical distances that separated the races were largely understood to consecrate moral ones. (2008, 47)

"This continuum of spatial control methods" was thus not only inscribed on the landscape and implemented through the actions of urban planners, but also inscribed in the psychology of South Africans.

The collection of essays, *Blank Architecture, Apartheid and After* (Judin and Vladislavić, 1998, hereafter referred to as *Blank*)⁶ examines how architecture and urban planning in South Africa exist as legacies of, and sometimes recreate, "landscapes of exclusion"⁷ (Robins 1998, J12). This volume provides context to the problem of public space which continues to bedevil South African culture. Although published in the Netherlands 13 years ago, it is a groundbreaking work – both for the variety of voices gathered between its pages and as one of the earliest post-apartheid attempts to examine the relationship between architecture, the urban environment and politics (Feireiss, 1998, Foreword).

The limited scope of this paper prevents me from detailing all the arguments gathered in this anthology or from describing the apartheid cityscape in great detail. However, some context regarding urbanization is needed. Initially, the apartheid government tried to limit

³ See Nuttall and Mbembe (2008) for a summary of this.

⁴ A.J. Christopher's (1994) *Atlas of Apartheid* is a useful reference in illustrating the National Party's cartographic discourse. Christopher employs maps to "[demonstrate] the spatial patterns of the planning and enforcement of [...] 'grand apartheid' [...] 'urban apartheid' and 'petty apartheid'" (1994, 7).

⁵ See Buxbaum (2011), forthcoming in *English in Africa* for a more detailed discussion of apartheid spatial discourse and cartography in Van Niekerk's three novels.

⁶ The anthology was originally compiled as a catalogue for an architectural exhibition in Rotterdam. The contents of the anthology are organized not by page number, but akin to, what Judin and Vladislavić term, a "conceptual map" (1998). Thus each article is given an alphabetical and numerical co-ordinate on a map which refers to where their contribution can be found in the anthology, but there are no page numbers to reference articles.

⁷ See Steven Robins (1998, J12) for a discussion of the resilience of segregationist policies in Cape Town and the Cape Flats after 1994. Robins concludes that, "In some parts of the city, for some people, black bodies are still out of place" (Robins 1998, J12).

the migration of black people from rural to urban areas and to keep the cities ‘white’. However, this changed with the ‘1986 White Paper on Urbanization’⁸. This, in effect, ensured that ‘black’ townships could only be established as “satellites” around the ‘white’ city centre and ensured that cities remained segregated, residentially and economically, by allowing migration to occur only on the outskirts of the city centre (Mabin 1998, E6). The impact of this policy remains visible today.

From the outset, urban planners were required in order to implement the National Party’s apartheid policy⁹. Their work is still evident today and impinges on the manner in which cities can be transformed or even recreated. In a discussion of the creative and reconstructive constraints facing architects in post-apartheid South Africa, Daniel Herwitz observes that “the city is not a blank canvas” (1998, H3). He maintains that the lack of public space and the struggle to create it today is a relic of apartheid planning and as a result, the “potential for public conversation” remains limited:

Apartheid [...] was terrified of intermingling, of persons as much as cultures, and sought to rule out this possibility by building no spaces in which it might occur. There was little room for active participation in the public sphere except through a culture of opposition. South Africans were denied the opportunity to become more like one another through their shared use of public institutions and the conversations which naturally accrue to such places. (*Ibid.*)

I thus refer to the contributions in *Blank* which focus on the possibilities that existed during apartheid and the potential that exists today, for ‘being in the city with others’ and ‘sharing public space’¹⁰. These essays centre on the need to interact with others in a public sphere and for an *imaginative* reconstruction of place;¹¹ to use Herwitz’s phrase, they detail the struggle to find the vocabulary and context for a “public conversation.” As Ingrid De Kock suggests, “segregation has become the spatial imprint of our cities and the deep structure of our imaginations and memories” (qtd in Minkley 1998, D11). Transformation is thus as much a matter of changing our imaginations, as it is of changing our city spaces. AbdouMaliq Simone concurs and argues for the need to cultivate a “creative urbanity”:

It is these cultural resources and creative enterprises which transform city spaces as much as – or perhaps even more than – political struggle and institutional reform. The imagination, then, is a crucial part of (re)making city spaces. (qtd in Robinson 1998, D7)

In the course of this paper, I consider the impact of Marlene van Niekerk’s novel as just such a “cultural resource”.

⁸ See Alan Mabin (1998, E6) for a more detailed discussion of these processes.

⁹ Although several architects and planners did protest against and reject these policies in the 1980s as outlined by Mabin (1998, E6).

¹⁰ It is worth making explicit that there is a tension here – between cities as rigid constructs in which citizens’ movements are policed and they are subject to divisive political and urban planning policies on the one hand and on the other hand cities in which citizens are capable of moving across boundary lines and in the process continually recreating new ones. This is a tension referred to by several of the contributors to *Blank*. Sarah Nuttal points to this in the context of her discussion of the representations of Johannesburg in recent South African fiction (2008, 199). I have attempted in my paper to take into account both aspects of “city-ness”: the city as constraining or restrictive *and* the city as filled with liberating potential in order to imagine what and how transformation may occur.

¹¹ For example, see the contributions of Robinson, Simone and Herwitz to *Blank* (1998).

In her contribution to the anthology, Jennifer Robinson argues that

The transition from apartheid urban space to – something else – draws our attention from the fixing moments of these historically divided cities to experiences of mobility, interaction and the dynamism of spaces. (1998, D7)

She insists that, although during apartheid, cities were for all intents and purposes divided, and this division brutally policed,

Just as the spaces of the apartheid city divided, they also generated crossings and interactions: crossings as people moved and lived and worked in different places; crossings as the memories and meanings of different places were carried with them; crossings as people *imagined* what those other places were like, places they'd never seen except on the TV or in magazines. (my emphasis, *Ibid.*)

It is these experiences of “crossings”, of “mobility, interaction and dynamism” which were relevant during apartheid in terms of re-imagining and dreaming of a post-apartheid space, and they remain so today. For that reason, Robinson concludes that, “instead of trying to change the spaces of the city, we could try to influence the spatial relations and networks through which they are connected” (*Ibid.*). This is the fictional intervention that I believe Marlene van Niekerk makes - she imagines how spatial relations could be remade.

In her own contribution to *Blank*, Marlene Van Niekerk presents a reading of the exclusive urban gym in which she suggests that gym-goers search for something akin to the “grace of community” (1998, F4). In the gym, “encounters are a nuisance or a delay. We cannot escape being beside each other, but we try hard not to be *with* each other. (*Ibid.*)” Yet, despite this seeming disinterest in connecting with others, she maintains that there is something “slightly hopeful” about the gym; that in the early years of post-apartheid South Africa, even being *beside* each other is potentially revelatory. The space of the gym

sanctions the tentative, experimental glance between black and white [...] In this sense the South African gym might even be conceived of as a kind of ‘nursery’ for the tenuous insights that arise from a literally exposed, *shared creatureliness*. (my emphasis, *Ibid.*)

It is precisely this “grace of community”, and this realization of commonalities which is denied by landscapes of exclusion. Here, Van Niekerk emphasizes the importance of sharing space in order to see other bodies as akin to one’s own, regardless of race.

Enchanted pavements in *Memorandum*

The desire to imagine a space in which we could be “*with* each other” is arguably one of the motivations for Van Niekerk’s novel *Memorandum* (2006), and as I propose in my ongoing research, this desire also informs the ethics of her oeuvre. *Memorandum*, Van Niekerk’s fictional account of a dying city planner, can potentially alter and transform the way her readers experience and view themselves and their city spaces.

Memorandum is subtitled “A Story with Paintings” and her text appears alongside the late Adriaan van Zyl’s paintings¹². A key theme is the alienating environment of the hospital which is emphasized by Van Zyl’s stark paintings of hospital interiors which are

¹² Aspects of the discussion below stem from a forthcoming article in which I discuss the relationship between corporeality and spatiality in Marlene van Niekerk’s three novels. See Buxbaum (2011).

devoid of any human presence. The novel is set in and around Cape Town and centres on a conversation overheard in the hospital by the protagonist, Johannes Frederikus Wiid, a retired city planner suffering from terminal liver cancer. The reclusive, bureaucratic Wiid writes a 'memorandum' to the reader in which he attempts to recreate and understand the meanings of this night-time conversation between two dying patients. Unsure of their real names, Wiid names them Mr X and Mr. Y:

X, the fanatical poet without feet, who chattered about birds and birds' nests, Y, the blind mocker, who delivered one speech after another on antique building methods, the foundation of cities and on hospitals. (2006, 23)

In the context of the conversation, X quotes liberally from Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*, while Y's responses allude to Joseph Rykwert's *The Idea of a Town*. Despite their different focuses, both Bachelard and Rykwert (and by implication X and Y) insist on the importance of a poetic and spiritual interaction with one's surroundings. Rykwert, in his preface, insists that architects bear in mind that "a city had to enshrine the hopes and fears of its citizens" (1988). Bachelard's project "seeks to determine human value of the sorts of space that may be grasped, that may be defended against adverse forces, the space we love" (1964: xxxv). The idea that space should be loved, that space should encourage the potential for love and human connections and simultaneously that space should embrace its inhabitants and nurture them is a central theme in *Memorandum*.¹³

It is precisely this kind of poetic interaction with one's environment that is required in the brave new world of South Africa, and a creative realization of what the authors of *Blank* suggest: a kind of intimate poetic engagement and interaction between corporeality and spatiality, such that the subject exists "in space with integrity" and is no longer "blind to the earth" (*Memorandum*, 78, 40).

Prior to his retirement, Wiid was a "director [of] parks & playgrounds, sanitation and maintenance" (6). He recalls: "a traffic leak, a sewage leak, a pedestrian leak, the leak of disorder was what I always had to guard against in my profession" (74)¹⁴. However, X and Y's conversation challenges the foundation of his beliefs. He describes feeling "disorientation" (8) which indicates a profound loss of orientation in space; X and Y's ideas have caused him to regard his surroundings in a new light, to embody them differently and thus ultimately transform his conception of himself.

¹³ This idea is poignantly expressed when Buytendagh, the librarian, adumbrates the flaws of apartheid-era architecture. Wiid recalls,

When I first mooted the subject of so-called 'unnurturing' architecture in the library, Buytendagh out of the blue let rip about what he called 'a profound blindness to the earth' that apparently causes 'us Afrikaners' to be such loveless people. (Van Niekerk, 2006, 40).

¹⁴ The term "leak" is purposefully broad and all-encompassing here. It has echoes with post-structural theory of which Van Niekerk would be aware. Referring to the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Achille Mbembe argues that despite the efforts of the apartheid government to create boundaries aligned with race and prevent movement across these political divisions, there were "leakages":

[...] the apartheid city – and Johannesburg in particular – was tubular in the sense developed by [Deleuze and Guattari (1987. 93-4)] : a space made up of leakages, of several lines of flight that not only coexisted but intermingled, that transformed and crossed over into one another. (2008, 49-50)

One can thus read Wiid's description of his professional work as aligned with the (failed) exclusivist project of the apartheid government.

Wiid's memorandum begins with a description of the lingering impact of that night of eavesdropping, and it is framed in poetic imagery which would have been previously unthinkable to the always-formal and unimaginative bureaucrat:

Just as elevated music in a suburban street can transform the pavement into a secret footpath, the frequently looming recollection of that night made me feel as if I were a beloved person to whom precious memories had been entrusted. Not that I could till quite recently have claimed such music or such enchanted pavements amongst my experiences, even less that I felt myself on that night the focus of anybody's loving attention. (25)

The recollection of X and Y's conversation has made Wiid aware of the transformative potential of art – of poetry or music – on concrete everyday reality. While the town planner would eschew all enchanting secret footpaths in favour of concrete pavements for ease of movement, Wiid has been made aware of alternative modes of “embodying space” (Grosz, 2001,33). The metaphor he employs to describe this revelatory experience establishes a definite connection between the transformation of a place and the transformation of his identity.

Wiid subsequently experiences a similar realization at the neighbourhood library, where he devotes his time to researching the obscure references made by X and Y in their conversation. He felt a “peculiar feeling of belonging that [he] was the only person in the library who could address the boss in passing from amongst the shelves [by his nickname] Joop” (Van Niekerk 2006, 52). Wiid is a friendless public servant who used to insist on formality at all times. He was afraid to venture onto his balcony at home for fear that his neighbour might attempt a friendly greeting or conversation (83). However, the development of a friendship has altered his relationship to his surroundings. No longer appalled by the “unprofessional appearance of the Parow Public Library” (138), he now feels ‘at home’ there.

Prior to Wiid's retirement, his “last headache . . . was the decline of the inner city” (74). The arrival of informal traders had transformed the city centre into what Wiid, the city planner, disapprovingly described as “a whole carnival by day in our once-orderly shopping streets” (*ibid.*). Wiid recalls his earlier assessment of the situation:

Rampant informal trading on pavements in the central business district, transforming neat street corners into market places; chickens in coops, sniffing dogs, dubious substances, body odours, uncouth languages. Even on foot one could later not move there with a purposeful tread. Muti, sheep's heads, chicken legs, a bickering that cannot be tolerated in a civilized city. [...] the mess also elicited all sorts of elements from the white working classes – apparently they were irretrievably infected with these indigenous notions of commerce [...] I told my meeting we would have to wake up and root out this nest of iniquity with all means and powers at our disposal. The free flow of labour, capital and information is what we have to secure. Extensive civic sanitation projects were the last things I instituted, rezonings intended to facilitate vehicular and pedestrian traffic in the business areas and to relocate to peripheral areas the markets, termini, crèches and old age homes. The centre was earmarked for the upwardly mobile businessmen, brokers, estate agents and consumers, the rest had to be rationalised out of the city centre. (74 -76)

He expresses disgust for the vibrant interactions which occur on street corners, which baffle and evade easy categorization. His assessment is clearly value-laden and expresses a racist perspective of the changes in the inner city since the end of apartheid. Nevertheless, examined from a different perspective, there is also something celebratory and empowering about the manner in which people have re-invented the city centre, transforming it in ways akin to what Mbembe positively terms “afropolitan forms of urbanity” (1998) or what AbdouMaliq Simone refers to when he describes “people as infrastructure” (2008, 68)¹⁵.

As a result of the conversation he overhears, and his subsequent research into alternative theories of space and habitation, Wiid’s understanding of the purpose of the city centre changes dramatically in ways which suggest he might agree with Mbembe and Simone, or at least be capable of understanding their perspective. Wiid concludes:

Everything must be mediated, the great by the small, *by participation and by mirroring and by translation*. In the city by the centre, in the body by the liver. But a conduit was my model for everything, a conveying emptiness of which one must keep the interior as open and smooth as possible. (my emphasis, 96-97)¹⁶

The similar mediating function of the liver and the city centre further implies that the centre may be the ideal place for the congregation of a wide variety of people; a heterogenous carnivalesque community which should, in fact, be celebrated rather than “rationalised out” (76). The city should thus be made habitable for and hospitable to all; it should exist as a ‘landscape of inclusion’. The city centre should not be characterized by emptiness and be devoid of people, but should indeed be a kind of carnival, in which relationships are encouraged and might be characterized by “participation, mirroring and translation” (96). In this manner, community and communication can be fostered in ways that, as Daniel Herwitz notes, the apartheid government was determined to prevent (1998, H3). Indeed, in hindsight, Wiid even refers to his professional commitment to preventing “the leak of disorder” as “stingy” (Van Niekerk 2006, 74).

Mark Sanders emphasizes this “political dimension” of the novel and argues that Wiid’s newly ‘inherited’ knowledge of architecture enables him to “undertake reparation of his disenchantment with the metamorphoses of urban spaces that have followed apartheid” (2009, 120). Earlier Wiid had questioned “How did I get sick? [...] Is my house to blame? My city?” (Van Niekerk 2006, 96). In answer to these rhetorical questions, Sanders proposes that,

If it is perhaps the fault of his city that he is sick, or has erred in thought, X and Y suggest to him a remedy, in which he, the [... city] beautifier [...] and cleanser will, at least in his heart, undo all that he has had a role in building (2009, 120).

¹⁵ In an ethnographic study of inner-city Johannesburg, Simone argues that it “constitutes a highly urbanized social infrastructure” (2008, 68). He contends that people should be included in the category of infrastructure such that “this texture of highly fragmented social space and these emerging interdependencies complement each other in forming an infrastructure for innovative economic transactions in the city.” (79). Simone argues that a different way to understand urbanization and migrancy is needed in order to read the lives of those whose existence in the city is most precarious. It is important that in this discussion he neither romanticizes nor dismisses the importance of these fleeting and fragile interactions on which many depend for survival.

¹⁶ Sanders (2007) has used this quote as the basis for his essay on the role of mimesis and memory in *Memorandum*.

When Sanders refers to all that Wiid “has had a role in building”, it seems that he is referring to both the physical structures of the city as well as the political system of apartheid which relied on policies of urban segregation designed and enacted by city planners, other civil servants as well as ordinary citizens.

As evidence of his new understanding of spatiality, Wiid decides to die at home rather than subject himself to the sterility of the hospital building. Y’s critique of the spatial configurations of the hospital room is illuminating in understanding Wiid’s motivation:

Here we have all the prepositions [...] that connect things to one another, ABOVE one another, ON TOP OF one another, BESIDE one another, while the human being’s own measure and status is denied, and people in wards like this feel NEXT TO one another instead of WITH one another. [...]X replied:] I’m WITH you! I stay BY you! (Van Niekerk, 2006, 43)

The interior organization of the hospital room suggests that patients are treated akin to objects and thus dehumanized. The only preposition which suggests the possibility of an intimate connection with another being – “with” – is absent from the hospital’s vocabulary. Y’s outburst implies that in order for space to have any meaning, for it to be ‘hospitable’, it should facilitate empathy and intimate relationships. As a result of his eavesdropping, Wiid becomes convinced that the way “space [...] is filled is a *barometer* [...] of love” (94).

Wiid’s poetic wine-inspired “passacaglia” with which he ends his memorandum to the reader, strives to achieve just that – a new relationship to his surroundings in which he attempts to ensure that ‘space is filled with love’:

Every day that remains [...] I’ll slowly walk my city’s streets [...] note all that lives [...] And I shall say, Brethren mine, were it given to me to do it all again, I’d find you someone else as architect, o pardon me. [...] The sacred round I shall ambulate, erstwhile beautifier of parks and playground, and in my heart unmake what seems inhospitable and out of place. I’ll re-enchant, contemplate, consider [...] It will not have been for nought, if with my last leas of life I can bring it all about [...] I shall lift the manhole in the middle and there meet the goddess of this writing, Mania ... and she and I and x and y will walk along the squares and walkways, by the termini of bus and taxi, messy markets and small cafes [...] And if I should by chance see a lonely tramp [...] who like me has need of comfort, I shall be his friend and hospice and take him [...] to my nest already prepared for him as bequest, and to the end with him abide . (123-4)

Wiid determines not to surrender himself to the alienation and sterility of the hospital. In this decision, he articulates the desire of all of Van Niekerk’s protagonists for a nurturing environment in which to live¹⁷, and in which to die. He chooses instead to spend the time remaining to him wandering the streets of his city, seeing poetry and art for the first time in the world around him – even in the “messy markets”. He envisions alternative modes of embodying space such that the space becomes a home. Furthermore, in contrast to his earlier eschewal of all human contact, Wiid now longs for companionship, for someone he can nurture and be *with* to the end. Specifically, he idealistically – and drunkenly – is even willing to befriend “a lonely tramp”, someone who falls into the category of all those in the inner city for whom Wiid previously felt nothing but disdain and disgust. To

¹⁷ See Buxbaum (2011).

reiterate, although Wiid is a white Afrikaner, his desire to befriend people, to invite someone into his home, is oblivious of any considerations of race.

This poignant realization comes all but too late for Wiid, stricken as he is with terminal, incurable cancer. Nevertheless, as it is contained in a memorandum for a reader, perhaps Wiid's epiphany will alter the reader's relationship to space. In this way, the reader 'inherits' Wiid's ideas and is inspired to rethink his or her own relationship to space and to those with whom that space is shared.¹⁸

Landscapes of Inclusion

In the remainder of this paper, I wish to merely hint at the present and future possibilities that exist for the recreation and reconstruction of the public sphere in cities in post-apartheid South Africa, such that landscapes of inclusion come into being. In this regard I refer to contemporary commentators who have outlined or re-iterated this problem and show that Wiid's desire to find someone to "abide with" in *Memorandum* is a feeling shared by many South Africans today.

It would, however, be naïve to brush aside the very real and pressing economic, socio-political and historic factors which may prevent the actualization of such a compassionate city, or inclusive experience of city-ness. Nuttall and Mbembe end their discussion of the "elusive metropolis" of Johannesburg cautiously, aware of the spectre of crime and yet reluctant to reduce the complexities of their reading of this "afropolitan" city to a criminological one (1998, 32). Nonetheless, they propose that

Johannesburg, elusive as ever, in thrall to its future, speaks of a quite unprecedented African cosmopolitanism: the Afropolitan [...]. It is an original city, speaking in an original voice. Even in its most self-destructive moments, it is a place where a new and singular metropolitan vocabulary is being born. (ibid.)

Perhaps that singular vocabulary can be a compassionate and inclusive one; perhaps there are glimmers of hope alongside wariness and cynicism.

Mark Gevisser (2010), Jonny Steinberg (2010) and Sarah Calburn (2010) all bewail the lack of public spaces or possibilities for what Calburn terms, "points of contact" in contemporary South African cities (2010, 66). In an interview with Achille Mbembe, Calburn, a South African architect, argues for the replacement of urban planning with urban design and suggests we

should be directed to the optimistic creation of urban space that can both frame and nurture a vibrant, diverse society in lively, meaningful and mutually respectful conversation both internally and in the world. Crucially, 'design' demands the adoption of altered points of view, of new ways of seeing and reading ourselves and our realities. It is only through these 'recognitions' that we can start to imaginatively extrapolate ourselves, to build creatively on our own particular qualities and quantities. Urban design, thus, demands a re-imagination of who we are and who we might become. (my emphasis, 2010, 65)

¹⁸ Wiid has 'inherited' these ideas from X and Y, who in turn have 'inherited' them from various authors.

The emphasis on the imagination and the need to awaken ourselves to the reality of different perspectives is central to her argument. Infrastructure and architecture alone cannot foster this transformation; they can merely provide the space for it to occur.

Calburn explains that in South African cities, people move from “guarded interior” to “guarded interior” (66) or what the criminologist Clifford Shearing terms “bubbles of security” (qtd in Steinberg, 2010). In these cities in which much of life is enacted in the private sphere, and the interior exists as kind of fortress against the public sphere, Calburn makes a plea for rethinking the idea of the interior:

I conceive of interiors as landscapes. What stops us from changing our thinking to conceive of the public spaces of our city as large interiors in which we are all welcome? (2010, 66).

This idea echoes Wiid’s dying desire, in *Memorandum*, “to remake what seems inhospitable and out of place” and ensure that the way that space is filled is a measure of love. In this sense, Wiid’s desire to invite a stranger into his home stems from a sense that all space – public and private – should be transformed into a kind of home. His wine-fuelled wish is thus not so different in substance from the sober and academic expressions of cultural critics. Steinberg expresses it differently, asking what would happen if “we could be each other’s safety zones?”, if the “bubble of the crowd” replaced the “bubble of security” (2010)¹⁹. A similar thought, employing different imagery, is echoed by Gevisser who poignantly – and somewhat ironically – points out that “on the whole we do not rub up against one another on the street, in all our differences, the way we used to” (2010)²⁰.

Conclusion

For the social commentators I have discussed in this paper, as well as for Marlene van Niekerk, the street and the public sphere present a potentially revolutionary site of contact. In my analysis of *Memorandum* I have argued that the novel illustrates a creative realization of the problem of sharing space with others. Marlene van Niekerk’s fictional response to the desire for a hospitable and inclusive environment has clear relevance to the contemporary debates about public space in South Africa. I have demonstrated how her protagonist’s relationship to his surroundings is transformed and have shown the extent to which his responses to the changing landscape align with or are a realization of the main issues raised in the anthology *Blank*.

For now the realization of this hoped for landscape of inclusion remains in the realm of fiction, of dream and fantasy and imagination. Similarly, Wiid’s need to find someone to ‘be with’ is not fulfilled. Nevertheless, this should not be cause for despair. I have maintained throughout this paper that the imagination has a potentially transformative

¹⁹ Jonny Steinberg’s proposition occurs in the context of a discussion of the success of the Soccer World Cup hosted by South Africa in 2010. He reflects that “When our streets [...] became carnivals, filled with laughter and goodwill, we imagined they could always be this way...” (2010). He envisages a future in which this could be the case: if there were a dramatic overhaul of South Africa’s public transport system and the fledgling new “Bus Rapid Transport routes” were expanded to the extent that all members of society would “have no choice” but to use them, and, as a result to walk the streets more and rejuvenate the idea of public space.

²⁰ Mark Gevisser compares a lunch time street scene in the Johannesburg CBD with one captured by photographer David Goldblatt in 1967 of a pedestrian crossing: “the pretext is masterful: no matter how hard the state tried to separate us, we were all thrown together while waiting for [the traffic light to change]. And so the images unstitch the work of apartheid and find, in everyday urbanity, the seeds of its downfall.” (2010).

power. To recall Simone's statement: "The imagination is a crucial part of (re)making city spaces" (qtd in Robinson 1998, D7). It is possible then, that in the same way as Wiid finds comfort, some solace can be found, in the building which acts as a repository for the imagination – the library. In the absence of, or while still anticipating, the creation of landscapes of inclusion in which we can 'be *with* each other', I propose that we have the opportunity to know each other a little better in the virtual public space that exists between the pages of books.

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**KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER PROCESS OF THAI TRADITIONAL DRUM
BY LOCAL PHILOSOPHERS**

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KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER PROCESS OF THAI TRADITIONAL DRUM BY LOCAL PHILOSOPHERS¹

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Abstract

This qualitative research aims to examine knowledge transfer process of Thai Traditional Drum by local philosophers. The data were collected through focus group discussion, non-participant observation, and in-depth interviews with five local philosophers in Thai traditional drum group in Pranburi District, Prachuapkhirikhan Province.

The study shows that learners were divided into 3 groups, namely local philosophers' descendants, primary school students, and elderly people. As for their descendants, they learned professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drum by observing and learning indirectly from the local philosophers. But basic techniques of playing Thai traditional drum were transferred to students and elderly people by demonstrating and telling directly.

The problems of knowledge transfer process were: 1) some descendants did not want to join the group; 2) lack of interested local learners; 3) problems in transferring knowledge to students; 4) problems of transfer duration in school; and 5) some knowledge was not transferred.

This research suggests that: 1) the local philosophers should be encouraged to set up networks with other Thai traditional drum groups in order to transfer their knowledge; 2) the group should be publicized as the community's heritage; 3) teaching techniques should be trained to the local philosophers so they can make students interested in Thai traditional drum; 4) the local philosophers should transfer their knowledge in the Center for Local Wisdom Learning; and 5) there should be a knowledge management system for the local philosophers to transform their tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge in order to preserve their knowledge.

Introduction

This research is one of the community development research project in Pranburi District, Prachuapkhirikhan Province, Thailand by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Dhurakij Pundit University which focuses on knowledge transfer process of local

¹ This article is a part of the research entitled "Local wisdom transfer of local philosophers: a case study of Thai traditional drum (Klong Yao) group in Pranburi District, Prachuapkhirikhan Province".

philosophers in Thai traditional drum² (*Klong Yao*) group. I selected this topic because some local knowledge may be lost by many reasons such as no record, no transfer, and influence of Western culture (Phumduang, E., 2008 **Yos Santasombat**, 2001). The important way to help the Thai communities maintaining their local knowledge/culture must support local philosophers (local experts or “*Prat Chao Barn*”) to transfer their knowledge by using knowledge management process in their communities (**National Economic and Social Development Board** of Thailand, 2006). In other words, the knowledge transfer is the important process to preserve and develop the local knowledge among the current change of Thai society.

It is found that the Thai traditional drum group is one of the interesting culture in Pranburi district. Because this group is famous and has transferred their knowledge to local people. For this reason, this research aims to examine knowledge transfer process of Thai traditional drum by local philosophers and to give recommendations on the knowledge transfer process. In addition, the recommendations of this community research can be applied to other communities in order to preserve the communities’ culture.

Research Objectives

1. To examine the knowledge transfer process of Thai traditional drum by local philosophers in Pranburi District, Prachuapkhirikhan Province.
2. To give recommendations on the knowledge transfer process of Thai traditional drum by local philosophers in Pranburi District, Prachuapkhirikhan Province.

Conceptual Framework

This research used the concept of Thai wisdom transfer process (**Ekawit Na Thalung**, 2001; Pranee Tantayanubutr, 2008; **Yos Santasombat**, 2001), concept of cultural transfer (Hu, 1997 quoted in **Zhou, Y., 2008**), concepts of knowledge transfer and methods of tacit knowledge capture (**Awad, E. M. & Ghaziri, H. M., 2004; Dalkir, K., 2005; Faye, C., et al., 2008; Rollett, H., 2003**) and previous researches about the transfer of Thai local wisdom and culture (Arunruk Rattanphan, 2008; Aticom Patamacom, 2004; Jitikan Jinarak, 2008; Pantipa Mala, et al., 2009; Pariwit Waitayachiwa, 2008; Rangsan Buathong, 2004; Wararee Srithong, 2001; Siriphan Rungwichaniwat, 2009) in order to analyze knowledge transfer process among the local philosophers in Thai traditional drum group which consisted of 1) types of learners, 2) knowledge and level/type of knowledge in transfer process, 3) transfer methods, 4) evaluation of transfer, and 5) problems of transfer.

² Thai traditional drum (*Klong Yao*) is one of the traditional musical instruments used in **Thailand**. It is generally slung over the shoulder and played with the hands. It has a wooden body and a **drumhead** made from **water buffalo** skin, and is usually decorated with a colorful **skirt**. It is played in many festival parades in Thailand.

Research Methodology

This qualitative research collected the data by using focus group discussion, non-participant observation, and in-depth interviews with five local philosophers. Moreover, I used triangulation technique in order to increase the credibility and validity of the results by using data and methodological triangulation.

As for sampling method, this research used purposive sampling by selecting the 5 local philosophers who are the owners of the Thai traditional drum group in Prانبuri District, Prachuapkhirikhan Province.

Content analysis was used to analyze the data by noting patterns and making comparison about the knowledge transfer process. Finally, this research used the research results to give the recommendations to the community.

Results

1. General Information of the Local Philosophers

General information of the 5 local philosophers can be summarized in table 1.

Table 1: General Information of the Local Philosophers

No.	Name	Age	Domicile (Province)	Occupation	Age at first learning Thai traditional drum	Personal skills in the Thai traditional drum group
1.	Mr. Cha-um Kwanorn	71	Prachuap khirikhan	Agriculturist	20	Playing Thai traditional drum, Singing, Making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drum, Performing a ceremony for paying respect to the previous owners of drums and teachers (<i>Wai Kroo</i>), Composing a song
2.	Mr. Seam Butrthongkum	67	Phetchaburi	Agriculturist	6	Playing Thai traditional drum, Singing, Dancing, Making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drum, Performing a ceremony for paying respect to the previous owners of drums and teachers, Composing a song
3.	Mr. Pin Panetes	77	Phetchaburi	Agriculturist	64	Playing Thai traditional drum
4.	Mr. Sanit Thongjark	71	Ratchaburi	Agriculturist	63	Playing Thai traditional drum
5.	Mr. Leang Sinsub	63	Chonburi	Agriculturist	8	Playing Thai traditional drum, Singing, Making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drum, Making Thai traditional drums, Performing a ceremony for paying respect to the previous owners of drums and teachers, Composing a song

This group was set up in 1997 and has been performing at many Thai and Buddhist joyful ceremonies such as “*Songkran*” (traditional Thai new year), Thai wedding,

“*Buat Nak/ Buat Pra*” (becoming a monk), and “*Thod Kathin*” (Robes presentation to monks at the end of the Buddhist Lent).

This group called themselves as the “Group of 5 Elders” (*Wong Har Poo Thow*) because the major members/local philosophers of this group are elderly. This group consists of the 5 local philosophers and their 10 descendants. The wage of performing Thai traditional drums is about Baht 2,000-6,000 depends on time and location. This group is very unique because each member learned Thai traditional drum from various places. So they have different skills such as making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drums, making Thai traditional drums, singing and playing Thai traditional drums, composing a song for performing Thai traditional drum, and performing a ceremony for paying respect to the previous owners of drums and teachers (*Wai Kroo*). Moreover, this group was the winner of the Thai traditional drum performance contest of Prachuapkhirikhan Province in 2009. As for their knowledge transfer, they have taught local people since 1997.



Figure 1: Thai traditional drums made by the “Group of 5 Elders” (*Wong Har Poo Thow*)





Figure 2: Thai traditional drums performing by “Wong Har Poo Thow”

2. Knowledge transfer process of Thai traditional drum by the local philosophers

2.1 Types of learners

Learners consist of local philosophers’ descendants, elderly people, and primary school students. As for their descendants, they teach only male descendants because males are expected to be a leader of the group. Primary schools in the community invite them to teach 4th grade students every year as the guest lecturers for short term training for performing at the Buddhist ceremony. Finally, they also teach local elderly people as a way of exercise at the elderly club.

2.2 Knowledge and level/type of knowledge in transfer process

It is found that there are 2 levels of knowledge in transfer process, namely technique and belief/ceremony. Type of knowledge of the local philosopher is tacit knowledge such as techniques of playing Thai traditional drum (surface-structure transfer) and their beliefs/ceremony (deep-structure transfer). Anyway, some knowledge is not transferred as shown in table 2.

Table 2 : Knowledge and level/type of knowledge in transfer process

Level/ type of knowledge	Knowledge (transferred)	Knowledge (not transferred)
Technique (Tacit knowledge)	Surface-structure transfer:	-Professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drums are not

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basic techniques of playing Thai traditional drum which consist of 5 rhythms, namely <i>Peng, Tom, Tick, Pa, and Berd.</i> - Professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drum (Only their descendants) -Singing and dancing for Thai traditional drum performance 	transferred to students and elderly people.
Production (Tacit knowledge)	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Composing a song for Thai traditional drum performance. Their songs usually are inspired by their daily lives and environment. -Making Thai traditional drums
Belief and ceremony (Tacit knowledge)	<p>Deep-structure transfer:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sacred beliefs of Thai traditional drum such as “<i>Por Kae</i>” - Ceremony for paying respect to the previous owners of drums and teachers (<i>Wai Kroo</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drums before performing



Figure 3: Sacred beliefs of Thai traditional drum



Figure 4: Making Thai traditional drum



Figure 5: Making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drums before performing

2.3 Transfer methods

In the local philosophers' opinions, the appropriate method of knowledge transfer for tacit knowledge is "telling directly (learning by being told) and observing" because it is difficult to transfer by writing. It is found that there are 2 transfer methods of playing Thai traditional drum which depend on types of learners as follows:

1) Demonstrating and telling directly (Learning by being told)

This method is used for transferring basic techniques of playing Thai traditional drum to their students and elderly people. In addition, the local philosophers have set it into 4 steps.

1: Explaining about 5 basic rhythms of drum, namely *Peng*, *Tom*, *Tick*, *Pa*, and *Berd*.

2: Demonstrating and explaining how to play Thai traditional drum for each rhythm.

3: Learning by doing/practicing.

4: Students or elderly people, who can play very well, will be selected to be a leader to play Thai traditional drum and the others will play after listening the rhythm from the leader.

2) Observing and learning indirectly

The local philosophers consider that their descendants have to learn professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drum by observing and learning indirectly (*Kru Pak Rak Jum*) from the local philosophers. Because their descendants can learn

indirectly from their daily lives or experiences such as training/practicing with the members and performing Thai traditional drums at any ceremony.

Although *Kru Pak Rak Jum* method is informal learning, it is very important because it can capture the local philosophers' tacit knowledge and help local philosophers' descendants develop from their basic skills or techniques of playing Thai traditional drum into unique professional techniques by imitating and applying their original techniques with the new techniques which they observe and learn indirectly from the local philosophers. In other words, they can create a new version of old song by using this method.

2.4 Evaluation of transfer

The local philosophers evaluate their transfer result by observing learners and giving them suggestion. However, it is found that the local philosophers usually evaluate students before teaching Thai traditional drum in order to select students who love Thai music and have the suitable skills or talent. If he/she does not have skills for playing Thai traditional drum, he/she will be sent to learn Thai traditional percussion instruments.

2.5 Problems of transfer

- 1) Some descendants do not want to join the group or are not interested in Thai traditional drum because they are studying or working in Bangkok. This might be a major problem in the future of the group.
- 2) The young or new generation people in the community are not interested in learning Thai traditional drum because they prefer modern music and do not realize about the value of Thai traditional drum group as the heritage of their community.
- 3) The local philosophers have the problems in transferring knowledge to primary school students, i.e. they get bored or do not pay attention to learn how to play Thai traditional drum.
- 4) The local philosophers are invited to teach primary school students for a short period. That's why students cannot develop from their basic techniques to professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drum.
- 5) It is found that some knowledge is not transferred such as making Thai traditional drum and making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drum because the local philosophers consider only qualified learners or their descendants, who are ready to be an owner of the group in the future, can learn this knowledge.

Finally, knowledge transfer process of Thai traditional drum by the local philosophers can be concluded in table 3.

Table 3: Knowledge transfer process of Thai traditional drum by the local philosophers

Types of learners	Level/type of knowledge	Knowledge	Transfer methods	Evaluation of transfer	Problems of transfer
Primary school students	Technique (Tacit knowledge)	Basic techniques of playing Thai	Demonstrating and telling directly	-Observing their skills before and	-Problem in transferring knowledge to

		traditional drum for performing at the Buddhist ceremony Singing Dancing	(Learning by being told)	after transferring knowledge -Giving feedback/ suggestion	students - Problem of transfer duration - Lack of interested students
	Belief and ceremony (Tacit knowledge)	<i>Wai Kroo</i> ceremony Sacred beliefs of Thai traditional drum	Learning from participating in the ceremony	Observing their behaviors	Some knowledge is not transferred
Descendants	Technique (Tacit knowledge)	Professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drum for performing with group Singing Dancing	Observing and learning indirectly (<i>Kru Pak Rak Jum</i>)	-Observing their skills during practicing and performing with group members -Giving feedback/ suggestion	Some descendants do not want to join the group.
	Belief and ceremony (Tacit knowledge)	<i>Wai Kroo</i> ceremony Sacred beliefs of Thai traditional drum	Learning from participating in the ceremony	Observing their behaviors	Some knowledge is not transferred
Elderly people	Technique (Tacit knowledge)	Basic techniques of playing Thai traditional drum for exercise	Demonstrating and telling directly (Learning by being told)	Observing and giving suggestion	Problem of transfer duration

Recommendations

Based on the findings, this research recommends that:

- 1) The local philosophy should set up networks with other Thai traditional drum groups in order to transfer and preserve their valuable knowledge. Moreover, this process can develop their skills and techniques of playing Thai traditional drum by using *Kru Pak Rak Jum* method.
- 2) The community should publicize this group as the community's heritage in order to make local people proud of their local knowledge and interested in learning Thai traditional drum.
- 3) Teaching techniques should be trained to the local philosophers in order to make primary school students interested in learning Thai traditional drum.

- 4) The community should support the local philosophers to teach continuously at the Center for Local Wisdom Learning in order to develop students and local people's techniques of playing Thai traditional drum.
- 5) There should be a knowledge management system for the local philosophers to transform their tacit knowledge, especially which is not transferred such as professional techniques of playing Thai traditional drum, making Thai traditional drum, making a sacred ceremony for Thai traditional drums and composing a song, into explicit knowledge in various methods such as video recording and documents in order to preserve their knowledge.
- 6) This group should adapt their Thai traditional drum performance including their songs and dancing to meet the needs of the customer in order to survive.

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The Polarization of Hindi and Urdu

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Topic:

Twentieth century Hindi and Urdu short story literature

The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a large, light blue circular arc that is partially open at the bottom. A smaller, light red circular arc is positioned behind the main blue arc, creating a layered effect.

The Polarization of Hindi and Urdu, Christine Everaert, North Carolina State University

1. Introduction

The histories of Hindi and Urdu, as well as their literatures, have such a complex, intertwined relationship that it is virtually impossible to draw a line to indicate what belongs to which heritage. In many cases, both language communities claim the works of the same author as 'theirs', like Kabir or Premchand. In such instances, even the fact that the author might have originally written his literature in 'the opposite script', the most distinct marker of the languages, is often disregarded.

Research for my book *Tracing the Boundaries between Hindi and Urdu; Lost and Added in Translation between 20th Century Short Stories* indicated that translation of short stories from one language into the other often results in surprising cultural adaptations between the two versions. In modern times, translations of short stories from one sister language to the other increasingly seems to come down to rendering a text more attuned to the Hindu or Muslim community.

Modern fiction dealing with Sufism, written in the style of the classical Persian *dāstān*¹, or texts that appeal to a hybrid religious atmosphere take up a special place in my research. Reference to Sufism, a religion in its own right, frequently occurs in modern popular culture in South Asia (short stories, songs, films). However, when such 'Sufic literature' gets translated between Urdu and Hindi, the translation often seems to result in a cultural adaptation of the narrative.

The original Urdu version of an early twentieth century short story by the popular author Premchand and its 1960s translation take a central place in this article. I will discuss the nature of the adaptations made between the two versions and the impact these have on the story. These findings will be compared to the findings of a comparative study I published between the Urdu and Hindi version of a short story by Qurratulain Hyder.² We will discuss the findings in light of the challenges Sufism is facing as a hybrid religion in a climate where extremism seems to be on the rise. The comparison of these stories, written in different decades of the twentieth century can give us an indication of current trends in the attitude towards Sufism in South Asia.

¹ This literary form will be discussed under 2.

² Everaert, 2010, pp. 85-103.

2. The modern short story and religion

The modern Hindi and Urdu short story, inspired by the Western genre, covers a broad spectrum of topics and styles. I have singled out short stories in which religion, and more specifically Sufism takes a central place. In this article, in which we will have a closer look at what happens when such short stories get translated from Hindi into Urdu or vice versa. As often rightly assumed, when a 'translation'³ happens between Hindi and Urdu, we come across replacements of Perso-Arabic words by Sanskritic words or the other way around. However, when dealing with short stories that feature religion in topic or style, the impact of replacements based on etymology seems to be bigger and more substantial. After providing the background and context of the selected short stories, I will illustrate this with concrete examples.

Many scholars consider Premchand 'the father of the Hindi-Urdu short story' and credit him with the oldest short story, *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan*.⁴ This story, famous for being banned by the British for being seditious, was published in Urdu in 1907⁵ and was his first original short story. This piece of prose still reminds us strongly of a *dāstān*, a literary form that generally is described as an imaginative narrative. It often takes the shape of a love story, a heroic story or Islamic religious narrative in a popular presentation, possibly having didactic and/or Sufic content. In *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan*, the protagonist Dilfigar is sent on a quest to find the most precious thing in the world, in order to prove his love to queen Dilfareb, who is described as the Goddess of Beauty. After a long quest, which turns out to be both a journey around the world and an inner journey, Dilfigar presents his object of love with the dried-up blood shed by a Rajput who gave his life for his country. A lot of the ponderations during his quest allude to Sufism and classical Muslim culture and history. This story in no way matches the Sufi

³ Some scholars will argue that Hindi and Urdu are so closely related that they are actually not two languages, but one and the same, and that consequently, one could not talk of a translation. However, because it is not just the script that is being changed, I prefer to use the term translation nonetheless.

⁴ I believe that this claim can be disputed. It is a fact that Sajjad Hyder Yildirim published several short stories in Urdu before that date. I believe his *Nashe ki pahli tarang* from 1900 might be more deserving of the honour.

⁵ There is controversy about the date. 1907 is the date Premchand himself quoted, but this does not seem to be supported by archival evidence. (Gopal, 1964, p. 50) The oldest found published version of this story dates back to 1908 in the collection "*Soz-e watan*" (Gopal, 1964, p. 65).

enigma that Qurratulain Hyder's *Malfūzāt-e Hājī Gul Bābā Bektāshī* is, but still clearly requires some understanding of Sufism and Sufic literature in order to fully appreciate the story. With this narrative, Hyder not only presents us a story that requires an in-depth knowledge of the complex history and terminology and principles of Sufism, but the story in itself can be seen as a Sufi exercise that requires multiple readings in order for the reader to grasp its essence.⁶

The sources for *dāstāns* in South Asia have been recognized as Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit classical works of literature.⁷ The description of this narrative that obviously is strongly connected to Islam makes it very clear how certain Islamic cultural products in Asia have been indebted to Indian Sanskritic culture. Even though the *dāstān* is without argument a literary form that has found its way to South Asia from the Islamic world, it was in the first place shaped by Sanskrit stories⁸ as well as Arabic and Persian ones, before returning to South Asia in the form of Islamic stories. It is telling how this 'unambiguous Muslim' literary product is in fact a result from centuries of cross-pollination between Hinduism and Islam. As much as the incorporation of Hindu elements in Sufism and the influence of Islam on South Asian culture is commonly recognized and anticipated, there is considerably less attention being paid to the cultural and literary traces Hinduism left on Islamic literature and culture.

3. Sufism: a thin line between Islam and Hinduism?

It is virtually impossible to describe Sufism in just a few lines. Sufism is generally defined as mystical Islam or the inner dimension of Islam. One could state that an essential characteristic of a Sufi is his search for union with God. Often dancing, singing, meditating and even the intake of intoxicating substances are considered acceptable ways to find this unification. As Shahid Chaudhary argues in his *Sufism is not Islam*, one of the essential differences is that in Islam, God is unique and man cannot be part

6 For an elaborate discussion and analysis of this story, see Everaert, 2010, pp. 89-103. An annotated translation of the story has been included on the Cd-Rom that is included in the book.

7 Hanaway, 1994, p. 102-103.

8 In the sixth century, Burzoe travelled from Persia to India and brought back the Pancatantra, providing the basis for the Persian classic *Kalīla wa Dimna*. (Claus, 2003, p. 579)

of God's soul, as this would imply plurality of God. In Sufism however, the soul is considered part of the Divine Soul and the aim of life for a Sufi is to find unification of his soul and the Divine Soul. The credendum "*lā ilāha il-lāh*" is interpreted by mainstream Islam as: "There is no God but God". However, in Sufism the interpretation "There is nothing but God" became prevalent. As everything in the world is seen as a manifestation of God, and as man is able to reach unity with God, idolatry, adoration of saints and the like are permitted and even popular in Sufism. Moreover, the journey or path to reach unity with God is personal, hence making the need for a prophet or messenger redundant.⁹ As a consequence, some groups of Muslims (often identified as Wahabi and Mujahidin) do not see Sufism as a part of Islam.

Islam had already influenced India before the subcontinent came under Muslim rule with Qutub ud-Din Aybak (1206). As described by many historians throughout the centuries, the majority of Muslim converts in South Asia became Muslim by free choice and not by force. The first Muslim invaders started entering the South Asian territory a mere fifteen years after the death of Muhammad. Even according to colonial sources, the early invaders did not seem to have a real interest in conversion. Sir Arnold states that "the offer of Islam was generally made to the unbelieving Hindus before an attack was made upon them"¹⁰, but after acceptance, none of the rulers seemed to be bothered too much with the duration of the conversion and most returned to being Hindu without being penalized. Moreover, Sir Arnold adds that the most successful and lasting conversions to Islam seem to have happened in Indian Territory that was not under solid Muslim rule, like South India and Eastern Bengal.

The first conversions in the South happened in the seventh century as a result of local merchants doing business with merchants coming from Iraq, with whom there had already been an established relationship since pre-Islamic times.¹¹ It is these interactions that lie at the basis of the Mapilla, a large Muslim community in South India.¹² However, conversions due to contact with individual learned religious men from Sufi, Ismaili and other sects of Islam proved to be far more influential.¹³ Figures like Pir Sadr ud-Din, who decided to take on a Hindu name and write a book in which he introduced Ali as the tenth avatar of Vishnu and Muhammad as Brahma, lies

⁹ Chaudhary, 1998, pp. xi-xxxvii

¹⁰ Arnold, 1896, p. 210.

¹¹ Randathani, 2007, pp. 23-34.

¹² Arnold, 1896, p. 209-216.

at the basis of a large Muslim community in present day South Asia. With his adapted version of 'Islam', he managed to touch a local Hindu community sufficiently to have them abandon their faith and adopt his hybrid, non-rigid form of Islam.¹⁴ As a result, a large component of Muslim society in South Asia has been and still is adhering to a religion that is a fusion of Hinduism and Islam. This hybrid religion generally recognized as Sufism, has in many aspects moved away from 'mainstream Islam' and could be considered a religion in its own right.

4. The translations

When we compare the circumstances under which the Hindi translation was made of the original Urdu edition of the stories, we can see that they were quite different for *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan* and for *Malfūzāt-e Hājī Gul Bābā Bektāshī*. In the latter case, the author had been involved in the translation process. On more than one occasion, Qurratulain Hyder pointed out that to her, translating was re-creating.¹⁵ In the case of *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan*, the Hindi translation was made over half a century after the original story had been written, after Premchand's demise. In the introduction to a Hindi collection of some of Premchand's stories that had previously not been made available in Hindi, his son Amrit Rai explains how he made the Hindi translations, trying to preserve "not only Munshi-ji's soul, but also his language and style."¹⁶

The original Urdu edition of *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan* contains a large number of not just Perso-Arabic words, but also pure Arabic words that are not commonly used in everyday Urdu. The text contains a large number of

13 Persian Ismailism and Sufism have a very close doctrinal affinity. (Daftary, 1998, pp. 169-170) For an overview of Sufis who played a role in conversion specifically in Malabar, see Randathani, 2007, pp. 34-44.

14 Arnold, 1896, pp. 224-226. Naseem, 2001, p. 279-280.

15 Mirza, 1998, p. 216.

16 Rai, 1962, pp. 3-7. The Hindi edition of the story is very hard to find. The 1962 translation by Amrit Rai not only seems to be the oldest Hindi edition, but was apparently also used in the later editions of the collection *Soz-e watan*. Although the editions from 1988 and 1995 do not credit Amrit Rai, they clearly have used his Hindi translation. (An. 1988. *Premchand; Soz-e watan* & Maharshi. 1995. *Munshi Premchand; Soz-e watan*)

izāfat-constructions as well, which is highly unusual in modern Urdu literature. The presence of these two exceptional characteristics can mainly be explained due to the fact that the story draws on the classical *dāstān* form, as mentioned above. The Hindi edition largely preserves the original Perso-Arabic vocabulary, much more so than is the case in most Hindi translations of Urdu short stories. Even Perso-Arabic words that are fairly uncommon in Hindi are retained.¹⁷ On other occasions, (Perso-)Arabic words were replaced with a Perso-Arabic equivalent and in a minority of instances, we find Perso-Arabic words being replaced with Sanskritic equivalents. In what follows, a few selected instances of such replacements will illustrate the impact of the replacements that were made between the Urdu and the Hindi edition.

5. Convergence and divergence

Throughout the Hindi text, the word *shay'* (thing) has been replaced by *cīz*.¹⁸ With the replacement of *shay'* by *cīz*, we first and foremost note that the translator has chosen a synonym with a Persian etymology for the Arabic word *shay'*. However, there are implications for the Hindi version with this substitution. The word *cīz* replaces a philosophical term with a word that can only refer to a material object. It is a Koranic term, used to indicate 'that which exists', whatever is caused to be, materialistically or ideally.¹⁹ Using the word *cīz*, only implying a material object, makes the story more mystifying as to why Dilfigar does not go on a quest looking for a precious object. Surely, the spilled blood of a patriot is all about the concept and not about the object that is actually brought back.

In the Hindi edition we find that the original 'Allah' has been replaced with 'Khudā'. Although both words have been used for centuries to refer to God in

¹⁷ I base these comparative statements on the linguistic study I presented in my book *Exploring the Boundaries Between Hindi and Urdu*, 2010. A few examples of Urdu words not commonly retained in the Hindi translation are: ma'shuuqiyat (state of being beloved), *khāk* (ashes), *kaiḥiyat* (condition), *ai kāsh* (how I wish), *hāsil* (obtained), *dāman* (clothes), *fidā'ī* (devotee), *fariyād* (cry for help), *hargiz nahīm* ☒ (never at all), *khastāhāl* (dire state).

¹⁸ It must be noted that the word *cīz* was used alongside *shay* in the Urdu edition. In the Hindi edition, all the instances of *shay* were replaced by *cīz*, using *cīz* indiscriminately in all instances.

¹⁹ Chittick, 1989, p. 88. In Sufi and Islamic circles, the word *shay* is a topic of debate about whether or not the term can be applied to anything at all, can also be applied to God. In the sense of "entity", the term refers to what is as opposed to Being Itself.

Muslim communities that speak Persian or a to Persian related language, there has been a growing opposition in Pakistan and Bangladesh against the use of the word *Khudā*. Ayub Khan was the one who suggested Arabic as the national language for East- and West Pakistan in 1951²⁰, and this is marked as the start of the Arabization of Urdu in Pakistan. However, the large-scale replacement of *Khudā* by Allah is much more recent, as can be judged from the countless Urdu speakers looking for guidance in the matter on internet forums about 'the right Islam'. The fact that Premchand chooses to use the word Allah once more shows the influence of the classical *dāstān*. The choice of *Khudā* in the Hindi edition renders the story, though still Muslim, more 'Indian'.

The word '*qazā*' was replaced by '*maut*' in Hindi. Even though both mean 'death', the word '*qazā*', also meaning 'divine decree, predestination, fate and destiny' has a more profound meaning in context. The word occurs in the phrase '*qazā/maut kī āvāz*' (the voice or call of death) and is considered one of the invisible wonders by Dilfigar during his quest. The word *qazā* hints more clearly at the metaphysical quality of death, incorporating Muslim faith. The same goes for the replacement of '*azāb*' (torment) with '*musibat*' (disaster). While the latter can indicate any kind of disaster, '*azāb*', as in '*azāb-e qabar*' (the torment of the grave) is what, according to Islam, the wicked must suffer after death.²¹

In the Urdu version of the story, Dilfigar is dressed in an '*abā*', while this is replaced in the Hindi version with the Turkic word '*cogā*'. While both indicate a loose cloak, the word '*abā*' is a woolen cloak or habit that is specifically described as a garment worn by dervishes or *faqīrs*.²² The '*cogā*' on the other hand refers in India to a more sumptuous ceremonial cloak.²³ The '*abā*' cloak also occurs in stories describing episodes from the life of Muhammad and his wife Fatima, who plays an important role in Sufism.²⁴ Reference to Sufism is eliminated by this replacement.

20 Brown & Ganguly, 2003, pp. 76-77.

21 Dictionarium Sacrum, 1704, alphabetical under '*azabe kaberi*'.

22 Platts, 1974, p. 758.

23 Sharma, Giri & Chakraverty, 2006, p. 246.

24 Spellman, 2004, p. 78.

When Dilfigar runs in on a gathering of people who are about to hang a prisoner, the attending *qāzis* (i.e. Islamic judges) are described in Urdu as '*āpas mem* *ghurfish kar rahe the*', which is changed in the Hindi version to '*salāh-mashvirā kar rahe the*'. The equivalent chosen in Hindi are actually two Arabic words, which both mean 'consultation, advice'. However, the original Urdu choice '*ghurfish*' is in all Urdu dictionaries translated as "reproof, chiding, threatening, threat, intimidation, bullying (as of a coward who affects bravery), and bluster."²⁵ This changes the way the *qāzis* are perceived by Dilfigar in the story. They change from being cowards in a powerful position in Urdu to being a board of wise men in Hindi. Dilfigar ends up considering the tears shed by the prisoner when seeing an innocent child as possibly the most precious jewel in the world. The *qāzis* are the ones who hold the power to execute this man. Dilfigar's sympathy for the prisoner allows him to show some disdain for these figures of authority in Urdu, but not in Hindi. This is in accordance with the research in my book pointing out that there seems to be a tendency in Hindi to show more honorific language towards people of higher status, while there seems to be more room for showing disrespect towards such individuals in Urdu.²⁶

It is clear from this small selection of replacements between Arabic vocabulary and Perso-Arabic vocabulary that such replacements are not intended to replace the Sufic characteristics of the text with Hindu or other religious elements. Obviously, the fact that translator Amrit Rai consciously tried to preserve the original style of the story played an important role in the outcome of the translation. About three times more replacements of one Perso-Arabic by another Perso-Arabic word were made between the Urdu and Hindi editions of *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan* than was the case between the two versions of *Malfūzāt-e Hājī Gul Bābā Bektāshī*.

However, the situation is different in the cases where Perso-Arabic words were replaced with Sanskritic words, as the following few samples will illustrate. The word *jazba* (emotion, passion, cosmic emotion)²⁷, a concept essential to the Sufi dervish to find inspiration,²⁸ has been replaced with *bhāvanā* (consciousness, emotion, implicit belief, creative contemplation),

²⁵ Platts, 1974, p. 770.

²⁶ Everaert, 2010, pp. 137-139.

²⁷ Louw, 2007, p. 112

²⁸ Hanif, 200, p. 278.

which is a concept of importance in the Hindu Bhakti Movement.²⁹ Both words describe complex concepts within their philosophical systems and are equally untranslatable with just one word. Whatever the exact nature and full extent of these concepts might be, it is clear that Amrit Rai has chosen to apply a 'cultural transplantation' here rather than a translation.³⁰

We see a similar replacement when '*tasadduq*' is replaced with '*nyochāvar*'. Both words are used in the sense of 'sacrifice'. However, the word '*tasadduq*' has a strong religious connotation, not only meaning alms, but also referring to the sacrificial animal.³¹ The Sanskritic '*nyochāvar*' can also refer to "money which is scattered at marriages and on other festive occasions (...), a present or offering (to a great personage)"³² in a Hindu context. Sacrifices are usually made in both religious communities to ward off the evil eye.³³

The Urdu '*ma'siyat*' has been replaced by '*pāp*' and '*siyah kār*' by '*pāpī*'. '*Ma'siyat*' is traditionally the word used in Arabic to refer to 'sin' in a religious context. A '*siyah kār*' is the general term in Urdu to refer to a sinner or 'evil doer'. '*Pāpa*' and '*pāpī*' on the other hand are terms that go back to Vedic literature and are strongly related to the concept of *karma*.³⁴ '*Pāpa*' is evil or sinful deeds that generate bad *karma* for Hindus.

29 Klostermaier, 2007, p. 188-190.

30 Term coined by Dickins, Hervey & Higgins, 2002, p. 29-32.

31 Privratsky, 2001, p. 306.

32 Platts, 1974, p. 1126.

33 Privratsky, 2001, p. 306; Raker & Shukla, 2002, p. 627.

34 Klostermaier, 2007, p. 526.

All the replacements in which the translator has chosen a word that has the same cultural implications in the culture of the target language, indicate that Rai made a choice to replace a Sufi concept with a Hindu concept. As illustrated above, Sufism has been indigenous to South Asia for centuries and its followers come from a very diverse geographical, socio-economic and linguistic background. Regardless of the linguist background of the South Asian population, it is safe to state that people are familiar with terminology that refers to other religions or philosophical systems. Even though the most up-to-date dictionaries do not always reflect the actual language usage, it still is significant to note that the replaced Urdu words have been listed in Hindi dictionaries. We could thus argue that the concepts are not entirely alien to Hindi speakers, even though many of them might be more familiar with the Hindi/Hindu replacements. Nonetheless, the fact that these Sufi terms were replaced with Hindu equivalents indicates that to a certain extent, Sufism is equated with Urdu speakers and with Islam rather than with a hybrid religion that has as many Hindi speaking as Urdu speaking followers.

6. Conclusion

Contrary to what I had encountered in the Hindi translation of *Malfūzāt-e Hājī Gul Bābā Bektāshī*, Amrit Rai has tried in many instances to replace Perso-Arabic words with Perso-Arabic words, and he often replaced Arabic words with Persian words. Where Qurratulain Hyder seems to be occupied with making the story into a more Hindu equivalent, Amrit Rai appears to rather have a priority to render his father's story 'more Indian'. As indicated in the preface to the short story collection, he wanted to preserve as much of the language and the style of his father's Urdu story as possible. It seems that this 1962 translation tries to bring the story closer to the people of India, shying away not from all Perso-Arabic words, not by Sanskritizing, but by Persianizing the vocabulary where pure Arabic words have been used. Only in some instances did he choose to replace philosophical Perso-Arabic terminology with Sanskritic synonyms that convey a similar philosophical concept rather than preserve a concept closely connected to Islam and not just Sufism. One can wonder whether the fact that Premchand wrote this story as an anti-British story rather than merely an expression of religion has influenced Rai's choices. After all, this story is set and written in a time where Hindus and Muslims often united against the British crown rather than emphasized the differences between their religious communities.

Qurratulain Hyder's translation came almost three decades later and clearly, the original short story was very consciously written as a Sufi short story. She herself indicated that she had "employed esoteric Bektashi terminology in the narrative."³⁵ My previous research suggested that Qurratulain Hyder

35 Hyder, 1994, p. xv.

tailored her translations specifically to prevalent values and ethics of the community of the target language.³⁶ In her translations, we find many more replacements where Sanskritic words substitute Perso-Arabic words, resulting in a partial replacement of Sufi doctrine by Hindu doctrine. It insinuates that the author -and here also translator- equates Hindi with Hinduism and both Urdu and Sufism with Islam.

In the case of *Duniyā kā sabse anmol ratan*, rather than having selected Sufism as a topic of the story, Premchand selected the style of the *dāstān* to write a story with a greater message. He used a then popular literary form to propagate patriotism. The Sufi character of the story in this case was a tool, not a purpose. Hence, the impact of the changes in the translation is less substantial, but still take away from the depth of the original story. Moreover, the relationship between the Muslim protagonist and the fallen Hindu hero is one of admiration, mutual respect and affinity. The Hindu is a hero in the eyes of the Muslim Dilfigar as well as the Muslim queen Dilfireb. This story was originally written in a time when Hindus and Muslims found themselves uniting against a common oppressor, the British Crown. The Hindi translation of the Urdu story has been made in the same spirit: although there are some clearly Sufi and Muslim aspects of the text that have been replaced by Hindu concepts, there is a lot of room left for a hybrid culture between both communities.

Translations that have been made in the last two to three decades appear to be more rigorous in the replacements of Sufi terminology by Hindu concepts. Obviously, the findings of this article and my book invite further research on a larger corpus of stories. However, it seems clear that the hybrid Sufi culture, which is not considered Islamic by various Muslim groups, is considered Islamic in the eyes of Hindi translators. Although socially and historically, the hybrid South Asian Sufism cannot be seen as a religion practiced by Hindi or Urdu speakers, many Hindi translators treat Sufi terminology as alien, Islamic and in need of translation or cultural transplantation.

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³⁶ Everaert, 2010, pp. 85-103.

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Refining Kung Fu Body: The Spectacle of *Kung Fu Panda*



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Refining Kung Fu Body: The Spectacle of *Kung Fu Panda*

Kung Fu Panda (2008) gained rapturous acclaim and conjured more than \$630 million worldwide (BBC news). It was nominated for Oscar as the best animated feature film of the year and won twelve awards internationally (The Internet Movie Database, abbreviated as IMDB). Reviews of the film were consistently positive, celebrating the superb execution of a relatively generic plot (Cinematical), the fluidity of hyper-realistic 3-D animation (New York Times), as well as the excellent performance of voice casting (Times Online). The sequel of the film, *Kung Fu Panda: The Kaboom of Doom*, is being made and going to be released in 2011 (IMDB). While attention has been paid to the technical aspects of the film, I suggest that there are significant cultural implications concerning its representations of Chinese martial arts, or more specifically, kung fu. The lovable panda that “knows kung fu” is an ideological construct that is culturally and theoretically complex. In Roland Barthes’s term, the film plays with the “myth” of the Chinese kung fu. There are unspoken assumptions about China in the film and they indirectly symbolize an ideological struggle between China and the West through different representations of martial arts.

The film will be scrutinized by Edward Said’s theory of orientalism and Stuart Hall’s ideas of stereotyping. The paper will be an inquiry into the idea of authenticity in terms of cultural representations. By means of naturalization, essentialization and animalization, the film relegates Chinese kung fu, and hence China, to the inferior side of the binary discourse. Nevertheless, such a reconstruction of the Chinese Other might bring about new insights on cinematic representations of kung fu body. Digital technology can be a productive means to reinvent the waning kung fu genre in an age of digital reproduction.

The first question one may pose to *Kung Fu Panda* might be its title. On the one hand, it is a juxtaposition of two different languages. Kung fu is literally borrowed from Chinese, generally understood as the embodiment of Chinese martial arts; whereas panda is an English word for “arboreal, chiefly herbivorous, raccoon-like mammal” (Oxford English Dictionary). The phrase, therefore, is a linguistic hybrid. On the other hand, the phrase brings together two distanced concepts – kung fu and panda. The former is a specific form of martial arts practice in the southern part of China, cinematically exemplified by the realistic styles of martial arts actors in Hong Kong cinema such as Kwan Tak Hing in the 1950s and Bruce Lee in the 1970s. Epistemologically speaking, the subject of kung fu is human. Then, Panda, commonly thought as an (adorable) animal, should not be involved with kung fu. Apart from the panda itself, the high kick of the panda, as the poster of the film suggests, is an important marker that signifies difference. Those kicks are undeniably the signature of Bruce Lee. The world of Lee is fundamentally different from that of the panda, considering the former often feature realistic and violent fight scenes (the same is true for the solemnity of Kwan Tak Hing’s *Wong Fei Hung* series). It is reasonable to assert that there is no direct relationship between kung fu and panda. One might probably point out that Jacky Chan’s films also manipulate kung fu in more or less the same comedic manner. He combines the solemn origin of kung fu with comedy. Truly, kung fu panda is not novel in that sense. Yet kung fu the film is not treated as a form of martial arts, but as a sign or signifier. Strictly speaking, there is no real or authentic “kung fu” in the film, but a collection of various, mostly imagined and anonymous, fighting styles. The emphasis given by the title of the film, namely *Kung Fu panda*, is only a substitute for the “myth” of Chinese kung

fu.

The plot of *Kung Fu Panda* is quite generic. It presents to viewers how a clumsy, fat panda named Po (voice casted by Jack Black) can be turned into a legendary kung fu warrior destined to rescue his village from destruction. In Stuart Hall's essay "The Spectacle of the Other", the focus of his discussion is "racial and ethnic difference" (225). The discourse of Otherness is largely constructed through *visible* difference – namely the body. Instead of focusing on racial and ethnic difference, the film pays attention to different manifestations of a certain cultural form – martial arts. Similar to the discourse of Otherness constructed around gender and race, kung fu, or martial arts in general, is a *visible* difference. Therefore, the emphasis placed on "kung fu" in the film title – *Kung Fu Panda* – is an attempt to "appropriate 'difference' into a spectacle" (273).

In addition to kung fu, panda is another important marker of difference. It is a fetish object fascinated by most westerners, especially children. As the name of the title character, Po (寶), suggests, it has connotation with something exquisite and precious. Treated with full care by the Chinese government, panda is often imagined as the embodiment of "Chineseness" and there is undeniably an aura around it. Yet kung fu and panda are merely two micro differences covered by a much bigger one – China. The color and style of the film poster are reminiscent of Chinese propaganda posters in the Maoist era. The use of red and orange color in the background with strips radiating from the subject in the center is a clear reference to Chinese communist arts in the 50s. The main characters of the film – crane, monkey, mantis, tigress and viper – are five major fist styles in a particular Chinese *wushu* school called *shaolin wuxing quan* (shaolin five shapes fists; 少林五形拳). Indeed, the marking of these differences is *not a coincident* (a phrase often repeated by Master Oogway in the film). It carries more than a denotative meaning and signifies westerner's fantasies of China.

According to Hall, stereotyping is one of the major representational practices through which the Other is constructed, fixed and naturalized. It "reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature" (257). At first glance, *Kung Fu Panda* is a film that glorifies the virtues of Chinese kung fu and China. As John Stevenson, the film director, comments, the film is a "great archetypal tale[s] of good and evil, and of the finest qualities coming out in people... it's a genre that should be honored, not parodied. That's what we set out to do, and I think we've done it" (DreamWorks Animation). Indeed, *Kung Fu Panda* presents to its viewers a seemingly wide variety of martial arts traditions in China, with magnificent portrayal of the most breathtaking landscapes/architectures in the continent and concise introduction to the profound Chinese philosophical thinking. Yet these are only *some* aspects of China and should never be treated as "the essentials", which are "fixed in Nature by a few, simplified characteristics" (249). Nevertheless, some characteristics of China are "essentialized" in the film and they largely become "stereotypes". Those stereotypes "fix" China and Chinese kung fu "forever in nature" (243). To begin with, it is necessary to recognize that there is a pair of binary opposition at work, namely, culture and nature. Since the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, the word "culture" has been monopolized by the west. Such a binary structure relegates "non-western" culture to the realm of the barbaric and uncivilized. This modernist sentiment, as Hall argues, still presents in today's popular media and *Kung Fu Panda* is one typical example. In addition, the manipulation of kung fu, Chinese architecture and landscape is what Jeffrey Cass describes as "a process of representational 'othering' that feeds into and is, in turn, fed by a prior and collective understanding of [the Other]" (243). In *Kung Fu Panda*, the kung fu school is a mysterious temple called "the Jade Palace", which is located at the top of a "legendary" mountain. Almost every sacred artifact or notion is entrusted with the name of "dragon", such as the "Dragon Warrior" or the "Dragon Scroll". While the focus is put on

those grand structures and ideas, “the mundane rituals and cultural practices of everyday life” is forsaken (243). In Jeffrey Cass’s words, “even mundane objects [of the Other] become rife with mystery” (243). There is a scene when Po enters the interior of the Jade Palace, the Sacred Hall of Warriors, he is so surprised to see in person the artifacts left by legendary warriors in “the history of China”, including “Master Flying Rhino’s armor with authentic battle damage”, “The Sword of Heroes – Said to be so sharp you can cut yourself just by looking”, “The Invisible Trident of Destiny” and “The Legendary Urn of Whispering Warriors – Said to contain the souls of the Entire Tenshu Army”. This scene parallels the way western colonizers look at the exotic Others, as if they enter into a museum where the “authentic” can be experienced. But at the same time, spectators are “coerce[d] surreptitiously... into internalizing their experience of cultural others” and hence “reinforced an Orientalized version” of China (Cass 243-244). Now I will examine in detail three key representational strategies that construct the Oriental Other, which are naturalization, animalization and essentialization.

Naturalization can be understood in two levels within the context of *Kung Fu Panda*. First, it refers to the process that situates China in the Nature. In other words, every artifact, architecture, landscape, behavior and attire in the film needs to be distanced from the (modern) culture. Besides, time is usually not specified. It gives an *impression* of the ancient China while denying historical access. With the presence of various Chinese-style architecture, landscape and streets, China is seemingly “beyond history, permanent and fixed” (245). This leads to the second level of naturalization in the film, which is to make the representations of China appear “natural”. Yet the most important message is that the true mastery of kung fu *cannot* be “learned”, but can only be “awakened”. In contrasted with the Furious Five and Tai Lung, who have spent years on assiduous training, Po the Panda has only taken a short period of time to “know” kung fu and “realize” his identity as the Dragon Warrior. Comparing with *The Matrix*, where kung fu can be “downloaded” in a split second, *Kung Fu Panda* rejects artificiality and places kung fu learning in the realm of the nature. Some of the imageries are “ritualized degradation” while others are “sentimentalized” and “idealized” (245). Though *Kung Fu Panda* comprises both types of imageries, the representational strategy of naturalization is deployed in order to “fix ‘difference’... halt the inevitable ‘slide’ of meaning... [and] secure discursive or ideological ‘closure’” (245). In brief, kung fu and China are “eternally” fixed in the ancient time and kung fu learning is often represented not as a cultural process, but a natural enlightenment.

In fact, the practice of naturalization in *Kung Fu Panda* is unprecedented in the sense that it uses animals to represent Chinese people, including pigs, tigress, crane, mantis, monkeys, rabbits, snake, raccoon, and turtle, etc. Not only does the film emphasize the natural landscape of China (the habitat), there is also an attempt to “animalize” its inhabitants so that the representational practice of naturalization would appear even more “natural”. Most viewers do not notice the atrocity of this animalization due to, perhaps, the fact that many digital animations today also feature the everyday life and experience of animals. All of these have independent context (e.g. in the sea, in the forest), which does not involve a representation of any particular human being, race or country in the form of an animal. *Kung Fu Panda*, however, makes clear reference to China. For instance, Po says in the beginning of the film, “even the most heroic heroes in *all of China*, the Furious Five, bowed in respect to this great master” (emphasis added). The story of *Kung Fu Panda* is told in a way that it seems to be authentic in the history of China. While John Stevenson, the director, claims that kung fu genre needs to “be honored, not parodied”, he has in turn “parodied” the nation that gives birth to kung fu. In addition, *Kung Fu Panda*, if one reads closely enough, does not “honor” the kung fu genre, but put it in disgrace. In fact, such an animalization of kung fu and Chinese people is “an extreme form of reductionism” (266). Briefly speaking, Chinese people and her culture are “pathologized” and turned into “a set of separate objects” (266). This kind of digital representation is irreversible and the Other is incapable of

refusing such a representation. According to Edward W. Said, this Orientalist treatment of the Other is “a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (3). China, Chinese and kung fu in the film are “defined” and do not have the voices to speak for themselves. Watching the film is in fact participating in the violent discourse of orientalism and contributing to the process of Othering. Superficially, *Kung Fu Panda* is digital animation featuring adorable animals and showing a respect to Chinese culture. But when all those “covers” are removed, one can see that there is a problematic discourse of the Other. As Hall remarkably says, “...what is visually produced, by the practices of representation, is only half the story. The other half – the deeper meaning – lies in what is not being said, but is being fantasized, what is implied but cannot be shown” (263).

Before Stevenson declares his success of “honoring the kung fu genre”, it is necessary to have a proper understanding of the genre. First and foremost, the most possible genre of the film is not kung fu, but kung fu comedy. The poster explicitly references Stephen Chow’s *Shaolin Soccer* (2001). While it is true that kung fu comedy is not novel, *Kung Fu Panda* is in nature different from the films by Jacky Chan and Stephen Chow. In *Snake in the Eagles’s Shadow* (1978) and *Drunken Master* (1978), Chan practices authentic *Wuxing Quan* (Five Shapes Fist; 五行拳) and *Zui Quan* (Drunken Boxing; 醉拳), not to mention his own martial arts training over the years. Even in *Shaolin Soccer* (2001) and *Kung Fu Hustle* (2004), Chow demonstrates some signature moves of Bruce Lee and the traditional kung fu body. However, kung fu Panda cannot be categorized in the genre of kung fu comedy, not because of its medium as digital animation, but of its representation of kung fu – which does not exist at all. It is not my intention to deny the creativity of DreamWorks or to argue that anything surreal is unacceptable. But my concern is that such a representation might be culturally problematic. Take the movie poster as an illustration, the high side kick by Po, the title character, never appears in the whole film. The explicit reference to Bruce Lee is just a means to attract moviegoers rather than an end. In Baudrillard’s term, it has “the signs of the real”. Yet it is more striking that those signs do not even show up in the film. *Kung Fu Panda*, therefore, is more likely to be a “parody” rather than a “comedy”.

Apart from the intertextual reading, the style of fighting in *Kung Fu Panda* is both physically impossible and largely fantastical, resembling to the tradition of *wuxia* rather than to kung fu. For example, Po manipulates his belly to absorb the attacks of Tai Lung and blows him up to the sky by the rebound of the same belly; in an earlier occasion, Tai Lung attacks the vital points of the Furious Five and “freezes” them on spot as if they are petrified; in the final battle, when Po gets hold of Tai Lung’s index finger and executes “the wuxi finger hold” (the master stroke of Shifu), the whole village is submerged in a golden ring which expands outward like an explosion. All these actions, which can be commonly found in Chinese *wuxia* novels and Japanese action manga like *Dragon Ball*, are now repackaged under the name of “kung fu” on the silver screen. The representation of kung fu as “natural” (cannot be learned culturally) and “fantastical” (*wuxia*) inevitably marks a distance between the spectator and the authentic Chinese martial arts. This process of mystification, similar to naturalization, is able to secure kung fu in the past, removing any concrete relation of kung fu to the present China. One of the most striking examples in the film is the beginning monologue by Jack Black, who retells the dream of Po in a highly stylized narrative. Imitating the voice of an old storyteller, he huskily says, “Legend tells of a legendary warrior... whose kung fu skills were the stuff of legend”. This “legendary” statement inevitably situates the film as well as Chinese kung fu in the framework of the “legend” – which does not necessarily have to exist at all. The kung fu Other is psychoanalytically threatening and therefore such a mystification can “romanticize, and incorporate otherness, turning it into a nonthreatening, but well paying, commodity sign” (Jhally 162).

In brief, the film *essentially* treats the subject (object) of Chinese kung fu as a “unified whole”. By definition, kung fu, came from the southern Guangdong region, is historical, socially, geographically and even cinematically specific; and Chinese martial arts, or *wushu*, is never a unified concept. It has thousands of schools with both armed and unarmed combat traditions. The film attempts to blend together the real Chinese martial arts (kung fu or *wushu*) with various cinematic traditions (*wuxia* or kung fu comedy). Combined into a singular notion, kung fu appears to be transcendental, wholistic and universal. As Said says, “the Orient was a word which later accrued to it a wide field of meanings, associations, and connotations, and these did not necessarily refer to the real Orient but to the field surrounding the word” (“Western Representations” 203). The complexity of kung fu and the kung fu genre is reduced and essentialized into an ambiguous, unified concept.

Kung fu is a cinematic genre depending on “bodily sensations”, both on the parts of martial artist and spectators (Hunt 2). This might be a display of muscular kung fu body, “shrieks and roars” of Bruce Lee, or “aftershocks that follow definitive strikes” (William 140). However, what we see in *Kung Fu Panda* is not the muscular body of traditional martial artist, but an overweight, amateur fighter with a huge belly. Considering the characterization of *Kung Fu Panda*, it can be seen as a parallel to the current relationship between traditional martial artists and Hollywood celebrities. Master Shifu, the Furious Five and Tai Lung are representations of traditional martial artists, who have disciplined themselves over the years and gained comprehensive knowledge about martial arts; whereas Po is an outsider, who does not have proper martial arts training and most of his martial arts knowledge come from popular representations. Placing these two groups of character in the context of cinema, the former resembles authentic martial artists from the Hong Kong cinema, such as Bruce Lee, Jacky Chan, Jet Li, and Donnie Yen, etc. They are representatives of the traditional martial arts trainer, who have a solid kung fu base and adopt a realistic representation of kung fu in their films; whereas the later, Po, can find its relevant counterpart in nowadays Hollywood action cinema. Actors and actresses who have no concrete previous martial arts training can be the title characters of action films or even “kung fu” films. There is a scene where Po visits the Furious Five and attempts to express his enthusiasm over kung fu to the masters he has long admired, the reply he receives is “you don’t belong here. I mean, you don’t belong in the Jade Palace. You’re a disgrace to kung fu and if you have any respect for who we are and what we do. You will be gone by morning”. If there is a tension between Po and the Furious Five in *Kung Fu Panda*, the same sentiment exists between traditional martial artists and Hollywood stars, authentic martial arts and its digital reproduction.

The rapid transformation of Po can be read in the larger context of digital action cinema, where celebrities actually *become* “the chosen one” in a relatively short amount of time. The “secret ingredient” or the “dragon scroll” of *Kung Fu Panda* is digital technology. Intriguingly, such a digitalization of martial arts is not quite acknowledged in Hollywood. In *Kung Fu Panda*, the “Dragon Scroll” is blank with nothing written inside and the so-called “secret ingredient” is just a lie. As Po’s father says, “the secret ingredient of my secret ingredient soup... is nothing. There is no secret ingredient!” This corresponds well with what the director of *Charlie’s Angels* says on the film’s DVD commentary, “they [the Hollywood actresses] are all doing their own stunts and they are all doing their own thing” (Hunt 186). The digital reproduction of martial arts is denied so that the problem of authenticity can be settled. Sure enough, those celebrities (e.g. Keanu Reeves) have their martial arts training with correspondent “shifu” (e.g. Yuen Wo Ping). But this trend of “authenticating” Hollywood stars might undermine the function of traditional kung fu body and gradually transform the cinematic representation of kung fu.

When it comes to the actual representation of the kung fu body, *Kung Fu Panda* is subversive yet

innovative in terms of how the traditional body of martial artist can be completely deconstructed. In fact, the subversive image of panda as martial artist is not novel in the history of digital reproduction. A decade earlier, there is a digital fighting game called *Tekken 3* (1998) featuring a fighting panda. Not coincidentally, the fusion of kung fu (martial arts) and animal is the outcome of digital reproduction. The image of martial artist is subtly transformed. When the clumsy panda defeats the well-built Tai Lung, it seems to suggest that the traditional image of martial artist, who possesses a perfect body (e.g. Bruce Lee), is no longer significant. In fact, this subversive message can be commonly found in today's age of digital reproduction. Apart from the fighting panda in *Tekken 3* (1998), the latest installment of Tekken series – *Tekken 6: Bloodline Rebellion* (2009) – features an overweight fighter called Bob. In spite of his huge size, he moves and attacks swiftly, bearing resemblance to the small brother in Stephen Chow's *Shaolin Soccer* (2001), who is able to leap in the air through "light skills" (輕功). Even so, the realistic fighting system and setting of the digital game further enhance the idea that body is not necessarily important in martial arts training. The impossible and the unthinkable now enter into the realm of the real and the authentic. The image of the "extra size" fighter is so popular in the fighting genre of digital gaming that similar character named Rufus appears in another major title – *Street Fighter IV* (2009). Digital technology, whether in the form of gaming or animation, provides a platform for kung fu to remediate itself.

In brief, the represented kung fu body in digital animation is no longer a display of sensation. The focus of portrayal is shifted to character design and characterization. Animator puts tremendous work on a character's personality and appearance. These external factors affect the way he or she dresses, speaks and eventually, fights. The kung fu body is now represented not necessarily by the discourse of nature – extensive display of skin, but by different cultural markers. The notion of body in the world of digital gaming is integrated with the *mise-en-scène*. The digital body is intimately connected with the surrounding space and it creates a new display of sensation external to the martial art body itself.

Kung Fu Panda is never the first attempt of the West to turn the notion of kung fu into a spectacle. There is a scene in the very beginning of the film when Po dreams of himself being the Dragon Warrior and slaying a group of villains. The narrative says, "he was so deadly in fact that his enemies would go blind from overexposure to pure awesomeness". "My eyes!" one villain painfully shouted and the other one exclaims in admiration, "He's too awesome". The next shot immediately shows a rabbit waitress saying "And attractive. How can we repay you?" Then the key line by Po is "there is no charge for awesomeness or attractiveness". *Kung Fu Panda* is "awesome" and "attractive" in terms of its representation of Chinese kung fu and China. The charge, however, is given not to the West, but to the Oriental Other who is sacrificed at the expense of the film. Moving beyond ideological critiques, the film also sheds new insights to cinematic representations of the kung fu body, providing some ways to the waning kung fu genre to reinvent or remediate itself in an age of digital reproduction.

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Politics of Negotiation: Thai Gay Men's Appropriation of Public Space



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Politics of Negotiation: Thai Gay Men's Appropriation of Public Space

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“The objective of organising Bangkok Rainbow¹tours is to promote friendship. Now we have clearly distinguished between seminar and sight-seeing tours. For sight-seeing tours, we use ‘WE WAY,’ meaning ‘our way...a journey with travel companions’ and most importantly we also impose a strict rule of **‘no sex with travel companions.’** One of the reasons why some gay men feel reluctant to join gay groups is that they don’t want to be seen as negative. People often think of gay men as people who are obsessed with sex. This is why some people are discouraged to join our tour. They are afraid that our tour could be a sex tour. They think that when there is promiscuous sex during the tour, the image of everyone will be tarnished. That is why we have to impose this rule and we clearly state that we do not organise sex tours and if they are interested in sex tours, they have to go with other operators. These tours are only for promoting friendship.”

(Nikom Arthit, the president of Bangkok Rainbow Organisation, cited in Chindawan Singkhongsin “‘Gay Tour’ No (Promiscuous) Sex?!? (*Ke Thua Mai Mua Sek*)’ in *Phuchatkan*³ April 28, 2009)

As masculine identified gay men have become increasingly visible in Thailand since 1965⁴, their non-normative sexuality has often drawn negative attention from the public. The representation of *gay* imagery in Thai public discourses often maintains the stereotypical misconception of these sexual minorities. People with non-normative gender and sexual identities have frequently been impersonated by comedians in the mainstream media as social outcasts who regularly exhibit socially ill-mannerisms such as being loud, having insatiable sexual appetite and so forth. However, it is also noticeable that an increasing number of Thai gay men, particularly those who are working in the entertainment business and gay rights groups, have steadily challenged this social misrepresentation by using the very same mainstream press as a platform to offer an alternative and more socially acceptable image of gay men. But, the way Thai gay men negotiate their appropriation of the public space reflects a substantial influence

¹The Bangkok Rainbow Organisation (*Ongkon Bangkok Renbo*) was formed in 2002 by a group of middle class Thai homosexuals to promote the social understanding and genuine acceptance of homosexuality in Thailand. (Surapong et al. 2006: 5)

²The romanisation of Thai words in this paper mostly complies with the Royal Institute of Thailand’s Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS). The RTGS does not include diacritics, which phonetically indicate variations in vowels and tones. The alternative transliteration of personal names preferentially adopted by Thai individuals remains unaltered. I also maintain the commonly used transliteration of certain words such as *kathoei*, rather than *kathoei*, according to the RTGS.

³*Phuchatkan* is a Thai language nationalist newspaper. It often sensationalises news of persons with non-normative genders and sexualities to draw public attention.

⁴The word *gay* appeared in the Thai press for the first time in October 1965. *Gay* was used by masculine-identified male prostitutes whose clients were mostly Western expatriates in Bangkok. Jackson (1999) and Terdsak (2002) provide full details regarding Thai media’s discovery of *gay* identity in October 1965.

of *kalathesa*⁵ or contextual sensitivity on their unofficial campaign for social inclusion of Thai gay men. The statement of the Bangkok Rainbow President as quoted above highlights the concern over the positive presentation of social image or *phaplak*, arguably shared by a lot of Thai gay men due to social criticisms over the ‘excessively’ sexual connotations, attached to the label *gay*.

Thais’ taboo against public discussions of sex and sexuality has largely influenced the ways Thai gay men consider their public revelation of their same-sex attraction culturally improper. Although their homosexuality is regarded as an open secret among their families and friends, Thai gay men are still confronted with significant pressure to maintain their public image of having normative gender and sexual identities. This cultural taboo on sexual discussions, to an extent, problematises the identification with a socially sexualised label such as *gay* since *gay* not only defines the masculine gender expression of homosexually active persons as distinct from that of feminine *kathoey*⁶, but also highlights their non-normative sexual practises, regarded as ‘private’ in Thai culture. This mindset may explain the abjection of sex craving image, socially attached to the identity *gay*, stressed by the president of Bangkok Rainbow.

This paper discusses the contested representation of non-normative gender and sexual identities in Thai popular discourses to identify the on-going negotiation of Thai gay men for social inclusivity of their same-sex relations and also highlights the peripheral position of people with non-normative gender and sexual identities in Thai society. Firstly, I investigate the proliferation of *kathoey* and/or *gay*⁷ cinema in Thailand as there has been a significant increase in the number of Thai language films with *kathoey* or/and *gay* themes for mainstream audiences since the year 2000. Secondly, I discuss the ways Thai gay men have attempted to be socially accepted and to challenge social stereotypes attached to their non-normative gender and sexual identities. I highlight ‘the politics of negotiation’ employed by Thai gay public figures to widen the social empathy for the homosexual cause. An emphasis will also be made on Thai gay men’s concerns over their social inclusion and especially *kalathesa* or being seen as having the socially acceptable image as I believe this mindset is very pervasive among Thai gay communities.

The Proliferation of *Kathoey* and/or *Gay* Representations in Thai Cinema

⁵ Linguistically, *kalathesa* (*kala* + *thesa*) is a compound noun between a Pali/Sanskrit word *kala* (time) and a Sanskrit word *thesa* (place). *Kalathesa* literally means time and place. *Kalathesa* is often interpreted as ‘rules of social etiquettes’ or a personal articulation of proper behaviours in accordance with time and place. See Penny van Esterik (2000) for further investigation of *kalathesa* and Thai gender relations.

⁶ *Kathoey* is a traditional Thai term describing the indeterminacy of sex/gender in humans, animals, and plants. *Kathoey* is defined in the Royal Institute’s dictionary as a person who was born with both male and female genitalia, often known as *kathoey thae* or true *kathoey*. *Kathoey* has also been used to refer to both men and women whose gender characteristics and mannerisms are perceived of those belong to their biologically opposite sex/gender or *kathoey thiam* (pseudo *kathoey*). In contemporary popular discourses, *kathoey* has exclusively become a blanket term for male to female transvestites, transgenders, transsexuals and sometimes effeminate gay men. Despite being considered neutral for many *kathoey* people themselves, the word *kathoey* does imply a pejorative connotation of being ‘abnormal.’

⁷ The reason of using ‘and/or’ conjunctive phrase is to highlight the ambiguity of both *kathoey* and *gay* identification that they are often interchangeably conflated in Thai popular discourses.

The representation of male homosexuals in Thai mainstream cinema has noticeably increased since the start of the 21st century. The financial success and the popularity of *Satri Lek* (Yongyooth Thongkonthun 2000) can be said to have prompted the proliferation of *kathoey* and/or *gay* themed films for mainstream Thai audiences. Unlike gay themed films in the West, the proliferation of Thai *kathoey* and/or *gay* films is rather due to its commercial motivation. (Oradol Kaewprasert 2008) The following *kathoey* and/or *gay* themed films have been released in Thai mainstream cinemas after the national success of *Satri Lek* in 2000:

- 1) *Phrang Chomphu Kathoey Prachanban* (Kittikon Liao-Sirikun 2002, lit. Pink Camouflage: Kathoey in Battle, a.k.a. *Saving Private Tootsie*);
- 2) *Beautiful Boxer* (directed by Ekkachai Uea-khrongtham 2003);
- 3) *Huachai Thoranong* (Apichatpong Weerasethakul and Michael Shaowanasai 2003, lit. Dignified Heart, a.k.a. *The Adventure of Iron Pussy*);
- 4) *Satri Lek 2* (Youngyooth Thongkongthun 2003);
- 5) *Wai Huem Chia Krahuem Lok* (Poj Arnon 2003, a.k.a. *Cheerleader Queens*);
- 6) *Sat Pralat* (Apichatpong Weerasethakul 2004, lit. Monster, a.k.a. *Tropical Malady*);
- 7) *Kaeng Chani Kap I-Aep* (Yongyooth Thongkongtoon 2006, lit. Gang of Gibbons⁸ and Closeted Guy, a.k.a. *Metrosexual*);
- 8) *Namphrik Long Ruea* (Worapot Phothinet 2006, lit. Chili Paste in a boat or pot luck in Anglo-American sense, a.k.a. *Navy Boys*);
- 9) *Pleng Sutthai* (Pisarn Akkaraseranee 2006, lit. The Last Song, a.k.a. *The Last Song*);
- 10) *Koi Thoe Ke* (Yuthlert Sippapak 2007, lit. Run Gay Boy Run, a.k.a. *Ghost Station*);
- 11) *Ho Taeo Taek* (Poj Arnon 2007, lit. Screaming Queen Dorm, a.k.a. *Haunting Me*);
- 12) *Kho Hai Rak Chong Charoen* (Pongpat Wachirabunjong 2007, lit. Long Live Love, a.k.a. *Me, Myself*);
- 13) *Khu Raet*⁹ (Noppharat Phuttharattanamani 2007, lit. The Rhino Couple, a.k.a. The Odd Couple);
- 14) *Rak Haeng Sayam* (Chookiat Sakweerakul 2007, lit. Love of Siam,

⁸ *Chani* (lit. Gibbon) is a Thai gay slang for women. The story goes that women are euphemistically referred to as 'gibbon' because when a gibbon cries, it sounds like a Thai word *phua* or husband in English.

⁹ *Raet* or Rhinoceros in English is a slang describing persons who are flirtatious, promiscuous and slutty.

a.k.a. *The Love of Siam*);

14) *Phuean Ku Rak Mueng Wa* (Poj Arnon 2007, lit. Mate, I Love You, a.k.a. *Bangkok Love Story*);

15) *Tat Su Fut* (Jaturong Jokmok 2007, an inverted word order of *tut su fat*, - lit. Faq Fighter, a.k.a. *Kungfu Tootsie*);

16) *Na Khana Rak* (O Natthaphon 2008, lit. A Moment of Love, a.k.a. *A Moment in June*);

17) *Saeng Sattawat* (Apichatpong Weerasethakul 2008, lit. The Ray of Century, a.k.a. *Syndromes and a Century*)¹⁰;

18) *Taeo Te Tin Raboet* (Poj Arnon 2009, a.k.a. *Sassy Player*);

19) *Phi Tum Tim* (Sukit Narin 2009, lit. *Sissy Ghost*);

20) *Ho Taeo Taek Haek Krachoeng* (Poj Arnon 2009, a.k.a. *Haunting Me 2*);

21) *I Het Sot Phadetsuek* (Chaloem Wongphim 2010);

22) *Ho Taeo Taek Waek Chimi* (Poj Arnon 2011, a.k.a. *Haunting Me 3*)

The proliferation of *kathoey* and/or *gay* mainstream films has also driven small independent cinema production houses to cash in on the trend. Several independent *kathoey* and/or *gay* films have also been released exclusively for audiences in art house cinemas and often released in DVD format for home viewers only. These films are:

- 1) *Chan Rak Nai Phuchai Mi Ong*¹¹ (Tomoko Eruyoh. - lit. I love you, a man with xxx* a.k.a. *Miss Queen Thailand* (2003);
- 2) *Thang Rak Si Rung* (Yutthana Khunkhongsathian 2003, a.k.a. *Rainbow*);
- 3) *Tam Sai Nam* (Anucha Bunyawanthana 2004, a.k.a. *Down the River*)¹²;
- 4) *Rainbow Boys* (Thanyatorn Siwanukrow 2005, a.k.a. *Right by Me*);
- 5) *Silom Soi2* (Piya Rangsithianchai 2006);
- 6) *Club M2* (Annop Anawatch 2007);

¹⁰ Despite being shown in various international film festivals worldwide since 2006, the censored version of this film was eventually released in limited cinemas in Thailand in April 2008. Apichatpong initially decided against screening the cut version. The censored scenes of the film were replaced by black films.

¹¹ *Ong* here is a Thai gay slang, meaning a *kathoey* or gay guy who suddenly behaves unusually, especially for switching his/her preferred sexual role from being passive to becoming active. *Ong* originally refers to someone who is possessed by supernatural beings.

¹² This film was awarded the cinematic photography award at the 2004 Thai Short Films & Videos Festival, organised by Thai films Foundation and Thailand's Ministry of Culture. Periodically, Thai authority exercises its censorship towards homosexual messages on terrestrial televisions for fear of being bad example to impressionable youths. In June 2004, Thailand's Cultural Ministry issued a letter asking television stations to ban all references to homosexuality but this attempt failed to materialise into a permanent ban.

- 7) *Rak Mai Chamkat Niyam* (Phongchayut Sirisukwongsa 2007, a.k.a. *Unlimited Love*).

More than half of these films are comedies. Although *kathoey* and/ or *gay* identified characters are protagonists, their misgendered or exaggerated gender performances are seen as commercially viable and indispensable because their gender transgression is considered the laughing stock of the Thai public. As a result, the representation of these sexual minorities in Thai cinema is so unrealistic that certain issues such as same-sex romantic relationships are rarely discussed. Additionally, direct depiction of gay sexuality is also prohibited for mainstream audiences owing to the implementation of film classification law in 2008. Until now, four independent *kathoey* and/ or *gay* films are officially banned from screening in Thailand due to their explicit discussion of homosexual erotic desires¹³. These films are:

- 1) *Boriwen Ni Yu Phai Tai Kan Kakkan* (Thunskas Pansittivorakul 2009, a.k.a. *This Area Is Under Quarantine*);
- 2) *Chuti* (Thunskas Pansittivorakul 2010, a.k.a. *Reincarnate*);
- 3) *Insects in the Backyard* (Tanwarin Sukkhapsit 2010);
- 4) *Phu Ko Kanrai* (Thunskas Pansittivorakul 2011, a.k.a. *The Terrorists*).

Politics of Negotiations: Contesting for ‘Acceptable’ Gayness

The increasing number of *kathoey* and/or *gay* films, released in the Thai mainstream market for the last decade, does not indicate the absence of anti-homosexual sentiments in Thai society. The majority of these films reproduce negative stereotypes, socially associated with *kathoey* and *gay* identities. Many stereotypical characteristics such as insatiable appetite for sex, ill-awareness of *kalathesa* and essentially non-normative hyper-feminine mannerisms of some *kathoey* and effeminate *gay* characters, are often considered as ‘laughable’ for mainstream audiences. These eccentric and comical behaviours become a ‘selling point’ for most of *kathoey* and/or *gay* films. Varayuth Milintajinda, an openly *gay* actor and famous Thai soap opera producer, asserts that:

“We often come across *kathoey* or *gay* characters, performing *raeng raeng*¹⁴ roles to make the audience laugh. Many people see these characters as the colourful addition to the show. At the same time, the press do not appreciate and often criticise the inclusion of *kathoey* roles in the show.”

(Krungtheptharakit¹⁵, June 6, 2003)

¹³ Homosexual erotic depiction remains unimaginable in Thai mainstream cinema in comparison to heterosexual eroticisms. Recently, Thai Film Classification Board granted +18 rate for two Thai (heterosexual) erotic films. They are *Namtan Daeng I* (Panumat Deesatta, Zart Tancharoen, Kittiyaporn Klangsurin 2010) and *Namtan Daeng II* (Prachya Lampongchat, Surawat Chuphol, Anurak Janlongsilp 2010), respectively.

¹⁴ *Raeng raeng* can be translated as ‘very strong’ but in this context, *raeng raeng* should be understood as very camp or hyper-feminine with malicious characteristics. This phrase also suggests that someone is doing something over the top, out of ordinary and beyond socially acceptable norms.

¹⁵ Krungtheptharakit is a business orientated Thai language newspaper.

Wiroj Tangvanij, the president of *Fasirung* Organisation¹⁶ (lit. Rainbow Sky) comments on this commercialisation of ‘eccentricity’ of non-normative genders and sexualities in the Thai press that:

“If we ask the press to report our positive sides, we should ask ourselves whether we have presented our positive sides to the public. Once we have proved that we have contributed to the greater good of the society, the press should report this, too. I’m sometimes disappointed by the ways the press are eager to sell only the eccentricity of homosexuals.” (cited in *ibid.*)

The notion that gay men should prove themselves as equally valued members of Thai society is also echoed by Natee Teerarojjanapongs, the president of the gay political group and a former Bangkok senator candidate. He points out that:

“Some (gay) men may have such hyper-(effeminate) mannerisms as being a loud screaming queen. Being either a woman or a man if they are going over the top, that person will be considered as negative by the society. We can’t blame the society (for this misperception). I think that Thai society accepts gay men who behave normally. I don’t think there is a social dislike (of gay men). There isn’t anything like that. I’ve openly come out for many years. I’ve never been accused by the press of being *gay* and behaving inappropriately.”

(Natee Teerarojjanapongs gave this comment during his participation in *Thueng Luk Thueng Khon*, a television talk show programme, at Channel 9 on June 16, 2004)

The assertions made by the above three openly gay public figures suggest that Thai gay men are, in fact, aware of social stigma attached to the identification with non-normative gender and sexual identities. Varayuth acknowledges that the inclusion of *raeng raeng* roles performed by *kathoe*y or *gay* characters in mainstream drama aims to draw public attention to the show. Natee Teerarojjanapongs is publicly critical of these hyper-effeminate expressions of *kathoe*y and gay men as he believes that these non-normative gender expressions could reiterate negative stereotypes, socially associated with these identities and most importantly could fuel further social misunderstanding of sexual minorities. Having admitted his disappointment of the misrepresentation of *kathoe*y and gay men made by the press, Wiroj does not directly condemn the media’s focus on the ‘eccentricity’ of *kathoe*y and/or gay men, but rather encourages his fellow *gay* brothers to behave more sensibly and constructively for the good of society.

Despite consistent calls for more positive representations in the mainstream media, non-biased reports and positive news articles on gay men are very scarce or almost non-existent, especially in the Thai language press. The English language press such as *The Nation*¹⁷, has published considerably neutral reports and is arguably more sympathetic to the homosexual cause than its Thai language counterparts in which scandalous reports, particularly on criminal and moral cases committed by homosexuals, are often sensationalised to cash in on public attention.

¹⁶ Initially aimed to promote safe-sex practices and prevention of HIV infection, the Rainbow Sky Organisation of Thailand (*Samakom Fasirung Haeng Prathet Thai*) was founded in 2001. (Surapong et al. 2006:4)

¹⁷ *The Nation* is one of the two daily English language broadsheet newspapers in Thailand.

Nevertheless, from February 2004 to February 2009, *Phuchatkan*, the daily Thai language newspaper, published a weekly article, called *Loek Aep Sia Thi* (a.k.a. hiding no more), on its *Metro Life* section. Having obviously targeted *gay*-identified readership, this weekly column not only put together diverse articles ranging from *gay* men's lifestyles to social awareness raising of sexual diversity, but also encouraged Thai *gay* men to be proud of themselves and to come out. It was considered the very first time that the public space had been devoted to *gay* men and most importantly this column had been written by an openly Thai *gay* man, Vittaya Saeng-Aroon who authored a book, called *Mae Khrap, Phom Pen Ke* (2005, lit. Mom, I'm gay) and subsequently produced a couple of independent *gay* themed films, i.e. *Rainbow Boys* (2005) and *Club M2* (2007). After the first public appearance of *gay*-identified men in the Thai press in 1965, it can be contended that at least in this weekly column, *gay* men are represented as normal as straight people.

Although stories of *kathoey* and *gay* men are not uncommon in Thai mainstream media, the representation of long-lasting, meaningful and monogamous relationships of *kathoey* and *gay* men is very rare or almost non-existent. Only a handful of listed films in the previous section i.e. *Tropical Malady* (2004), *The Last Song* (2006), *The Love of Siam* (2007), *Bangkok Love Story* (2007) and *A Moment in June* (2008) can be categorised as romantic dramas in which romantic relationships between *gay* or *kathoey* identified protagonists and sometimes *phuchai* or straight male characters form a substantial theme of film stories. However, none of the relationships shown in all of these films has survived. Same-sex relations in the mainstream media are fatally doomed as being portrayed by Somying Daorai, the *kathoey* protagonist of *The Last Song* (original version 1985, remake version 2006) who shot herself after being rejected by her ex-lover. This departure of the main protagonist as a love worshiper, to an extent, is considered 'classic' as it is also reiterated in *Bangkok Love Story* (2007) in which Mek decided to shield his lover, It, from a bullet in the gun fight in the last scene. Other films show how *gay* love might be theoretically unfulfilled since Thai society may not be ready for same-sex romantic relationships. The unsuccessful love is particularly highlighted in the last scene between Tong and Mew in *The Love of Siam* (2007) in which Tong politely broke up with Mew despite having had his mother's consent when he 'came out' to her.

The only successful *gay* relationship in the Thai media is the story of Chon and Thi in the weekly television series, called *Rak Paet Phan Kao*¹⁸(lit. *Love 8009*). This show offers a glimpse of hope for many *gay* men that they might successfully form a meaningful relationship themselves. In the last episode, the *gay* couple protagonists, Chon and Thi lived happily together in the U.S. (not in Thailand) after their long and difficult struggle for Thi's family acceptance. Although the couple's reason to migrate to the U.S. was necessarily logical because Thi had to take over his family business from his late father who opposed his son's relationship.

The love story of Chon and Thi can be considered a break from tragic and/or unsuccessful endings in most conventional *kathoey* and/or *gay* themed films. It might be purely speculative but *Love 8009* suggests the changing attitude towards the

¹⁸ *Rak Paet Phan Kao* was directed by Siriwit Uppakan, Chirasak Yochio and Witsawet Buranawitthayawut and broadcast from January 2004 to January 2006.

acceptance of same-sex relations in Thai society, especially Chon's parents and his straight friends who also lived in the same apartment building. They were very supportive of Chon and his relationship with Thi. Thi, on the contrary, endured the difficult coming-out process as his acting career was severely disrupted after the public revelation of his homosexuality.

The relationship of Chon and Thi might first suggest that contemporary Thai society may be prepared to tolerate same-sex relations if the couples are willing to keep their relationships private (among families and friends). However, once their relationships become publicly known, as shown in the story when Chon and Thi were followed by a paparazzo, their departure from the Thai context can be said that Thai society is not after all ready to validate same-sex relations.

Homosexuality and Social Acceptance

Comments made by both Wiroj Tangvanit and Natee Teerarojjanapongs can be said to reaffirm my argument that people with non-normative gender and sexual identities have to negotiate the social tolerance and possible acceptance of their same-sex relations. To be more specific, in addition of the taboo against sex and sexual discussions which regards sex as a shameful¹⁹ and private matter, Thai homosexuals are also occasionally subjected to the social demand to maintain the normative gender and sexual image. Whilst Natee Teerarojjanapongs indicates that the hyper-feminine mannerisms of certain gay men may cause the social prejudice against *gay* identified men, Wiroj Tangvanij encourages homosexuals to make an effort to be included into the mainstream society.

It is difficult to gauge to what degree the society is prepared to tolerate non-normative gender expressions and sexual practices. Thai society requires individuals' collective conformity to social norms and values. To be seen as behaving 'appropriately,' one must possess a sensitivity to identify one's social status, gender and seniority. In addition, one must also know how to react or how to behave in certain places and occasions.

While the slogan 'we are here; we are queer; get used to it' reflects the political strategy of sexual non-conformists in the West, the challenge posed by Thai gay men to Thailand's absolutism of heteronormativity is rather non-confrontational and non-provocative but more constructive in dialogue engagement with the heteronormative discourse. Jackson (1995: 253) asserts that:

"Nevertheless, it is also the case that giving the appearance of being non-conformist, whether in speech, dress, manner or views, undermines one's position of authority in Thailand. In order to have alternative or radical opinions considered seriously, it is firstly necessary to demonstrate one's good credentials as a person who is worthy of being given a respectful hearing. To be

¹⁹Orathai Panya (2005) asserts that the reason Thais avoid speaking of direct references to sex and eroticism is partly due to the influence of Buddhist teaching that views sex and sexual desires as 'dispensable craving', believed to lead to subsequent suffering. Thai poets opt not to explicitly refer to sexual acts in classical literatures because of Thais' taboo against public discussion of sex and eroticism for fear of being considered impolite, shameful and dirty.

accepted, new ideas must therefore be presented in the grab of old views and beliefs, as being compatible with “Thai-ness” and the traditional norms of Thai society. Aggressive assertiveness achieves little in Thailand, while modesty and show of good Thai manners confers authority by demonstrating one’s integrity. Once one has demonstrated one’s integrity it may then be possible to politely advocate some limited form of change or reform.”

As the term *gay* is loaded with social misperception of non-normative gender expressions and sexual behaviours, Thai gay men often find the identification with the label *gay* culturally problematic or contextually ‘improper.’ Instead of organising a public rally for social justice and equality like gay rights movements in the West, those three gay celebrities quoted above not only point out negative stereotypes, which are associated with the identity *gay*, and often reproduced by the press, but also underline the significance of keeping up with the social sensitivity to be included into the mainstream.

Thai Gay Politics: Negotiating for Social Acceptance

The political strategies of gay rights activists in Thailand can be considered less assertive, compared to their Western counterparts, such as Outrage, Queer Nation and so forth. Formed in 1986, Anjaree, a Thai lesbian group, coined the alternative term, *yingrakying* or women (who) love women. This can be said to underline Thai lesbian group’s strategic attempt to integrate into mainstream Thai society where the taboo regarding public discussion of sex and sexuality remains strong. The newly coined *yingrakying* identity is aimed to replace the English term ‘lesbians’ which have been socially loaded with negative images such as having excessive sexual desires and so on. The new term for female homosexuals, in fact, shifts the central point from having female same-sex erotic desires to being an ordinary woman who engages in a romantic relationship with another ordinary woman. It might not be wrong to say that *Anjaree*’s redefinition of female homosexuality was so influential that the term *chairakchai* (men (who) love men) was later adopted by Thai gay men in the 1990s.

Anjaree gained its public recognition from its campaign with the Rainbow Sky Organisation, for the removal of homosexuality from the country’s official list of mental disorders in December 2002 (*The Nation*, December 27, 2002)²⁰. Aimed to reduce social discrimination and stigma, which homosexuals and transgenders in Thailand are facing, the official endorsement from the Mental Health Department was perceived as the mile-stone victory for Thai homosexual rights activists.

Despite the 1997 constitution’s prohibition of any forms of discrimination and the removal of homosexuality from the national list of mental disorders which came into effect in December 2002, Kla Somtrakun, the then permanent secretary to the cultural ministry was quoted of his plan to stop employing people with ‘homosexual behaviour’ and to discipline the ministry’s homosexual officials in the press on June 4, 2004. (*Thairath* June 4, 2004) This news prompted an outrage in the LGBT²¹ communities.

²⁰ Cited in http://www.suphawut.com/gvb/gayly/thai_gay_cultures_gays_not_sick.htm.

²¹ LGBT is an acronym for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender.

Two Thai gay men's organisations: Rainbow Sky (*Fasirung*) and Bangkok Rainbow (*Bangkok Renbo*), which had formerly focused on the HIV/AIDS prevention and sexual health campaigns, joined the Thai lesbian rights group, *Anjaree* in protesting against the official ban of homosexuals. It can be said that not only the LGBT rights groups but also the general Thai public were galvanised by this outright homophobic statement. This incident instigated the public discussions of human rights and equality and subsequently led to the public pressure being put on the Thai government to fully respect human rights, guaranteed by Thailand's 1997 constitution.

After the public exposé, causing the public outrage, Kla Somtrakun, retracted his statement and blamed the Thai press for miscommunication. (*Khaosot* June 5, 2004)²² Kla, however, states that homosexuality is still 'socially unaccepted.' He says:

"Although there are no rules prohibiting the recruitment of homosexuals (in the civil services), I'd like them to realise that it (homosexuality) is a (sexually) disorder behaviour which is not yet accepted by the society. Therefore, if (they) want to do something, they should exercise their careful consideration. I would also like to ask their cooperation not to organise any provocative activities that would give bad examples (to the impressionable youths). They had better help develop our society."

(*Khomchatluek* June 5, 2004)²³

This scandal lasted only a few days. Thai lesbian and gay rights groups seemed content with the secretary's public rejection of the media report that he would ban homosexuals from working in the ministry. If this happened in Europe, a senior ranking governmental official, like Kla, would have probably been forced to resign from his position. However, this did not happen in Thailand. It seemed that the gay rights groups appeared content with the resolved situation that no homosexuals were barred from working for the ministry of culture. They did not challenge the establishment of heteronormative values that viewed homosexuality as a distortion of heterosexual norms.

This might be said to reaffirm my argument that there is an on-going negotiation between the Thai hetero-majority (in this case, it is the Thai authority) and the homo-minority for the social recognition of same-sex relations. However, gay rights activists are applying self-restraints as well as compromising with the heteronormative values as they do not attempt to radically challenge the norms but rather attempt to accommodate and integrate into the mainstream heteronormative Thai society. That is, Thai gay men acknowledge that their homosexuality can be socially tolerant as long as they do not radically challenge the hetero-norms and are willing to integrate into the mainstream society in which any reference to sexuality should be avoided. This cultural sensitivity is exemplified in the redefinition of female and male homosexual identities to *yingrakyng* and *chairakchai*, respectively.

Nevertheless, It can be said that Thai gay men have become progressively self-aware of their constitutional rights thanks to the introduction of the 'People's Constitution' in 1997. In addition to the two gay groups: Rainbow Sky and Bangkok Rainbow, Natee

²² Cited in Chalidaporn Songsampan (2004)

²³ *ibid.*

Teerarojjanapongs also formed another gay group in 2005 to provide a space for people with sexual diversity to take part in political activities, called Gay Political Group of Thailand or G.P.G.T. (*Klum Ke Kanmueang Thai*). He also campaigned for the Bangkok senator election in 2006 but was not successful.

Between 1997 and 2007, the 1997 constitution can be said to have opened up the political platform for Thai LGBT rights activists to publicly and sometimes legally challenge cases of homophobic discrimination as outlined above. Although the coup d'état on September 19, 2006 by the Council of National Security brought an end to the 1997 'People's Constitution,' the coup presented an opportunity for the LGBT rights activists to mobilise the political support for the official recognition of 'sexual diversity' in the new constitution. Between 2006 and 2007, *Anjaree*, the Thai women (who) love women group, the two Thai gay men organisations: 1) the Bangkok Rainbow; 2) the Rainbow Sky and Natee's Gay Political Group formed the coalition of 'sexual diversity' (*Khrueakhai Khwam Laklai Thang Phet*) in campaigning for the inclusion of the category of sexual diversity into the 2007 constitution. They held discussions with the commissioners for human rights and members of the constitution drafting council who are known to sympathise with LGBT causes such as Jernsak Pinthong. The extension of the meaning of 'sex' in the article 30, clause 3 of the 2007 constitution to include the category of 'sexual diversity' may have been symbolically seen as a significant gain for Thai LGBT people, but this constitutional inclusion is still meaningless without further legal recognition of same-sex relations such as the legalisation of same-sex marriage or civil partnership which would enable LGBT people to imagine their social existence and equality with their straight counterparts. This legal materialisation of LGBT equality remains to be seen in Thai society.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that the notion of *kalathesa* or contextual sensitivity still remains a crucial factor for the appropriation of the public space by gender and sexual minorities in Thailand. Although there has been a significant increase in the representation of non-normative gender and sexual minorities in the mainstream media since 2000, the popular misperception of *kathoey* and gay men as being 'loud,' 'sexually promiscuous,' 'camp' and so forth is discursively reproduced by the Thai media.

My investigation has also revealed that Thai gay men are aware of these negative impressions and are negotiating for the 'acceptable' gayness while also resisting the association with these negative images. Rather than challenging the socially constructed negativity, Thai gay celebrities indicate that those gay men who behave 'inappropriately' and disregard social norms should be blamed for tarnishing the image of gay communities. They also address that it is necessary for gay men to prove their worth to be accepted into the mainstream society. The acknowledgement of *kalathesa*, to some extent, can be said to facilitate the social negotiation for acceptance but restrict their public revelation of their homosexuality. Thanks to this cultural sensitivity, I have also argued that Thai gay men's unassertiveness on the issue of social equality, on the one hand, helps lessen the anti-homosexual sentiments in Thai society, on the other hand, fails to challenge the social discriminations against same-sex relations.

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Andrzej Szahaj

Good Community for a Brave New World

The desire for community exists everywhere. It can be seen particularly clearly under conditions of constant social conflict, such as have been created by contemporary, that is, so-called late or deregulated, capitalism, in which the mechanism of competition has been elevated into a leading and unquestionable principle. While such competition may improve economic efficiency, it likewise conduces to feelings of isolation, and in particular to the loss of a sense of security, and to a state of uncertainty. It has deleterious effects both on the psychological life of individuals, and on the state of entire societies. On the individual level, we become convinced that every other person is a potential enemy, which leads to an increase in mistrust and to the feeling that we can rely only upon ourselves; on the level of society there is a decline in civic solidarity and the first symptoms of social *anomie*, that is, lack of a common set of assumptions about values constitutive of the society as a whole. Contributing to this state of affairs is the currently dominant ideology of consumerism, according to which the highest value is attached to the possession and consumption of material goods. The consumer is, however, isolated in his role in the market, because consumption is an activity which does not create any authentic community, but at most leads to a mass of isolated individuals who have together succumbed to the pressures of uniform consumption imperatives. We become a collectivity of workers-clients-consumers, who bump into each other individually and randomly in the capitalist marketplace, in the public sphere, and in contact with the administrative organs of the state. A further factor in this process of social atomization is the rise of the phenomena of pluralism, privatization and cultural relativism, which have accompanied the modernization processes of Western society. Instead of the already-formed worldviews and social conventions that once bound and united traditional communities, and that were accepted unreflectively by their members, we are now ever more frequently dealing with the process of custom-designing one's outlook, in which one creates one's own worldview, and even identity, from an assortment of prefabricated social and cultural material, in the spirit of the popular slogan "do-it-yourself." Many sociologists have credited this process with an increase in individual liberty and autonomy, but at the same time it leads to a rise in feelings of isolation and alienation.

All the foregoing factors have led to the appearance of a longing for the kind of communal ties that might give us a sense of rootedness, of human warmth and psychological

security. In such a community it is felt that we would not need to engage in a continuous struggle, that we would not need to prove anything, but that we could simply be, and that we could be valued and esteemed not for our social role or achievements, but simply by virtue of the fact that we exist.

Our need for a sense of community is most frequently fulfilled by the family. The more threatening external conditions come to appear, the more highly do we value the bonds of the family, and above all the atmosphere of trust that we find within the family structure. This recourse does not, however, suffice for everybody. Some aspire to a larger sense of community, in which they might feel like members of a family which is recapitulated on a broader scale and in which they could escape from a sense of social, psychological, or existential isolation.

A community is a collection of people who share a felt bond which results from their holding in common certain convictions that have a basically axiological character (above all concerning ethics and worldview), and who, thanks to being members of that community, are able to meet various needs that are important to their psychological, spiritual or material well-being. We are speaking of “community” in the full sense of the word only when we are dealing with a group of people who are fully conscious of the bonds that link them together. Such a community might be termed a “proper community” or a “community-for-itself.” A “partial community” or a “community-in-itself” would, on the other hand, be a community whose members do not realize or understand the bonds that connect them, such that this lack of self-consciousness had a significant impact on their behaviour and way of thinking. I consider the passage from “community-in-itself” to “community-for-itself” to be a key element in the collective learning process – or, to put it another way, in the process of collective maturation.

I should now like to present ten points outlining the features of what I take to be a good community. By “good community” I understand a community that is oriented towards the achievement of both individual and social welfare. At the same time I recognize that the process of evaluation when it comes to the categories of good and bad is itself derived from certain axiological assumptions typical for western culture at its best, but, I am convinced, not only for that culture. There might indeed exist (and in fact there have existed and do exist) communities, which although they meet the criteria referred to above and also fulfill the felt needs of their members, do not realize the common good according to very generally accepted understandings of what is good and what is bad. A classic example of such a community would be what is referred to as the Mafia. Not every proper community is worthy of

approbation, which is worth bearing in mind when we are considering the value of the community as such.

A good community, then, is a community which is:

1. Constructive, and not organic; namely, it is a collectivity which respects the autonomy of the individual, being modeled more upon a group of friends than on the family. The community is a result of the free choices of constitutive individuals, and not a necessity resulting from some inherent bonds (e.g. those of blood, race, or place of birth), and it openly acknowledges its notional character; in other words, it views itself as the result of conscious actions that were directed towards constituting it, or equally as the valuable and praiseworthy outcome of a fortunate set of circumstances, and not as a product of necessity of any kind, and thus not as something which enforces unity at all costs. Harmony occurs in the good community not due to the maintenance of predetermined subjects in predetermined locations where they are to fulfill predetermined roles, but rather due to a continuous process of mediation in the relations and positions of individuals and the connections between them, mediation that articulates their various views and needs. In such a community, internal criticism is understood as a natural expression of care for the common good and not as a betrayal of it.

2. Just; that is to say, one which gives to everyone equal chances for self-enhancement, and does not mete out penalties and rewards undeservedly (that is, in a way contrary to the conception of justice of its members). It avoids arbitrariness in its distribution of penalty and reward, thus building trust in the stability, transparency and consistency of its operating principles. Such a community demands of its members that they likewise observe principles of justice in their dealings with one another and in this way there is fostered a just community of just individuals.

3. Communal; with the meaning that its members feel themselves in solidarity with each other and responsible for one another. Consequently they do not strive to gain at the cost of others, and also do not shut themselves up within a framework of personal interests. It is a community whose strength is measured by its weakest link, rather than by the strongest. In such a community no one is abandoned to fate but each member can depend upon the others, and empathy and fellow-feeling are the accepted norms.

4. Inclusive (open); that is, accepting as a member anyone who wishes freely to become one and who declares willingness to accept responsibility for upholding the

bonds of the community, and moreover not excluding anyone arbitrarily, that is, on the basis of criteria that have not been established by all its members. At the same time refusal of membership in the community ought not to result from factors over which the candidate for membership has no control, but only from those that are due to his or her own will and conscious decision.

5. Pluralistic; which signifies acceptance of an internal diversity of perspectives (and other traits), although such a community seeks the common ethical basis of various worldviews (the so-called minimal ethical consensus), which allows it to maintain a degree of internal harmony and also distinguishes it from other communities. The good community accepts its internal diversity as an opportunity for learning (or self-correction) as a result of the confrontation of varying points of view. For this reason such a variety of viewpoints is not only not suppressed in the name of achieving a stipulated unity, but is positively encouraged, and innovative thinking is warmly received.

6. Tolerant: firstly, in the sense of bearing patiently manifestations of otherness, an otherness which might sometimes irritate or exasperate a majority of the other members of the community; secondly, in the sense of guaranteeing equal rights and equal treatment to all minorities that wish to remain within it, in this way honoring its axiological foundations; thirdly, in the sense of comporting itself among other (competing) communities with a good will which is testified to by mutual contact.

7. Well-informed; meaning that it permits the free creation and flow of information, and likewise equips its members with the necessary technologies and skills for sending and receiving information. The banning or suppressing of information is held by a good community to be a fundamental mistake, which must be amended for the sake of the community as such.

8. Participatory; meaning that it encourages everyone to take an active part in the life of the whole, and that it is governed by the principle, "that which affects everybody, concerns everybody." The good community does all it can to persuade its members that they have a real influence over the course of their own lives; it rewards those who devote their private time to the affairs of the community, at the same time recognizing that civic participation cannot be an imposed duty, but is the initiative of individuals who are particularly concerned with the common welfare and whose chief reward is the general esteem.

9. Devoted to achieving unity through "civil accord" rather than through the creation

of common enemies. By “civil accord” I mean the communal feeling of sharing fundamental values, as well as such features of mutual relation among members as understanding, friendliness, tolerance and trust.

10. Devoted to seeking the common good through open debate, which means that no one has the right to define a common good without submitting that view to the judgment of others, who may speak out freely upon the question.

Among the characteristics of the good community listed above, decidedly the most important is justice. Without this, a community falls apart, and the beginning of its dissolution is the appearance of a lack of trust. This lack of trust leads in the final instance to social demoralization, in which the individual comes to believe that personal interests take precedence over all others and that every means of advancing them can be countenanced. A clear symptom of this demoralization is that all members of the community come to view all others as potential rivals or enemies, towards whom any kind of treatment is justified that contributes to the individual’s own personal gain. However, to disregard the other principles set forth above is also likely to have detrimental consequences for the community as a whole. For instance, replacing a constructivist model of community with an organic one can result in the suppression of individuality, diversity, and the ability to criticize freely, and ultimately in denial of the individual’s right to make his or her own life choices, which is to say, in a kind of servitude. Absence of social solidarity will lead a community into a state of indifference towards injury and misfortune, which in the long run must threaten the existence of the community as such. Forsaking the principle of inclusivity may lead the community into various “fortress mentalities,” of which the most dangerous is that expressed by the slogan, “whoever is not with us is against us.” This is not to suggest that no community has the right to close its borders against others, but only to assert that the borders must be permeable enough to admit those who wish to join the community and who have shown that they deserve to be allowed to do so. In turn, a community which rejects pluralism condemns itself to a uniformity of thought that will lead to internal fossilization, isolation, and stagnation. The suppression of internal criticism and leveling-out of diversity is a recipe for the elimination of self-corrective processes, which means that in the long term the community may well lose the ability to correct its errors – errors which occur inevitably in every human group, as long as to err remains human.

To refuse to be tolerant exposes a community to the danger of ceaseless internal tension and conflict, thus threatening its unity, and also to the occurrence of external conflicts

that can weaken its position among other communities. Likewise, a community that is not well informed is unable to take decisions about common goals which are based upon general considerations, rather than on the advice of those who happen to be possessed of expert knowledge and who can therefore manipulate community's conduct in furtherance of their particular interests.

A community that does not encourage its members to take an active part in public affairs, including the decision-making process that leads to key policy choices, cannot be considered a participatory community and sooner or later will become a community in name only, having turned into a mere aggregate of persons concerned solely with their own individual destinies.

A community that requires a real or imagined enemy, in order to arise at all or to maintain a feeling of internal unity, poisons itself with negative emotions such as hatred and suspicion. Hostility towards outsiders will sooner or later leach inwards, causing hostility towards an imagined internal enemy, conceived as an agent of the external threat, which is a sure herald of internal disintegration.

Finally, to refuse open debate on the subject of the common welfare leads to discussion and identification of the latter becoming the monopoly of a single group at the core of the community, which usurps the right to decide for others what lies in their interest. In this way inevitably there arises a system of paternalism or regency exercised by one part of the community over the rest. This leads in turn to a feeling of alienation and potentially to rebellion on the part of those who have been deprived of a voice in framing the common good. The sense of exclusion from the process of taking decisions on communal affairs destroys the feeling of community, shattering it into a series of antagonistic factions which view each other with mistrust, and indeed with hostility. A good community therewith degenerates into a false community, in which the decisive force is not the force of argument but the literal force of arms.

Let us sum up. A good community is a community of people convinced of their equality, expressing an eagerness to participate in the life of the group and to help it to realize common aims, possessing the means to communicate effectively among themselves and for these reasons having confidence that they can trust the other members of the community. Without this trust the existence of any sort of real community whatsoever is impossible. Therefore, too, in the moment when a community begins to come apart, or when it finds itself in a serious crisis, nothing is more important than the restoration of such a feeling of trust, and this in turn is not possible without justice. We may return therefore to our starting-point and to

the ancient Greek wisdom which held justice to be the supreme virtue. Generally speaking we may posit that there are four values of particular significance in the formation of communities, namely: justice, respect, sympathy and trust.

It is to be seen from the foregoing discussion that every community requires for its existence and maintenance certain sentiments and definite, unifying convictions and values. What has so far been implied is that we speak of a community only when these sentiments are positive and the values are constructive. This, of course, need not be the case. Although we would wish for communities to be built only on the basis of such values as respect, love, amity and friendly interest, we are aware nevertheless that they can and do arise also on the basis of hatred, resentment and the desire for revenge. So it is too in the case of solidarity. We would like solidarity to be expressed in working for the common good, as was seen, for example, in the Polish civic movement "Solidarity" in the years 1980-1981. It turns out, however, that there is likewise solidarity in doing ill, as with the solidarity of corporations banding together to protect their own material gain at the cost of the common good. I do not believe that only good communities may be called communities, or that solidarity can be deemed to exist only when it is solidarity in working for the good. Indeed, it may be that in some circumstances the lack of community and the lack of solidarity are better than their existence in certain forms. The value of a community cannot be judged independently of context, and especially in the absence of an ethical framework. For even if community ties are valuable in their own right, it does not mean that we must deem *every* community tie a positive value. Sometimes it is better to be alone, than to find oneself in bad company; sometimes it is better to remain aloof from the pleasure of experiencing along with others some shared values, than to be seduced by a community that, while it may give us warmth and security, deprives us of our conscience. In every situation it is worth being cautious, worth remembering that the community is not always right, and that nothing can replace individual critical reflection. It is this latter that guarantees the independence of the individual in the face of feelings and emotions which, in giving us a sense of purpose or meaning, may also deprive us not only of our freedom but also of our reason.

‘Brave New World’ Bridging the Divide through Collaboration Beyond Boundaries: An Examination of Ensuing Interdependence between the West and Africa in the 21st century

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Current instability in most richly endowed mineral resource countries in Africa over time intensifies growing and groaning economic necessities in Europe and America. Socioeconomic, technological and political necessities instigate a look at the world which has an important historical dynamics that showcase Western developmental past amidst their current socioeconomic need, but Africa as underdeveloped region that lacks all but a rudimentary history typified by the same underdeveloped conditions that exist in her underdeveloped present intensify external help in the current global setting. The need to truly support African technological development and good democratic governance has re-emerged in order to enhance stability in the region to enable the West reap economic benefits in return. In other words, the paper discusses ‘brave new world’ perspective on emerging trends in the 21st century interdependence drawn on Nye’s complex interdependence theoretical paradigm that stresses on interdependence and cooperation among nations and regions beyond boundaries. The paper concludes with outlined future direction and recommendations for improved relationship in these borderless economies.

Introduction¹

In our contemporary world, collaboration and cooperation among nations intensify interdependence that shapes the world’s globalizing posture. Interdependence is truly dynamic of being mutually and physically responsible to an aroused sharing of a common set of principles beyond borders. States whose needs instigate cooperation with each other are said to be interdependent in an interconnectedness nurturing reliance on one another socially, economically, environmentally and politically across borders. Hence cooperative engagement among nations refers to complex policies, programs, treaties, investments, of regimes by which nations collaborate to advance common interests. It could be military security, economic growth and trade, and in the promotion of health, social stability, and human potential.

Scars of past history have given Africa horrific picture today. For instance, most Americans still hold their age-long perception of Africa as a region plagued by instability, poverty, and poor governance, which could be accurate for certain

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parts of the continent. This old notion fails to recognize the region's growing importance to U.S. national security and economic interests. While American interest in Africa remains undoubtedly crucial to its home economic and social well-being, it has become incumbent upon Washington to stretch a hand of cooperation towards African needs ranging from traditional development and humanitarian problems to the more recent challenges posed by globalization and the opportunities for terrorists and other violent actors to exploit unstable countries. Certainly, some developments in Africa require U.S. to intervene in internal and regional conflicts in the region more frequently and actively, either through diplomatic means or in support of military missions.

Similarly, Europe recognizes the strategic importance of Africa in this challenging 21st century world economy with features dismantling boundaries. Looking to the future, it is reasonable to assume that the West's relations with Africa will soon undergo considerable redefinition and reorientation. The Lomé framework is likely to be redesigned - mainly to take account of the shifting priorities and approaches of the EU members. On the other hand, while Africa provides for the needs of both Europe and America with its abundant natural resources is expected to advance from her age-long backward tradition to a more cooperative and rewarding improvements in technological know-how, a stable society giving room for harnessing its potentials for growth through improved governance.

Prosperity Gap among Nations Pressures on Interdependence

New trends in global affairs reveal that 21st century-world harbours winners and losers that intensify shifts in national foreign policies. Paul Kennedy correctly captures this in his 21st century prediction that, "everyone with an interest in international affairs must be aware that broad global forces for change are bearing down upon mankind in both rich and poor societies alike. New technologies are changing traditional assumptions about the way we make, trade and grow things. ... the globalization of industry and services permit multinationals to switch production from one country to another (where it is usually cheaper), benefiting the latter and hurting the former".²

In the present economically, culturally and politically integrated world, the reality of mounting economic disparities among nations and regions of the world has become a serious political, economic and moral problem.³ Wealth is described as an inventory of valuable possessions and resource. In other words, many things like gold, diamond, property, stock and products make up wealth but it is

²Paul Kennedy, "Preparing for the 21st Century: Winners and Losers", in Patrick O'meara, Howard D. Mehlinger and Matthew Krian, eds., *Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century: A Reader*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000, p. 323.

³ Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen, eds., *The Wealth of nations*, Westport: Praeger publishers, 2002, p. 183.

frequently measured in monetary terms represented in per capita income.⁴ A major global challenge is that wealth is not equally distributed among nations. Many African countries have low per capita income while the wealthiest nine nations make up the 60% of the world GDP. The wealthiest 57 nations represent 30% of the world population but have the 90% of the world GDP. This shows that 70% of the world's population has only 10% of the wealth of the world. Consequently, wealth trends concentrate in rich countries and there is a huge gap between the rich and poor nations.⁵

In contrast to the developed countries, Felix Edoho asserts that sub-Saharan Africa represents a paradox of extremity. While enormous resources and untapped mineral wealth of Africa are located in the sub-Saharan, it still suffers chronic abject poverty along with economic deprivation because the continent has failed to be good steward of her God-given resources.⁶ As Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad rightly pointed out, the wealth of a country depends on the ability and the skill to translate resources into marketable products and services. The rich oil producing nations had oil throughout centuries of their existence but became rich when oil was piped out from the bowels of the earth and sold for consumption hence gold underneath our feet does not make us rich but producing and selling it. This is elementary, he affirmed.⁷

It is remarkable to note that the wealthiest nations of the world are located in West which commands 90% of the world GDP but cannot sustain their wellbeing without recourse among all to Africa for certain crucial needs. In the same vein Africa's hostile environment needs to be re-ordered through good governance while her huge untapped resources require technological assistance from the West to harness. Similarly, cross border collaboration has instigated Joint Africa EU Strategy Action Plan 2011-2013 which has raised a number of interdependencies embedded in Action Plan 2011-2013 that hopes to define their partnership.⁸ Mahathir had earlier captured this emerging trend in the 'brave new world' in his 2003 address to Non-Aligned Nations thus:

It is actually in the interest of the more prosperous states to help the poorer nations. That is our experience in Malaysia. When the rich invested in our country they help to

⁴ Steve D Bestes, *Going Global: Teaching How Nations Interconnect*, CA: Social Studies School Service, 2001, p. 27.

⁵ Bestes, *Going Global*, p. 27.

⁶ Felix Moses Edoho, ed., *Managing Challenges for Africa in the Twenty-first Century: theoretical and applied Perspectives*, Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001, p. 12.

⁷ Mahathir Mohamad, "Building a New World order – Sustainable Peace, Sharing Global Prosperity" in Michael Yeoh, ed., *Bridging the Divide: towards Building a new South*, Suban Jaya: Pelanduk Publications (M) SdnBhd, 2003, pp.5-6.

⁸ Joint Africa EU Strategy Action Plan 2011-2013.

enrich us and we then became rich markets for their goods, Because of this we have adopted the “Prosper Thy Neighbour Policy”. By enriching others we now have rich markets for the growing manufactured products that we export. Enriching poorer nations including neighbours is not charity. It is enlightened self interest. Not only we will create markets and rich trading partners, but we will also create a more prosperous and peaceful world.⁹

In his 21st century predictions, Robert Repetto asserts that, “This global possible will not happen automatically. It will require determined action to implement new policies. It will require new levels of cooperation among governments, science, business, and groups of concerned people. It will require a global partnership between developed and developing countries with sustained improvement in living standards of the world’s poor. ..”¹⁰

Theoretical Framework

Complex interdependence theory is part of 1970s challenges to realist thought. The main authors of this theory are Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye who in their 1977 classic text made a ground breaking foundation for this theory. With their innovative minds in building on the previous liberal/functional theories, Keohane and Nye bring into picture and describe three main characteristics of complex interdependence which involves, (1) multiple channels, (2) an absence of hierarchy among issues and (3) due to the presence of complex interdependence, the primacy of military force is no longer a given.¹¹

The first proposition in this complex interdependence theory asserts that multiple channels of contacts have the effect of connecting societies of the world. This perspective holds that a web of interaction builds among the community of international actors, thereby creating an atmosphere of interdependence. However, interdependence here occurs through interstate, trans-governmental and transnational relations, which bind the global community’s governmental and nongovernmental elites together.¹² The importance of this proposition derives from Keohane and Nye assertion that the number of ways in which societies’ interact have greatly expanded.¹³

⁹Mohamad, “Building a New World order” P. 4.

¹⁰ Robert Repetto, ed., *The Global Possible: Resources, Development and the New Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 491.

¹¹ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye Jr., eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977, The bulk of this discussion is derived from Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye Jr, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, Boston: Little brown, 1977, pp. 24-29.

¹²Keohane and Nye, eds., *Power and Interdependence*, p. 25.

¹³Keohane and Nye, eds., *Power and Interdependence*, pp. 24-26.

The theory further asserts that a number of issues which affect the international actors in the world has become much larger and more diverse. Given the growing expansion of international issues, Keohane and Nye argue that the primary determinant of foreign policy is not always going to be military security issues. Other issues such as economic, social and domestic issues definitely play a role in foreign policy formulation hence there is no hierarchy of issues. This proposition is radically different then from the mainstream thinking of that time which sees military and security issues to assume primacy over other issues.¹⁴ This theory also holds that with an increase in state interdependence, the likelihood of war will diminish at least among highly industrialized, but does not mean that the use of military force by nations is obsolete, rather it signifies that by tying two governments together in an interdependence relationship, the use of force between them will no longer be the primary policy option.¹⁵

Understanding Africa's Place in the Current Global Setting

Africa is an interesting continent for scholars to devote attention to study in view of its current challenges to level up with the rest of developed regions of the world. Edward points out to image problem facing the continent in a chronic portrayal as chaotic, volatile, unstable, corrupt and problematic region now jeopardizing the efforts of serious countries in the region in nation-building process. Many countries of the region remain backward in the way of the past, whereas others are transforming in response to new challenges. Welcoming western democratic governance, transparency, recognizing the interest of the minorities in political pluralism and upholding the rule of law will change the status of the continent.¹⁶

Bayart argues that there has been a continual flow of both ideas and goods between African, Europe, Asia and later the Americas, hence Africa has not existed apart from world politics but has been unavoidably entangled in the ebb and flow of events and changing configuration of power.¹⁷ African as a continent has been dialectically linked, both shaping and being shaped by international processes and structures. Indeed, Africa's economic marginalization and political decay showcase a product of inadequacies of dominant tools of social scientific analysis that has succeeded in rendering a lot that happens in Africa invisible to

¹⁴This line of thinking (in line with realist theory) is prevalent in the mainstream theory of 1970s. see also Eric K. Leonard, *The Onset of Global Governance: International Relations Theory and the International Criminal Court*, Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate publishers Co., 2005, pp. 73-75.

¹⁵Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, pp. 27 – 29.

¹⁶Lotterman Edward, *Bad Rules Breed Corruption*, Pioneer Press, April 25, 2005.

¹⁷ J. F. Bayart, 'Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion' *African Affairs*, 99, 2000, p. 234.

outsiders.¹⁸ However, rectifying Africa's inadequacies require giving attention not only to what happens in governance but to trading-post, the business place, the mine, the plantation, the school, the hospital and Christian Mission-station.¹⁹

For analytical reasons, Africa's current predicament does not lack scholarly interest, but many have focused on its crisis, narrowing it to war, militarism, environmental degradation and crisis of governance which make progress difficult.²⁰ Lately, scholarly literature addressing Africa's place in world affairs has managed to focus on foreign policies of African states have employed in their dealings with other countries of the world.²¹ Some scholars fail to recognize the increasing interconnections between actors and processes in world politics which they commonly present and discuss under globalization. In order words, they continue to analyze the policies of African states have adopted towards the outside world rather than the policies external powers have adopted towards Africa.²² But Clapham excellent study focuses on the ways in which the wider international system has helped to shape Africa, more especially forms of state power on the continent.²³

Remarkably, western disengagement from Africa has assumed the status of orthodoxy, of course western governments have not renounced their self-proclaimed right to influence the course of event in Africa.²⁴ Given globalization and interdependence, and fear of the continent's emerging problems that range from drug, disease and disorder have intensified encouraging moves from western leaders ensuring that Africa's political trajectory fits with their visions of a well-managed and stable world economy. Indeed, since 1989 Africa has become a vital focus and a laboratory for many multilateral schemes which included a designed effort to achieve debt relief, economic development, security

¹⁸Bayart, 'Africa in the World', p. 229.

¹⁹Bayart, 'Africa in the World', p. 246.

²⁰ See I. W. Zartman, *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995; G. Ayittey, *Africa in Chaos*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998; T. Zack-Williams, D. Frost and A. Thomson eds., *Africa in Crisis: New Challenges and Possibilities*, London: Pluto Press, 2002.

²¹See, S. Akinrade and A. Sessay, eds., *Africa in the Post-Cold War International System*, London: Printer, 1998; K. Adar and R. Ajulu, *Globalization and Emerging Trends in African States' Foreign Policy-Making Process*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002; S. Wright, ed., *African Foreign Policies*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

²²J. Harbeson and D. Rothchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics: Post-Cold War Challenges*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.

²³ C. Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

²⁴Bayart, 'Africa in the World', p. 239.

sector reform, crisis management and peacekeeping capabilities which by extensions aimed at achieving good governance in the region.²⁵

Some Perspectives on U.S Interest in Africa

☒ Historical Trends

A reflection on the America's relations with Africa touches on issues of the past which have bearing on the present with a predictable future. Of course, the past touches on history hence Carr notes that history was 'an unending dialogue between the past and the present'.²⁶ According to Elton, "To learn about the present in the light of the past means also to learn about the past in the light of the present. The function of history is to promote a profounder understanding of both past and present through the interrelation between them".²⁷

To explore US foreign policy towards Africa reflects on constant themes across the Cold War and immediate post-Cold War era of which American policy in Africa was framed by specific US interests and was probably delegated to others to manage. This could be to some extent a legacy of the colonial period where the colonial powers specifically secured their relative short-run interests instead of the security of the countries in Africa.²⁸ The US allowed Europe to 'watch over' Africa with the intention for Washington to follow the British lead in anglophone Africa which is in line with the assertion made by the Assistant Secretary of State Herbert Cohen in 2003 that:

Ever since the late 1950s, when most of African colonies were in the final stages of the independence process, the United States has attempted play secondary role to that of the Europeans. During President Eisenhower's second term (1957-1961), the National Security Council proposed a division of labour for the developing world. The Europeans would be responsible for Africa, while the United States would play the dominant role in Latin America, its own backyard.²⁹

²⁵ Ian Taylor and Paul Williams, "Understanding Africa's Place in World Politics", in Ian Taylor and Paul William, eds., *Africa in the International Politics: External Involvement in International Relations and Global Politics*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 1.

²⁶ E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* With a New Introduction by Richard J. Evans Palgrave, 2001.

²⁷ G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, Fontana, 1969; Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History*, Macmillan, 1970; Gordon Connell-Smith and Howell A. Lloyd, *The Relevance of History*, Heinemann, 1972.

²⁸ H. Howe, *Ambiguous Order: Military Forces in African States*, Builder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

²⁹ Herbert Cohen, 'The United States of Africa: Nonvital Interest Also Require Attention' *America Foreign Policy Interest*, New York, 7 April, 2003; see also James Hentz, "The Contending Currents in United States involvement sub-Saharan Africa" in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams, eds., *Africa in International*

However, Africa has not been in America's list of priorities in recent past but this does not mean that US has ignored Africa. It should be noted that President John Kennedy and his Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mennen Williams were considered 'pro-Africa' and President Ronald Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, spent eight years trying to broker a peace accord in Angola. In 1994, the Clinton White House hosted a conference on Africa in which he later dispatched Jesse Jackson to broker a (widely disputed) peace agreement in war-ravaged Sierra Leone. However, President Clinton himself made a rare presidential visit to the continent, which included his famous *mea culpa* for doing less to stop the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Similarly, Secretary of State Colin Powell also visited Africa in 2002 and 2003 with President George W. Bush.³⁰

The visit in 2002 by an America luminary is revealing the contending currents in United States involvement in sub-Saharan Africa as *The Washington Post* revealed:

Africa, the neglected stepchild of American diplomacy, is rising in strategic importance to Washington policy makers, and one word sums up the reason –oil.³¹

☒ US Current Needs, Shifts and Africa's Strategic Importance

The United States of America is the top most industrialized nation of our time that relies on various strategic minerals resources from many countries of the world for its expanded industrial, commercial and domestic uses. The US is really in dire need of these strategic minerals that are not found or produced in the United States in sufficient quantities to meet their daily growing demand. To satisfy home needs of these minerals, the US government has to move beyond its shores in a world in which opportunities and natural endowments are scarcely located.³²

However, there was a sudden aroused interest in Africa in the wake of 11 September 2001 attack the US-Saudi Arabian and US-Arab relations have become increasingly strained. During the Cold War the US viewed African continent as Cold War battleground. But new developments show that oil in particular has changed American perceptions of Africa's importance. Whatever

Politics: External Involvement on the Continent, London and New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 25.

³⁰Jame J. Hentz, "The Contending Currents in United States involvement", p. 23.

³¹*The Washington Post*, 19 September 2002.

³² See Alexis Arieff, *Global economic Crisis: Impact on sub-Saharan Africa and global Policy responses*, CRS Report for Congress, Diane Publishing Co, 2010; William B. Rurger, and Richmond M. Lyold eds., *American foreign Policy: Regional perspective: Proceedings: A workshop*, Newport: 13-15 May 2009, p. 251.

way the continent is perceived to the US has almost always been defined by exogenous factors shaped within competing master narratives of US foreign policy.³³

In a world constantly shifting, the growth of the American political and industrial economy, and the maintenance of Western hegemony, is taking a further shape in becoming increasingly dependent on foreign sources of mineral resources that are critical to America's technological competitiveness, economic security, manufacture of goods, and defense industry. This is because these minerals are considered critically important.³⁴In the world's inequitable distribution of natural resource, chromium is one of the major elemental resources that the United States depends upon. It is used to make stainless steel, tool steel, and used in high temperature applications. In a vital sense, since 1961, the U.S has been 100% reliable on other nations for chromium. The Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe contain 98% of the world's reserves of this mineral.³⁵

African continent plays a major role in the reliance that America has with numerous strategic minerals. The continent ranks first or second worldwide with its concentrations of bauxite, chromium, platinum, diamond, gold, cobalt, and manganese to name a few.³⁶ Interestingly, there are approximately twenty-four nonfuel minerals and the United States is dependent on twenty-one of this list. In other words, African nations are a major source for many of these nonfuel minerals. In 1980, \$29 billion worth of nonfuel minerals were imported into the U.S., while it was projected that by 2000 \$85 billion worth of goods would be needed.³⁷Among other African countries, Liberia recorded exports valued about \$143 million in 2008, compared with \$115 million in 2007 and \$140 million in 2006 while her imports from the US was \$157 in 2008 compare with \$76 million in 2007 and \$68 million in 2006 ranging from railway transport machinery and excavating machinery, specialized mining and other drilling equipment.³⁸

³³Jame J. Hentz, "The Contending Currents in United States involvement", p. 24.

³⁴ M. Klare, *Resource Wars*, New York: Henry Holt, 2001.

³⁵ G. J. Mangone, *American Strategic Minerals*, New York: Crane Russak & Company, 1984, p.32.

³⁶G.J. Coakley and P. M. Mobbs, *The Mineral Industries of Africa* World Wide Web URL <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/1999/africa99.pdf> Retrieved 7/12/2010.

³⁷ R. A. Haggerman, *U.S. Reliance on Africa for Strategic Minerals*, United States Marine Corps World Wide Web URL: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1984/HRA.htm> Retrieved 7/12/2010.

³⁸ See *Mineral Year book Area Report: International 2008, Africa and the Middle East, Volume III*, United State Government Printing Office, Washington, 2010, p. 24.

Also, African oil located in the countries that border the Gulf of Guinea and the oil located offshore in the Gulf itself is of vital interest. According to Servant, the Gulf of Guinea is estimated to hold 24 billion barrels of oil, making it one of the most productive offshore oil production centers in the world.³⁹ He also infers:

The oil located offshore is of particular interest because it is not yet fully developed and is somewhat insulated from political turmoil on the mainland. The offshore oil in the Gulf of Guinea is also attractive to American markets and production firms because it does not have to pass through major choke points or high-risk security areas such as the Straits of Hormuz, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Strait of Malacca, or any other narrow canals on its way from the Gulf of Guinea across the Atlantic Ocean to refinement companies on the eastern seaboard of the United States. West Africa offers political advantages to those countries that do not consume oil from members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in that neither of its oil-producing countries belongs to OPEC outside of Nigeria.⁴⁰

According to Ed Royce, “African oil should be treated as a priority for U.S. national security post 9-11, and I think that post 9-11 it’s occurred to all of us that our traditional sources of oil are not as secure as we once thought they were. African energy is also critical to African development. It provides a revenue stream that should supply capital to grow African economies and to break the cycle of poverty that plagues the continent. There is no good reason why African oil producing countries should not take advantage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) to diversify their economies”.⁴¹

Currently several US oil companies including a group led by ChevronTexaco, Devon, Pioneer, Noble, and Anadarko, have been awarded rights to develop oil resources in a Joint Development Zone (JDZ) controlled by Nigeria and Sao Tome.⁴² Under the Bush administration, the United States’ pursuit of oil interest in the Gulf of Guinea was framed in terms of its moral interest in supporting good government and regional development, whereas the exploitation of both gas and oil are for “vital national interest” of the US.⁴³ Currently, President Barack Obama is strategically stepping up his outreach in 2011 to increase his

³⁹ J. C. Servant, *The New Gulf Oil States, Review of African Political Economy*, 30(95), 139-142, March 2003.

⁴⁰ Servant, *The New Gulf Oil States*,

⁴¹ Ed Royce (R-CA), U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Africa Chairman (All quoted material, unless otherwise designated, is from the January 25, 2002 Institute for Advanced Strategic & Political Studies symposium,) in *African Oil: A Priority for U.S. National Security and African Development*. See <http://www.iasps.org/strategic/africawhitepaperpdf> retrieved 24/11/2010.

⁴² Brain Turner, “US Companies Lead in New Africa Oil Exploration”, in *Oil Marketer* <http://www.oilmaketer.co.uk/2005/06/02/us-companies-lead-innewafrica-oil-oxploration> Retrieved 3/1/2011.

⁴³ See also, Malinda Smith, ed., *Securing Africa: Post 9-11 Discourses on Terrorism*, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010, p. 158.

engagement with African continent that is personally meaningful to him and important to U.S. interest. He will focus in Africa on good governance and supporting nations with strong democratic institutions.⁴⁴

Beyond past History and Marginal thinking, Britain Pursues a Renewed Interest in Africa

Since the end of British colonialism in Africa, successive British governments have been apprehensive of this past history in which James Mayall describes as one of damage limitation. He argues that Britain's Africa policy revolves around the need to turn its imperial legacies 'from liabilities into assets' which called for the creation of a 'network of low key, but still special, relationships between Britain and her former colonies in Africa.'⁴⁵ However, successive British governments saw the need to re-align with Africa and this goal was intensified through three main mechanisms: the organization and management of the international economy; bilateral relations which was primarily economic in nature, and the political organization of international society.⁴⁶

There came a need to move forward in this needed relationship which has been described as 'reactive rather than proactive' and 'pragmatic in extreme but it needs to be mentioned that the Thatcher, Major and Blair governments have all been much ordinarily concerned with damaging limitation of one thing or the other in their move to engage Africa.'⁴⁷ For instance, on November 27, 2006, then British Prime Minister Tony Blair made a partial apology for Britain's role in the African slavery trade.⁴⁸ Indeed, **"The past is what makes the present coherent," said a renowned Afro-American writer James Baldwin, and the past "will remain horrible for exactly as long as we refuse to assess it honestly."**⁴⁹ In other words, each British government inherited the traditional post-colonial British mindset that had the view of Africa 'as a

⁴⁴See Julie Pace, "Obama to increase Engagement with Africa in 2011" *Associated Press* – Monday January 3, 2011, http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110103/ap_on_re_us/us_obama_africa Retrieved 16/1/2011.

⁴⁵James Mayall, 'Britain and Anglophone Africa' in A Sesay ed., *Africa and Europe: from Partition to Independence or Dependence?*, London: Croom Helm, 1986, p.54.

⁴⁶Mayall, 'Britain and Anglophone Africa' p. 54- 74.

⁴⁷D. Styan, 'Does Britain Have an African Policy' in *L'AfriquePolitique*, Paris: Karthala, pp. 262.

⁴⁸ Blair 'sorrow' over slave trade, November 27, 2006 BBC. See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6185176.stm> Accessed February 15, 2011.

⁴⁹ James Baldwin et al, *Fiction, Poetry, Autobiography, and Criticism*, Abraham Chapman, ed., New York: New American library, 2001, p. 318.

source of trouble rather than opportunity’.⁵⁰ There have been efforts by each government in power to approach British-African relations through the use of familiar tools of economic, political and bilateral interactions to achieve smooth relations with states in Africa.⁵¹

Indeed, British foreign policy has changed since the Cold War ended⁵² and this development is not peculiar to Britain but a common view of most Western States with a declared commitment to promoting liberal values abroad.⁵³

☒ **Britain’s Africa Policies of late 1990s for 21st Century Relationship**

Briefly stated, African issues have since taken a new dimension higher in Britain’s foreign policy agenda under the New Labour government in 1997 onwards culminating in a series of speeches and several policy documents that the continent was ‘a scar on the conscience of the world and was urgently in need of international support.’⁵⁴ The Kenyan parliamentary group visiting London in 1998 lamented that no British parliamentarian had knowledge of contemporary events in Kenya⁵⁵ which by extension applied to other African countries. The continent has not only been a marginal concern for British foreign policy but has attracted greater attention with British policy splitting the continent in two parts with separate concerns and ministerial structures for dealing with North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara.⁵⁶

With the exception of Nigeria British policy has focused upon southern and east Africa notably South Africa, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Uganda but the Anglo-French summit at St Malo in December 1998 produced a significant declaration to move beyond the old mindset with regard to their imperial spheres of

⁵⁰ C. Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State survival*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1996, p. 88.

⁵¹ Paul William, ‘Britain and Africa after the Cold War: Beyond Damage Limitation?’ in Taylor and Williams, eds., *African International Politics*, p. 41.

⁵² P. Williams, ‘The Rise and Fall of the “Ethical Dimension”: Presentation and Practice in New Labour’s Foreign Policy’, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 15, 1, 2002, pp. 53-63.

⁵³ M. Kahler, *International and foreign Policy*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

⁵⁴ T. Blair, Speech to Labour Party Annual Conference, Brighton, 20 October, 2001.

⁵⁵ G. M. Khadiagala, ‘Europe in African Renewal: Beyond Post-colonialism’ in J. W. Harbeson and D. Rothchild, eds., *Africa in world Politics: the African State System in Flux*, 3rd Edn, Oxford: Westview Press, 2000, pp83-109.

⁵⁶ Paul William, ‘Britain and Africa after the Cold War’, p. 42.

influence and policy towards the continent.⁵⁷ Since late 1990s Britain has been playing a significant role in Sierra Leone army, assistance to ECOMOG in peace keeping in Africa.⁵⁸

Meeting Mutual Needs in Africa-EU Strategic Partnership

The need to collaborate in a number of issues beneficial to both EU and Africa has emerged. [The recent 3rd Africa EU Summit](#) was held on 29-30 November 2010, in Tripoli, Libya. The Summit shaped the future relations between two continents and adopted [Tripoli declaration](#) and the [2nd Action Plan 2011-2013](#). This plan builds up on experience gained from the [1st Action Plan](#), and political objectives enshrined into the [2007 Joint Africa-EU Strategy](#) (JAES) which defines the long-term policy orientations between the two continents, based on a shared vision and common principles shown below:

1. African unity
2. interdependence between Africa and Europe
3. ownership and joint responsibility
4. respect for human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law
5. right to development
6. coherence and effectiveness
7. strong political dialogue
8. co-management of and co-responsibility for global issues
9. burden-sharing and mutual accountability
10. solidarity and mutual confidence
11. equality and justice
12. common and human security
13. respect for international law and agreements
14. gender equality and non-discrimination
15. a long-term approach.⁵⁹

The four main objectives of the JAES are: (a) improving the Africa-EU political partnership (b) promoting i) peace, security, democratic governance and human rights (ii) basic freedoms, gender equality (iii) sustainable economic development, including industrialization (iv) regional and continental integration (v) ensuring that all the Millennium Development Goals are met in all African countries by 2015 (c) effective multilateralism (d) a people-centred partnership. The Strategy's Second Action Plan sets out cross cutting issues and eight areas for strategic partnership for 2011-13: (1) Peace and Security (2) Democratic Governance and Human Rights (3) Regional Economic Integration, Trade and Infrastructure (4) Millennium Development Goals (5) Climate Change (6) Energy

⁵⁷C. EroA *Critical Assessment of Britain's Africa Policy*, *conflict, Security and Development*, 1, 2, 2001, pp. 63-65.

⁵⁸ John M. Kabia, *Humanitarian Intervention and Conflict Resolution in West Africa: From ECOMOG to ECOMIL*, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2009, p. 173.

⁵⁹Joint Africa-EU Strategy Action Plan 2011-2013, in Africa EU Partnership, pp 1-8, See, <http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/partnership/africa-eu-startegyic-partnership> Retrieved 29/12/2010.

(7) Migration, Mobility and Employment (8) Science, Information Society and Space⁶⁰

Democratic Governance and Human Rights are key for sustainable development anchored on cooperation between partners, serving as an integral part of both the EU's and AU's core values in Africa-EU Partnership on Governance and Human Rights hopes to intensify a co-operation with the overall objectives:

To strengthen the open and inclusive Africa-EU dialogue on democratic governance and human rights. This shall also contribute to enhancing the joint influence of Africa and the European Union in international fora and at global level in these fields. To contribute to the establishment and strengthening of the African Governance Architecture with coordinated EU support. It hopes to strengthen the close cooperation between Africa and the EU in the area of cultural goods and other cultural activities. The partnership plans to strengthen synergies and linkages between human rights and democratic governance in its political, economic and social dimension and other areas of the Africa/EU partnership.⁶¹

Future Direction

African-EU partnership is gradually taking fresh steps in deepening their commitments for future enduring mutual benefits across the two continents. Africa-EU future challenges have been outlined in brief thus:

- Current investment in energy production and energy transport infrastructure is inadequate ... to be expanded to meet demand.
- The energy mix needs to be diversified so as not to become too dependent on fossil fuels that are subject to volatile prices. Using local energy sources, such as renewable energy, should be encouraged
- Access to modern energy services needs to be stepped up. Demand for energy needs to be met by corresponding investment. There were over 500 million Africans without access to electricity in 2005.
- Improve economic governance within Africa to create a stable environment where European investment can flourish, for example through public private partnerships
- Launch the Renewable Energy Co-operation Programme (RECP) in second half of 2010, which will cover the period up to 2020. So far, only a fraction of Africa's vast renewable energy potential is being used: 7% of hydro and only 1% of the geothermal potential
- Agree on a 2nd Action Plan by September 2010 to cover the period 2011-2013⁶²

Furthermore, the European Commission recently accorded Libya an aid of 50 million euros (70 million dollars) to be utilized in fighting illegal migrants to

⁶⁰Joint Africa EU Strategy,

⁶¹Joint Africa EU Strategy, P.2

⁶²See, Energy: EU/Africa, <http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/partnerships/energy> Retrieved 29/1/2011

Europe and protect refugees. The money will be allocated between 2011 and 2013, to help protect and assist migrants and refugees and enhance better management of migration as it relates to border surveillance according to EU officials.⁶³ Also, the Energy Information Administration of the Department, the United State hopes to import around 770 million barrels of oil from the Gulf of Guinea in 2020. African oil is reputed to be “easily accessible and well positioned to supply the American markets, which takes only seven days in reaching the US through the East Coast.”⁶⁴

Finally, in her 21st century predictions, Janet Brown infers that, “Whereas in Global trends in 2015 we view globalization growing interconnectedness reflected in the expanded flow of information, technology, capital, goods, service and people throughout the world as among an array of key drivers, we now view it more as a “mega-trend” – a force so ubiquitous that it will substantially affect all of the other major trends in the world of 2020”.⁶⁵

Conclusion

Given limited space, I would like to infer that the quest for development by African countries and the need to sustain and expand in new areas by the West have intensified growing and groaning need beyond national borders in the current global setting. 21st century opens a new scenario that determines the importance of almost all nations at the international arena. Hence interdependence and collaboration inevitably remain the hallmark and shape of the world posture where national or regional prestige in endowments are measured and appreciated among nations collaborating in 21st century ‘Brave New World’.

⁶³Kingsley Kobo, “Libya Gets 50 Million Euro to Combat Illegal Migration” *AfricaNews* Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Wednesday 6 October 2010 http://www.africanews.com/site/list_topics/1384 Retrieved 10/10/2010.

⁶⁴Paul M. Wihbey and Barry Schutz, eds., *African Oil: A priority for U.S. National Security and African Development*, African Oil and Police Initiative group: Washington D.C, The University Club, 2002. See also, Malinda Smith, ed., *Securing Africa: Post 9-11 Discourses on Terrorism*, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010, p. 149.

⁶⁵Janet P. Brown, *Globalization in 2020*, New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2006, p. 23.

Postmodern Sex and Love in Murakami Haruki's *Norwegian Wood*

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Murakami Haruki is one of Japan's most famous contemporary writers. Debuting in 1979 with *Hear the Wind Sing*, he first created an explosive literary phenomenon with his 1987 novel *Norwegian Wood*, which has an alleged total sales of 10 million copies. Since then, his works have been widely translated and read in many countries. In 2009, Murakami was awarded The Jerusalem Prize for the Freedom of the Individual in Society. In his acceptance speech titled "The Wall and the Egg", he revealed a philosophy which he believes in, a central message behind his novels:

"Between a high, solid wall and an egg that breaks against it, I will always stand on the side of the egg."

...

What is the meaning of this metaphor? [...] Each of us is, more or less, an egg. Each of us is a unique, irreplaceable soul enclosed in a fragile shell. This is true of me, and it is true of each of you. And each of us, to a greater or lesser degree, is confronting a high, solid wall. The wall has a name: it is "the System." The System is supposed to protect us, but sometimes it takes on a life of its own, and then it begins to kill us and cause us to kill others -- coldly, efficiently, systematically.

I have only one reason to write novels, and that is to bring the dignity of the individual soul to the surface and shine a light upon it. The purpose of a story is to sound an alarm, to keep a light trained on the System in order to prevent it from tangling our souls in its web and demeaning them. I fully believe it is the novelist's job to keep trying to clarify the uniqueness of each individual soul by writing stories -- stories of life and death, stories of love, stories that make people cry and quake with fear and shake with laughter. This is why we go on, day after day, concocting fictions with utter seriousness.

According to this passage, his novels are attempts to rescue from the System the individuality that makes each human unique. The metaphors of the wall and the egg carry different and irreconcilable characteristics. The visual imagery of the wall, for example, evokes a sense of height, width, and strength ("too high, too strong—and too cold" as Murakami pessimizes) as opposed to the littleness and fragility of the egg. Moreover, if the egg is aligned with human individuality, then positioned as the egg's opposite, the System carries two implications. First, the word "individuality" suggests boundaries of difference for each human that no other individual or group can erase and homogenize. To "clarify the uniqueness of each individual soul", then, is to retain and respect the differences between us, and to react against the System's attempt to strangle our uniqueness and homogenize us into one single entity. The second implication is that, as the semantic antonym of "individual", the System is collective. However, an immediate question then

is, “what are the constituents of this collective?” The answer lies, only naturally, in the fact that the members are the eggs themselves. At the end of the speech Murakami says, “The System did not make us: We made the System.” If we are the ones who created this System with an intention to protect us, we only end up subjecting ourselves into the power of our own creation. In short, what Murakami suggests is that, the System’s power and suppression are validated by a collective surrender of our individuality.

Murakami does not explain what the System is or how it works, but if the System dominates us by destroying our individuality, then a passage between the protagonist Watanabe and Midori in the novel *Norwegian Wood* conveys a similar idea:

“People are always trying to *force* stuff on me [Midori]. The minute they see me they start telling me what to do. At least you don’t try to force stuff on me.”

“I [Watanabe] don’t know you well enough to force stuff on you.”

“You mean, if you knew me better, you’d force stuff on me like everyone else?”

“It’s possible,” I said. “That’s how people live in the real world: forcing stuff on each other.”

(Chapter 7, italics original)

Watanabe’s words suggest that human organization is built around a mutual relationship of forcing and coercion, hence bringing the interpersonal (literally among people) level of human relationships to a macroscopic level involving the structures of society. For me, Murakami’s concept of the System seems to be an encompassing framework that dominates all aspects of our lives as long as dominance exists, whether it is cultural, social, political, or psychological. It takes on different forms at different times, but no matter what form it takes, it has the power and authority to control how we must act as human beings. Sometimes it can be social perceptions or cultural practices adopted and normalized by the majority of the public, or it can be the institutions of ideology, state power, structures of religion that dogmatize human behaviour and confine our characters or personalities.

However, employing the critics of gender studies, the System can also be read in terms of unequal gender oppressions and hierarchies inscribed in human societies. The feminist understanding of the discourse of equality and modern social structures is particularly useful in examining the System’s oppression of our individuality and differences. Feminists have shown that our social and political structures are male-biased and hierarchical, and as such have contributed in marginalizing and oppressing women’s voices. Carole Pateman writes in her book *The Sexual Contract* (1988): “[t]he new civil society created through the original [social] contract is a patriarchal social order” that accords the male sex with a superior political right based on anatomical (sexual) difference (1-3). Women are subordinated to men (the male sex) as men (mankind), their biological differences ignored, because “only men...are ‘individuals’” (Pateman 3-6). She therefore argues that “[s]exual difference is political difference [...] the difference between freedom and subjection” (3). According to feminists, the patriarchal society that we live in is the very structure that oppresses the female as the powerless, based on an unequal power

relation between the two genders.

This awareness of the unequal gender relations is, for me, a point of challenge to Murakami's notion of the System. I argue that in his novel *Norwegian Wood*, if Murakami ever wants to shine a light on human individuality, his individuals are, as Carole Pateman observes, strictly male. The female is unseen, unheard, and does not exist as individuals.

First, a brief synopsis of the book: 37-year-old Watanabe Toru recalls his youth in the 1960s, when he, his best friend Kizuki, and Kizuki's girlfriend Naoko are having a great time. Kizuki kills himself on turning 17, and his death brings a sense of loss to both Watanabe and Naoko. Gradually the two surviving friends get closer and eventually develop a romantic feeling. On Naoko's 20th birthday, they consummate for the first and last time, yet after that Naoko is removed to a sanatorium. While writing regular letters to her and even visiting her on occasion, Watanabe befriends another girl called Midori who has very different personalities from Naoko. The two slowly get attracted, to the point where Watanabe realizes he loves both girls at the same time. Soon news of Naoko's suicide reaches Watanabe, and devastated, he runs away and wanders alone around Japan for a month. Once back to Tokyo, he has a visit from Naoko's roommate at the sanatorium, Reiko, and they go through the details of Naoko's suicide and then make love through the night. The novel ends with Watanabe's phone call to Midori declaring his love for her but realizing that he has no idea where he is.

As pointed out by many critics, *Norwegian Wood* is a bildungsroman. Commonly translated as a "coming-of-age novel", bildungsroman documents the development and maturity of the protagonist's mind and character from childhood to adulthood (Abrams & Harpham 229). In this novel, the element of bildungsroman exists on the level that it is a record of the male protagonist, Watanabe Toru's transition from adolescence to adulthood, spanning from 17 years old to when he is not yet 21 (in Japan, age 20 is when an adolescent turns adult). Yet, a major conflict represented in the novel is the resistance to approach adulthood. Watanabe once expresses his assumption that he will stay 18 or 19 forever, i.e. after 19 years old he would turn 18; Naoko also suggests something similar. The rejection of turning 20 shows a psychological reluctance to become an adult. What is the significance of becoming an adult, then? Watanabe, Kizuki and Naoko form a trio that exists on its own and cannot be interfered by others. Kizuki is Watanabe's only friend, and vice versa. Naoko has known Kizuki since childhood and their romantic relationship is described as a most natural happening. They form an isolated pair who grow up, according to Naoko, "naked on a desert island," picking a banana to eat if hungry, and sleeping in each other's arms if lonely (Chapter 6). Watanabe hence becomes the only link connecting them with the world outside (Chapter 6). Contrast this isolated, detached environment in which they spend their childhood, with Itoh, a university student Watanabe gets to know later in the novel, who complains his girlfriend of being "super-realistic" about settling down for a decent, stable job and start a family once she turns 20 (Chapter 10). There exists a contrast between childhood and adulthood, where childhood is a dream-like heaven isolated from the external world as

opposed to adulthood being a realistic submission to the societal expectation of getting a decent job. Turning 20 therefore is the moment when a person is forced to move away from fantastic childhood and submitted to the System. The exploration of this psychological resistance to turn 20 is what makes this novel a bildungsroman. Under this line of thought, the perfect trio between Watanabe, Kizuki and Naoko is impossible to maintain, because the collective nature of The System forbids them from staying in their harmonious sphere, and as they grow up inevitably, they are forced to make contacts with the external world. Naoko says that if Kizuki had not died, the two of them would continue being together, growing gradually “unhappy”, because they have to “gradually pay back what we owe the world” (Chapter 6). I read the price she refers to as what they have to pay for the uninterfered childhood bestowed by the System. Kizuki’s death can similarly be read as a desire to stay in their paradise forever. In death he would remain 17, and would never have to reach 20.

Naoko, however, is left with a fatal blow. For her, turning 20 is tightly connected to the meanings of love and sex. In this paper I term sexual intercourse as the carnal aspect of a romantic relationship, and psychological affection as the spiritual aspect of a romance. What is obviously absent in the romance between Naoko and Kizuki is the element of carnal sex. No matter how hard they have tried, Naoko’s body simply will not let Kizuki enter. Ironically it is Watanabe, the only friend of the couple, who takes Naoko’s virginity on the night of her 20th birthday, and she has never been able to have sexual intercourse again since. That the only time Naoko has sex is on the day she officially becomes an adult, not before, not after, has an unmistakable symbolic meaning: Because their love arises out of the unpolluted childhood environment, only the spiritual aspect of romance exists, and they are denied the carnal aspect (sex). They are *made* to fail in having sex, and Naoko must project her carnal needs onto another person. The division between love and sex is extrapolated to a distinction between pure, unaffected childhood and realistic, tainted adulthood. To put it simply, sex is the debt she has to repay to the System, the price she has to pay to enter the tainted adult world, and the ritual that marks the decay of her purity. Her sexual intercourse with Watanabe on her 20th birthday is that fated path Naoko must walk towards her downfall.

Yet, by having sex with Watanabe, Naoko betrays her spiritual fidelity to Kizuki. This carnal betrayal to Kizuki is a significant cause of her deterioration. She has never really got better after entering the sanatorium, and in the end she chooses death as her release. On the eve of her suicide, she confesses to Reiko, her roommate, about this sexual experience, and claims resolutely that “[sex] was something that would come to me once, and leave, and never come back. This would be a once-in-a-lifetime thing. [...] I just don’t want to be violated like that again – by anybody” (Chapter 11). Furthermore, the confession cleanses her, as Reiko remarks that after confessing, Naoko sleeps like “a girl of 13 or 14 who’s never had a bit of harm done to her since the day she was born” (Chapter 11), an obvious reference to the turning of the clock back to her pure, untainted adolescence before Kizuki’s suicide. However, to return to the question of individuality, if suicide is what Naoko chooses in the end, then this suggests that Naoko has been

deprived of any substantial cure from the start, and that if her wish has been to stay with Kizuki in their bubblegum childhood forever, then there is no hope of redemption for her whatsoever if she has to turn 20 and become an adult. In this sense I argue that Naoko as the female lead in the story is deprived of the individuality that qualifies her to struggle against the System. As Japanology scholar Chieko Mulhern argues, in Japanese romance, “the heroine must be made unconscious, hurt, or otherwise physically incapacitated in the presence of the hero, preferably in a manner to cause him to feel responsible for her condition” (Mulhern 64). Naoko is that weak heroine who exists to strengthen and underline the growth of the male protagonist Watanabe.

To conclude, this paper argues that although Murakami undertakes to shine light on human individuality, he is insensitive to gender inequality as a key aspect of the System. In *Norwegian Wood* (1987), becoming an adult at age 20 is a fateful deterioration for Naoko that forces her to betray her fidelity to Kizuki. Yet, since everything is fated for her, Murakami in fact does not recognize this female character as an individual. In this bildungsroman, only the male protagonist is worth an individuality, and thus worthy of challenging the System; on the other hand, the treatment of the female character Naoko falls short because she is not portrayed with due individuality. This unequal gender relation exposes a serious limitation of Murakami’s understanding of the System.

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**Discovering minorities in Japan:
First Korean representations in Japanese cinema.**

Category: **Migration**

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Discovering minorities in Japan: First Korean representations in Japanese cinema.

It is often assumed that there is a general absence of minorities represented in Japanese cinema, a statement which is justified by the Japanese official discourse that Japan contains “no minorities”¹. The Japanese government’s response to the United Nations’ call for the elimination of discrimination against minorities was an official statement that no minorities existed in Japan and therefore there is no discrimination against minorities in Japan. The statement added that Japan believed minority groups should not be discriminated against in those countries where they did exist”.²

Since minorities often deny their own minority status, population figures are difficult to verify, but include about: 800,000 resident Koreans, 50,000 resident Chinese and Taiwanese, 50-60,000 Ainu, nearly 2 million Burakumin, who are descendants of the earlier *Eta-Hinin* outcasts, and over 1 million Okinawans and other minorities who hold Japanese citizenship but are excluded from the Japanese mainstream, such as *hibakusha*, survivors of the atom bombs, recently naturalized foreigners (*kikajin*) or individuals with interracial parentage (*konketsujii*). In sort, more than around 4.5 million people belong to Japan’s “non-existent” minorities (which is more than 4% of Japan’s 125,000,000 residents).³

Western studies regarding Japanese discrimination towards minorities must not serve to seek the mote in another’s eye while ignoring the beam in one’s own, but on the contrary, they must be used to understand how other Western societies actually resemble Japan in the manner in which they support discrimination against indigenous, aboriginal and foreign minorities, by the use of similar psychological and cultural rationale.

Through this paper I will try to analyze what have been the most significant cinematographic representations of Japanese minorities since the defeat of the Japanese Empire in the Pacific War, focusing in the Korean case. This community became the largest foreign ethnic group, and has especially suffered the consequences of an ambiguous status and discrimination since 1945.

The problem of minorities’ recognition in Japan is deeply rooted with the self-concept of the Japanese nation itself. Although nationalisms are rarely consistent in content, what remains permanent are their basis in national consciousness. Japanese nationalism idealized cultural and “racial” homogeneity, an idea which emerged from the foundation of the nation-state during the Meiji Restoration⁴. There were efforts by the new Meiji state to infuse a heterogeneous population with a sense of homogeneity and community⁵.

Ethnocentric ideas linked to the conception of nationalism during the Meiji industrialization actually originated in European imperialism, drawing a distinction between the terms civilized “Self” from the uncivilized “Other”. Within the colonial context, social-Darwinism made it possible to “demonstrate” that some cultures were advanced and civilized while others remained backward and uncivilized⁶. Thus, the Japanese sense of superiority towards Koreans, and the cause of their discriminatory treatment today, which goes back to the Meiji Restoration.⁷

According to David White⁸, it was not until the late 1980s when Japan’s resident minorities started to have a relevant presence on the big screen, mainly after the great commercial success of films like Sai Yōichi’s *Tsuki wa docchi ni detteiru* (All Under the moon, 1993) and Yukisada Isao’s *Go* (2002)⁹. *All Under the moon* really opened the

representation of foreigners in Japanese film substantially. It has a zainichi Korean and a Filipino character as its main focus. But, while *All Under the moon* develops a strategy to subvert the conventional representation of zainichi, *Go*¹⁰, about a Korean teenager born and raised in Japan who uses his Japanese name to disguise his ethnic identity, remains confined to the traditional images of zainichi as “victims”, but used these images to develop a new stylish cinematography and introduce a new stereotype - a good-looking young hero.

About this time, the Korean community in particular, had started to produce works with repercussion in the medium of literature, with writers winning prestigious literary awards. Writers of Okinawan descent also became prominent. This has culminated in a general awareness of the existence of “others” within Japanese society itself. From the early 1990s we can find a sort of “new trend” of immigration in Japanese cinema, with films such as: Oguri Kohei’s *Kayoko no tame ni* (For Kayoko, 1984); Igarashi Takumi’s *Nanmin rodo* (Refugee Road, 1992), about Vietnamese refugees. Or other films can be found about the “newcomer immigrants” in Japan and the difficulties they face making a living in Japan: Odayashi Nobuhiko’s *Pekinteki suika* (Beijing Watermelon, 1989) about Chinese students; Yanagimachi Mitsuo’s *Ai ni tsuite, Tokyo* (All about love, Tokyo, 1989) or Hanawa Yukinari’s *Tokyo Skin* (1996).¹¹

Apart from this recent period mentioned above, there has been a relative absence of cinematographic minorities in the course of Japanese film history, an observation which is explained by Desser through the fact that there has been virtually no tradition of the “social problem” film in Japan¹². To be sure, there have been cycles of film devoted to certain overt political issues such as the *keiko eiga* (tendency films) of the 1930s and a string of anti-war films in the late 1950s, but there is not a tradition of social problem films which transcend concrete political concerns.

Representations of Koreans in Japanese cinema during the pre-war and war-time period can be found in a few films from the early 1930s, such as *Arigatosan* (Mr. Thank You, Hiroshi Shimizu, 1936) and *Hanakago no uta* (Song of the Flower Basket, Gosho Heinosuke, 1937). Shimizu made several films which either included Korean characters or were set in colonized Korea, such as *Tomodachi* (Friends, 1940).

However Desser claims that the lack of social consciousness regarding this minority caused Koreans in this period to be depicted as part of the “landscape”. These representations belong more to an exotic and naïve curiosity towards the Koreans rather than to social comprehension or understanding. While in the late 19th century Japan was an exotic “object” for the western gaze, in the early 20th century, after the victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1895), Japan was on its way to changing into a modern nation-state and imperialistic power, and transforming itself from the “object” into the “subject” of the gaze by making Korea, Taiwan and the Ainu its own objects.¹³

In the late 1930s, with Japan’s growing militarism and increasing military control over the film industry, which led to the enactment of the Cinema Law in 1939 (based on Nazi Germany’s movie regulation), pre-war Japanese censorship did not prohibit Korean-related subjects. Nevertheless, it was difficult for filmmakers to deal with the Korean cause, since any criticism of Japan’s colonial regime was severely policed. For instance, *Kono haha o miyo* (Look at This Mother, Tasaka Tomosaka, 1930) and *Renga jokō* (The Brick Factory Girl, Chiba Yasuki, 1940) were severely censored or prohibited from screening because of their depictions of the misfortunes of Koreans. Actually, despite the fact that representation of Koreans in the poor quarters of the town would be more realistic, such depictions were not acceptable to the Japanese authorities, since colonial discourse claimed that Japanese colonialism had brought the Koreans happiness rather than misery.

In the early 1940s, Japan had mobilized a policy of assimilation towards Korean people, both in Japan and Korea. Although this project had already been in place both in Korea and Taiwan, the *kōminka* (“imperial subjectification”) project was intensified

under the slogan of *nai-sen ittai* (which implied that Japan and Korea formed one body). Propaganda films were mobilized to project a utopian vision of Japan's colonialism onto Korea¹⁴.

Korean characters were often represented as obedient subjects who appreciated Japanese control. Curiously, the films even encouraged inter-ethnic marriage between Japanese and Koreans in order to emphasize the importance of the *nai-sen ittai* ideology. A good example is Honatsu Eitaro's *Kimi to boku* (You and Me, 1941) about young Korean volunteers, loyal to the Emperor, in which the main character also marries a Japanese woman just before he proceeds to the front. Obviously war-time cinema totally hid the hardships of Koreans under Japanese colonialism¹⁵. Together with films made in Manchuria, this film production must be considered as a part of Japanese imperial propaganda produced in the Japan-led *Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere*.

At any rate, realistic depictions of Korean problems were not depicted until New Wave filmmakers dealt seriously with the issues of minorities after the postwar period. As a part of their efforts to portray the dark side of the economic miracle, they focused in on the lowest and most vulnerable end of the social scale: prostitutes, dealers, yakuza... Thus, even if they were not specifically committed to the cause of any minority, they occasionally found in the minorities a mean of projecting the most grotesque and most bitter side of the just established liberal capitalist democracy, while condemning discrimination in general.

Despite of not being the central subject, Burakumin characters appeared in New Wave films such as Oshima's *Ai to kibo no machi* (A Town of love and hope, 1959) and *Shinjuku dorobô nikki* (*Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, 1969); or Shohei Imamura's *Nippon Sengoshi - Madamu onboro no Seikatsu* (History of Postwar Japan as Told by a Bar Hostess, 1970) - in which Etsuko (Madam Omboro) mentions that she is of *eta* origin, and tells the directors that her mother insisted to her that she could never "wipe out my background". Imamura addresses the Burakumin issue in a direct way in his documentary *Karayukisan* (1975)¹⁶.

With a different spirit but in the same stream, Post-war Humanist directors such as Kinoshita Keisuke and Ichikawa Kon also addressed the Burakumin question through the adaptation of Shimazaki Toson novel *Hakai* (The Broken Commandment, 1906) into film in Keisuke's *Apostasy* (1948) first, and then in the 1962 Kon remake *The Outcase*, later. Despite Dessler's assertion of a lack of such a tradition in Japanese cinema, if there is indeed a social conscious cinema in Japan, Tadashi Imai is probably one of the best examples. He confronted the Burakumin problem in his social conscious film *Hashi ga nai kawa* (River Without a Bridge, 2 parts 1969-70) and looked at the question of exclusion suffered in postwar Japan by a couple of mixed Japanese-Afro-American brothers in *Kiku To Isamu* ("Kiko and Isamu", 1959).

Other minorities will be represented by politically committed and left-wing filmmakers such as Noriaki Tsuchimoto, who tells the story of a Malaysian youth at Chiba University, who is persecuted by the police for political reasons in *Echange Student, Chua Swee Lin* (1964) or Kei Kumai in *Chi no mure*, (Apart from Life, 1970) who looked at prejudice against not only Koreans and Burakumin but also *hibakusha*.

Korean diaspora

New Wave filmmakers, and some other directors from the late 1950s, represented the first cinematographic efforts to portray the problems of minorities in a more realistic way. Unlike the films of the war-time period, which were forced to avoid negative images of Korean lives, these later films tended to disclose the hardships and discrimination suffered by these communities.

Among other minorities, the Korean case is especially complex due to their particular historical circumstance. Actually, Korean diaspora is not exempt from contradictions, since first of all the group is considered to be “Japan’s foreign minority”, even if they are 2nd or 3rd generation, as if to conform to Japan’s official stance of monoethnic national-state.

We can place the origin of the current Korean diaspora in Japan around the end of World War II, and more decisively the Korean War (1950-53) when the group was firmly established. That is not to say that there weren’t Korean residents in Japan before World War II, because in fact there had been an even bigger community of Koreans living in Japan before 1945 (around 2,000,000), but I am considering here the question of diaspora, not simply when people began leaving their homeland but rather when they reached a sense of self-consciousness as a displaced community¹⁷.

By the time of Japan’s unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, a US Joint Intelligence Study estimated that three to four million Koreans resided overseas at this time, however several postwar political and economic circumstances discouraged many Koreans in Japan from repatriating.¹⁸ As a consequence, 600,000 Koreans remained in 1948 and they formed the core of the diasporic Korean population in postwar Japan. In Japanese literature this community has been given different names: *zainichi chōsenjin*, *zainichi kankokujin*, *zainichi kankoku chōsenjin*, *zainichi korian* or simply *zainichi*¹⁹. Nevertheless, the Korean diaspora is not a social issue that has stood immutable in the face of passing time, but on the contrary, changes in filmic representation echo mutations in its own idiosyncratic nature, given generational differences carried through from 1945 up today. Focusing on the first generation of Koreans after World War II, the group can be defined as a “classic Diaspora”: a community which shares a collective memory, myth and desire to return.²⁰ This first generation considered that their sojourn in Japan was temporary (there was a general belief that all Koreans would be repatriated soon or later)²¹.

Yobo – “poor and shabby Korean”

These filmic representations of Koreans produced from the late 1950s onwards create what we can call “Yobo stereotype”. The term *Yobo* comes from the colonial period (1910-1945) and maybe translated as “you”, but it conveys an image of inferiority and impoverishment, recalling the Japanese onomatopoeia *yoboyobo* (old and shabby)²².

Koreans had been crossing between the peninsula and the islands looking for job opportunities since the beginning of Japanese rule, often occupying low qualified and harsh jobs²³. This means that the working conditions of Koreans, had in actuality, not changed a lot after the war. In the beginning of the economic recovery several filmmakers reintroduced images of “wetback” Korean laborers, which evidently seem not to have originated in postwar Japan but rather originated in the colonial period. Masaki Kobayashi first dealt with the Korean issue in his 1956 film *Kabe atsuki heya* (The Thick-Walled Room), in which he criticizes Japan’s wartime policy by depicting the tragedy of a Korean who was listed as a Japanese war criminal.

However, the first honest depictions of these Korean laborers and their struggles in Japan were Tomu Uchida’s *Dotanba* (1958), a film about Korean miners who are shown rescuing Japanese miners locked in the depths of a mine cave by accident, and Shohei Imamura’s *Nianchan* (My Second brother, 1959), an adaptation of a best-selling book based on the diary of a ten-year-old *zainichi* girl. Featuring a poor Korean family in a small mining village, the film examines poor working conditions, unfair educational opportunities and discrimination, despite the fact that Korean identity is not foregrounded. The film is notable for the presence of the then-rising star Yoshinaga Sayuri (one of Japan’s biggest stars in the 1980s).

By the late 1950s Japan was immersed in the reconstruction project and the war was considered a nightmare that was to be forgotten. “The colonial experience was rejected as prehistory; it is as if Japan were born anew in 1945. Not coincidentally, it is almost impossible to find anything in the postwar years without the prefix “new” (shin)”²⁴. This postwar Japanese mentality - the postwar renunciation of the prewar world of war and empire - is encapsulated in the popular television drama, *Watashi wa kai ni naritai* (I Want to Become a Seashell, 1959) based on a successful novel by Tetsutaro Kato.²⁵

Other examples are Tadashi Imai’s *Are ga minato no hi da* (That is the Port Light, 1961), which features a young Korean fisherman who works whilst hiding his Korean ethnic background, on a Japanese fishing boat operating at the controversial border with Korean territorial waters²⁶; but one of the most relevant examples of the archetypal Korean image as poor but honest and full of dignity is Urayama Kiriro’s *Kyūpora no aru machi* (Foundry Town, 1962). Like *Nianchan*, friendship between a young Japanese brother and sister and their Korean friends constitutes an important part of the film’s story.

The low place occupied by the first generation of Korean *zainichi* in postwar Japan is depicted in Shohei Imamura’s *Nippon Konchūki* (*The Insect Woman*, 1963), in which he introduces a refugee from the Korean War who marries a prostitute and subsists by working in a garden. But among New Wave filmmakers, Oshima was the one who made the Korean question a particularly strong motif in his oeuvre. *Yunbogi no nikki* (1965), the first of four films made on the Korean issue, deals with Korean poverty as a consequence of Japanese actions²⁷. The systematic cycle of poverty and destruction of the Korean family system and the exploitation of the young are the direct result of Japanese and US imperialism. It is not a call for social understanding and humanistic sympathizing, but rather the film is a direct call to revolution. Oshima shows images of August 15th, Korean Independence Day, and photographs of the massive student demonstrations against the rule of President Syngman Rhee, prompting the narrator to assert, “Yunbogi, you will be throwing stones one day!” The film arose out of Oshima’s trip to Korea to make a television documentary *Seishun no hi* (A Tomb for Youth, 1964). There he took photographs of poor children living in the streets of large cities.

The Korean “Otherness”

With the emergence of the two antagonistic regimes, the Korean diaspora were divided but despite ideological differences, both groups (supporters of North Korea and South Korea) shared a firm common consciousness as foreign minority. New Wave directors proved to be sensitive to the feelings of alienation held by some minorities who were denied entry into the Japanese mainstream. That sense of alienation emerged occasionally when the Korean problem was portrayed. Koreans in Japan seen as “Others” are well represented in Hiroshi Teshigahara’s *Tanin no kao* (*The Face of Another*, 1966), though it is certainly not the primary focus of the film. A point in common between the story’s faceless hero and Koreans in Japan is expressed in the novel:

“seeking points of similarity between myself who had lost my face and Koreans who were frequently the objects of prejudice, I had without realizing it, come to have a feeling of closeness with them” (*The face of Another*, Kobo Abe)

Oshima problematizes the question of Korean “otherness” in Japan through the films *Nihon shunka-ko* (A Treatise on Japanese Bawdy Song, 1967), in which a group

of high school students imagine themselves in the place of Koreans dominated by Japanese imperialism, and *Kaette kita yopparai* (Three resurrected Drunkards, 1968). As we will see, in *Koshikei*, Oshima looks at the Koreans from outside, addressing the conscience of the Japanese audience, but here the spectator takes the place of Koreans, as in the film three students are mistaken for Koreans and chased by the police as illegal immigrants.

Nevertheless, as the “temporally residence” in Japan was becoming longer and more Koreans were growing up within Japanese culture, issues like a “crisis of identity” within the Korean diaspora rose up, and the problem of “otherness” in their homeland started to be depicted, when favorable conditions in North Korea caused a massive repatriation in 1960.²⁸ As part of this repatriation project, about 1,800 Japanese women followed their ethnic Korean husbands, partly in order to avoid their problematic existence as “mixed” couples in Japan. The 1960 film *Umi o wataru yuujou* (The Friendship that Crossed the Sea), the best-known Japanese film on the repatriation project, deals with this historical issue. The story portrays a “mixed child who decides to give up trying to be “pure Japanese” in order to be “pure Korean” in North Korea. It shows how generations of Koreans settled in Japan when the war ended also faced cultural barriers that complicated their efforts to resettle in their homeland since some of them had been raised in Japan and could neither speak Korean nor follow Korean customs and mannerisms adequately.

Other politically motivated activities such as the Korean uprising in the Kobe and Osaka areas against Korean school closures led Occupation Authorities to conclude that Koreans, rather than returning to Korea, were intent on establishing political autonomy in Japan, and they were not seen to be assimilated by the majority of the Japanese population, which would reinforce the notion of “otherness” of the Korean population²⁹.

Black marketers and communist spies

Thus, negative images of Koreans were being spread among Japan, in response to two factors: the association in the collective Japanese imaginary of Koreans with both illegal markets (*yakuzas*) and communism.

The origin of the fear towards Korean communists goes back to the Occupation period. Soon after the surrender, Japan-based Koreans formed the League of Koreans in Japan (*Jaeil joseonin ryeonmaeng* or *Joryeon*) with a leftist leaning. After 1947, SCAP ordered the Japanese government to purge communists from professions of influence, including education, politics, and the arts, and Occupation and Japanese authorities attributed any problem concerning Koreans to alleged communist ties. The US believed that the southern peninsula and the Korean people in general “were extremely fertile ground for the establishment of Communism.”³⁰ However the communist question has been overcome in the recent years, as can be seen in Yang Young-Hee’s *Dear Pyongyang* (2006).

Even if during 1960s, as Japan was becoming more and more prosperous, many *zainichi* Koreans were stigmatized as poor, dirty and often associated with the black market and other illegal activities. That is why New Wave filmmakers, while looking at the dark side of Japanese society, also found the Korean community there. While the term *sangokujin* (“third-nation people) reproduced the prewar, colonial discourse of *futei senjin* (“unruly Koreans”), it also reflected the postwar-Cold War ideology of the three-world theory, which divided the world into three camps: the democratic and developed first-world, the socialist and semi-developed second world, and the unstable and underdeveloped third world. *Sangokujin* became not only stigmatization as third-class citizens but also as third-world denizens in the supposedly first-world nation of Japan.³¹

This term *futei senjin* gained currency after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, when rumors of Koreans rioting, looting and poisoning wells led Japanese police and vigilante groups to massacre thousands of Koreans in the Tokyo-Yokohama area. But it was the earlier anxieties about the Korean independence movement of March 1, 1919, when the term *futei senjin* marked the Korean colonial subject as dangerous and subversive. The discourse of *futei senjin* did not simply disappear after 1945. Instead, it reappeared in *zainichi* Korean discourse reincarnated as: spies (*supai*), rapists (*gokan hannin*), ghosts (*yurei*), and queer (*okama*) stereotypes.³²

The descent of Korean residents into the black market was a consequence of Japanese domestic regulation after the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Koreans in Japan were stripped of their Japanese nationality rights in 1952 and they also lost the right to almost all forms of welfare. “At the beginning of the 1950s, more than three quarters of working *zainichi* Koreans were either unemployed or engaged in casual work, with unreliable earnings”.³³ Thus, the historical cause of the Korean *yakuza* stereotype can be easily found in the lack of legitimate job opportunities, which resulted “in illegal means of subsistence such as the black market”.³⁴

From the mid-1960s, *zainichi* characters in Japanese films reinforced these images and created a duality between *zainichi* as passive victims of discrimination and prejudice versus *zainichi* as source of problems. Despite the fact that those who opted for South Korean nationality gained permanent residence rights in Japan after an agreement signed in 1965 with that country, *zainichi* stereotypes have continued to be created around the notion of “other” (*soto*). Since their identity is constructed through confrontation with Japanese, the *zainichi* identity emerges vis-à-vis Japaneseness. Refer to the scene in *Otoko no kao ha ririkisho*, where a flashback in the narration goes back to the end of the Pacific War in Korea, where Koreans differentiate themselves from the Japanese officers and take revenge by beating them up after the surrender, which also reminds us of Nagisa Oshima’s *Wasureareta Kogun* (The forgotten imperial military, 1963) which depicted Korean soldiers in the Japanese military.

It should be noted here that Koreans depicted in *Otoko no kao ha ririkisho*, as victims/source of social problems are not necessarily contradictory: the image of *zainichi* as the source of social problems is mobilized by *yakuza* films. But the *yakuza*, despite often being identified as problem, do not exceed the “victim” formula, since the film’s narrative inscribes the Korean *yakuza* characters as falling into gangsterism as a result of prejudice, poverty and racial discrimination.

Korean crimes in the media

Headlines of illegal activities and crimes committed by Japan-based Koreans, along with Taiwanese residents, definitively did not help to create positive among the Japanese mainstream. A searing media portrayal of a sensational 1958 murder case known as the “Komatsugawa Incident”, played a large role in later representations in literature, film and popular culture. A Korean teenage boy named Ri Chin’u murdered a Japanese female classmate and taunted the media and the police for nearly two weeks afterward. He later confessed to murdering another Japanese woman and Ri was sentenced to death.

Ri’s crime and punishment lived in the cultural imagination of the postwar Japan through literary, visual and theatrical representations³⁵. The questions of rape and the recurrent representations of the Komatsugawa incident caused a sort of “myth” of the *zainichi* Korean rapist from the 1960s. As Suh Kyung-sik argues:

From the 1950s to the 1960s, representations of the “Komatsugawa Incident!” had extremely political repercussions. Later, those memories were suppressed, and now hardly anyone takes a second look at the incident. Although the

memories of how that incident was represented and what kind of repercussions it had have been forgotten, the ghostly image of “Koreans” as “monsters” still lurks deep in people’s psyches and rears its ugly head from time to time. (Suh 376)

The most famous work based on Komatsugawa Incident was Nagisa Oshima’s *Kōshikei (Death by hanging, 1968)*. Although many of the film-makers who dealt with Korean issues in this period tended to be left-wing in their political orientation, it was Oshima who handled zainichi subjects most critically from a leftist perspective. That is why, *Death by Hanging* is not actually a film about Komatsugawa Incident, but rather Oshima uses it as a pretext to critique the irrationalism of the Japanese authorities and the death penalty.

The film does not follow the common humanistic approach, which tends to attribute the cause of the misdeeds of minority groups to their disadvantaged social position. The main character, R, invites neither sympathy nor condemnation. However, the claim made by R’s sister figure - that his crimes are a revolt of the oppressed Koreans against the Japanese society - is denied by R himself. As Tadao Satō suggests, R refuses to be seen as a representative of “the Korean nation-state”. Rather he stands as an individual confronting the Japanese state. Thus, Oshima denounces the “state” by criticizing its own criminal murders - that is, the death penalty.

On the formal level, the film is a dramatic break with traditional filmic convention. Oshima criticized some of his fellow left-wing film-makers such as Imagi Tadashi and Yamamoto Satsuo for making independent films that displayed conventional sentimentalism. For Oshima, they “unfortunately restore the traditional filmic conventions of a major studio production”. In the film it is obvious that Oshima is aware of the need to challenge conventional cinematic form, particularly conventional narrative realism, in order to communicate political strength. “Oshima successfully achieves a politically avant-garde film combining political and aesthetic radicalism”.³⁶

Just weeks after *Koushikei* was released, another relevant crime involving a zainichi Korean happened, the so-called “Kin Kirō Incident” of 1968. A 39 year-old zainichi Korean man named Kim Kirō (kim Hui-ro) shot and killed two yakuza in Yokohama and then fled to the hot spring town of Sumata-kyo, in Shizuoka prefecture, where he took thirteen Japanese people hostage in the Fujimi-ya Inn. For the next 88 hours the hostage crisis became a major media event. Unlike the Komatsugawa Incident, the Kin Kiro Incident was broadcast live on television.

Curiously, this crime did not have the same cultural repercussions as the komatsugawa Incident, but one direct representation of the Kin Kiro Incident was produced: *Kimu no senso (Kim’s War)*, a 1991 television movie starring Kitano Takeshi.

Because of the visibility of the Korean minority caused by the Komatsugawa Incident, which “appeared precisely when the discourse of Japaneseness (Nihonjinron) was popular” (Lie 2001: chap.3), the Kim Kirō murderers and other cases actually served to reinforced Japanese identity by distinguishing the “self” (the civilized) from the dangerous “others” (the “louts”), which were actually a central part of another postwar myth, the reconfiguration of Japan as a homogeneous nation (*tan’ itsu mizonku shinwa*).

If we compare the early representations of Korean residents with those produced from the postwar period onwards, we can observe that even though much has changed in Japan between 1945 and 2011, much has also stayed the same in terms of the imagery and discourses surrounding zainichi Koreans. Those first representations of Koreans, despite their own contradictions, help us to understand the foundation of this minority in Japan, whose residence was at first considered “temporary” but with time has taken on an important role in Japanese cultural productions and enriched many aspects of contemporary Japanese life.

Notes



¹ See for instance, S. Hall, D. Held and T. McGrew (eds). *Modernity and its Future*, Cambridge: Polity press and Open University press, 1992 and H.K. Bhabha (ed). *Nation and Narration*, London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

² Thomas, Roy. *Japan: The Blighted Blossom*, Vancouver: New Star Books, 1989, pp. 224

³ One of the areas which have a largest minority group is particularly Osaka and Kansai area, with a big population of Burakumin, and Koreans (in Kinki reside 40% of all Burakumin and 48% of all Koreans residing in Japan). Thus, Osaka and Kyoto prefectures have experimented an especial case of overlapping these two principal minority groups (Burakumin and Koreans). De Vos, George a. & Wetherall, O. *Japan's Minorities. Burakumin, Koreans and Ainu*. London: Minority Rights Group

⁴ Actually, the roots of this idealization are the European maturation of nation-state utopias in French Revolution, in which, the concept of one nation-one state, would also imply the idea of homogeneity in different levels. Revolutionary France became an example of the centralized state and centralized culture (non French-speakers could be considered enemies of the republic. Ideas of Nation-State extended to all European modern new regimes, and also influenced the construction of Japanese modern State build in the time of the Meiji-Restoration. Schott, Crhistopher Donald. *Invisible men: The zainichi Korean presence in postwar Japanese culture*. Doctoral thesis. Standford University, 2006.

⁵ Regional identities were either suppressed or subjected to a process of cultural redefinition. The *Kazoku kokka* (family state) was imbued with a new sense of national purpose and identity, projecting "Japaneseness", as an extended family, with the emperor as semi-divine father to the national community and head of state. During the period of militarism was evident the conflation of cultural and "racial" criteria in which the biological basis of *minzoku* was reinforced: "We cannot consider *minzoku* without taking into account its relation to blood" (Kanda Tetsuji. *Jinshu Minzoku Sensou*, Tokyo: Keio Shobou, 1940, pp. 70-1) arguing a "scientific explanation" for the superiority of the Japanese people. That is in part the cause why resident Koreans are not considered Japanese even if they share the same language, cultural patterns... Japanese *minzoku* is understood as a manifestation of common ancestry rather than shared culture.

Actually, as Sonia Ryang claims, this notion of Nation-state had already tried to be exported to Koreans during the colonial period, especially since 1939, when Japanese authorities reformed the Korean household by using Japanese name, which also had a symbolic meaning: each family name embodied one unit within the emperor's extended family. In the original Korean household registry, however, it was a record of one's own lineage and clan (*pongwan*), and it did not have a concept of family-state with the sovereign as their national ancestor. Koreans worshipped, on the contrary, clan ancestors and lineage origin avoiding endogamy within the same clan (they preserved wife's maiden name after marriage as a proof of exogamy, in the book of clan genealogy – *jokpo*). The imposition of the Japanese registry was actually a way of symbolic domination and real assimilation. (Sonia Ryang & Lie John. *Diaporsra Without Homeland. Being Korean in Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 2-7)

⁶ Darwinian theories were already used to explain by some Japanese scholars the victory towards Russia in the Japan-Rusian War in 1905 (when the scholar Kato Hiroyuki claimed that the Japanese victory was due to the superiority of a homogeneous policy which had been thoroughly integrated within the emperor system.) (Weiner *The Origins of the Korean community in Japan 1910-1923*, Atlantic Islands: Humanities Press.)

⁷ An extremely popular vehicle for the celebration of modernity /civilization was the *Fifth Industrial Exposition* in Osaka held in 1903. The plan to exhibit the "races" in their natural setting encountered rigorous opposition from Chinese, Koreans and Ryukyans, who objected to representations of their cultures as frozen in the past (uncivilized, louts...). In representing the inhabitants as moribund and incapable of adapting to current realities, Japanese national imaginary promised a progressive future under Japanese governance:

The very physiognomy and living of these people are so bland, unsophisticated and primitive, that they belong not to the twentieth or the tenth- nor indeed to the first century. They belong to a prehistoric age... The Korean habits of life are the habits of death. They are closing the lease of their ethnic existence. The national course of their existence is well-nigh run. Death presides over the peninsula (Nitobe, I. 1909, *Thoughts and Essays*, Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Company: 214-16).

Representations of the primitive "Other" were also the sustainer of the mainstream Japanese imaginary. They exhibition offered a further justification for paternalistic control. In the *Japanese Nation* written in 1912, Nitobe Inazo described the "hairy Ainu as a stone age population (pp. 86-7) and therefore doomed to extinction. Nitobe's assessment of the Ainu also bears comparisons with a similar account of the Korean people in the early twentieth century. Weiner, Michel. "The invention of identity: 'Self' and 'Other' in pre-war Japan" in *Japan's Minorities. The illusion of homogeneity*. London & New York: Routledge.

⁸ White, David. *How East Asian Films are Reshaping National Identities*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, pp. 167. See also Ko, Mika. Chapter 6. "REPRESENTING THE ZAINICHI" in *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge.

⁹ *All Under the moon*, made during the economic recession and the increase of foreign immigration, legal and illegal, mainly from neighboring Asian countries. The Koreans represent the long-term foreign community and the Filipino a member of the newcomer minority. It opened the difficult topic that had been considered taboo and emphasized on the film that people other than Japanese could speak Japanese (especially the Filipino, who speaks with heavy Osaka accent). Also portrays issues of identity, generational and political differences among the Korean community. The film portrays generational conflicts between the “older” immigrants and those newly arrived and conflicts between the North and South Korean communities as well. It is based on a semi-autobiographical novel by Yang Sog-Il *Takushi Kyosokyoku* (Taxi Crazy Rhapsody)

¹⁰ It is basically a *Romeo and Juliet*-style love story between a zainichi Korean boy and a Japanese girl. *Go* is a film based on a novel of kaneshiro Kazuki, 2000 and also a manga version was published between 2002-2004.

¹¹ Furthermore, we can find recent examples of Koreans in Japanese cinema in *Ajian blue* (Asian blue, Horikawa Hiromichi, 1995), about Korean war time laborers; *Aoi chong* (Blue Chong, by the zainichi Lee Sang-il, 2000), with a existentialist debate about the director feeling neither Japanese nor Korean; *Dograce* (Sai Yoichi, 1998); *Mo ichido kisu* (kiss me once more, 2000) or *Mitabi no kaikyo* (Three trips across the strait, Koyama Seijiro, 1995), the first J film open in Seoul. White, David. *How East Asian Films are Reshaping National Identities*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

¹² Desser, David. *Eros plubs Massacre*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp 145

¹³ Ko, Mika. Chapter 6. “REPRESENTING THE ZAINICHI” in *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge.

¹⁴ About 250 propaganda films were made during the period from the early 1920s to August 1945. These films were made by Koreans and Japanese film-makers. The censorship was established in Korea from the beginning but it became stricter in the mid-1930s, and Korean film-makers were forced to produce pro-J films. In 1940 the Korean Film Directive was enacted and in 1942 all Korean film production and distribution companies were integrated under the government’s supervision, into the *Chōei* (*Choson Film Production Ltd*), and the use of Korean language in films was also banned.

¹⁵ This film is a good example of the *nai-sen ittai* attempt, both in representation and film production (represented imperial ideology and at the production level, employed both Japanese and Korean stars and was premiered simultaneously across Japan and Korea).

¹⁶ Desser, David. *Eros plubs Massacre*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

¹⁷ Ko, Mika. Chapter 6. “REPRESENTING THE ZAINICHI” in *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge.

¹⁸ Korean communities could be found in Russia and different parts of the Japanese Empire: Dutch East Indies, Hong Kong, Philippines, South Pacific and Taiwan, the island of Sakhalin, and also Australia and Hawaii, although the majority of overseas Koreans resided in Japan, 1.45 millions - and Manchuria 1.475 millions (*United States Joint Intelligence Study Publishing Board* 1992: 271).

Liberation encouraged many overseas Koreans to return to their ancestral homeland, and after the war’s end the population of Southern Korea increased by an estimated 22%, nearly 3.5 million, this figure includes repatriated Koreans, 510.000 refugees from the North and 700.000 births over this period (“Report on the Occupation Area” 1992:488).

On the other, any remote connection with the communist North meant risked for Japan-based Koreans to imprisonment, torture and possible death if they attempted to return to southern Korea (the ancestral home of the majority of this population (98% of first-generation Koreans in Japan). Moreover, they were often regarded by Korean authorities with distrust following the idea that “Koreans who lived in Japan for a number of years as laborers or business men are most likely to be imbued with the Japanese ideas” (Ko, Mika. *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge)

¹⁹ Sonia Ryang & Lie John. *Diaposra Without Homeland. Being Korean in Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

²⁰ Usually associated to the Jewish Diaspora, means an original ethnic persecution as the cause of loss of homeland accompanied by a strong sense of connection to home (homeland) unlike later generations of in zainichi characters represented in films from the late 1980s, in which there is an ongoing crisis of identity, specifically related to the loss of an original homeland (real or imaginary) since they are born in a place that is not considered homeland by the community. In this generation, as well as its cinematographic representation, the picture becomes more complex and will need to be understood through another perspective, in the light of another Diaspora model. (Sonia Ryang & Lie John. *Diaposra Without Homeland. Being Korean in Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 81-106).

²¹ They called themselves *zairyū Chōsenjin* “Koreans remaining in Japan”. In fact US Occupation and Japanese authorities too, assumed that the Korean community would disappear from reborn postwar Japan. Then the term *chōsenjin* became common. Although it lit. means “Korean” it was used for a long time in Japan evoking denigration and dehumanization.

Both, Republic of Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea were founded in 1948, and with the Korean War breaking out in 1950, splitting the Korean population (into South Korea or North Korea supporters), North and South Korea regarded each other as “inauthentic” and traitors, denying the other’s existence as illegitimate. From the Japanese

point of view it did not matter either way since Japan had no formal diplomatic relations with either Korean government until 1965. Thus, *chosenjin* or *kankokujin* made no difference, for Japanese 's authorities they had the same degree of statelessness and thus unstable residential status.

Actually, the return of sovereign power to the Japanese nation, in San Francisco Peace Treaty, 1952, all former colonies were freed from Japanese control but also it freed Japan from ensuring rights and compensations to Koreans or other former colonials subjects reaming in Japan.

²² Sonia Ryang & Lie John. *Diaposa Without Homeland. Being Korean in Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

²³ Mark points out several reasons for discrimination of Japan-based Koreans, in the main, "very poor, uneducated, and unskilled, even by low Korean standards, was vastly inferior to the Japanese" according to the report prepared by the Office of Strategic Services, "Alliens in Japan", the Korean-Japan relationship in rather negative terms since the "Korean people were seen as living apart from the Japanese, unwilling to assimilate". (Mark E. *Occupations of Korea and Japan and the Origins of the Korean Diaspora in Japan*. in *Diaspora without Homeland*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).

²⁴ Zainichi Lie, John. *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press

²⁵ The novel and television-drama turned film in 1959 by Shinobu Hashimoto. There was a remake by Katsuo Fukuzawa released in 2008.

²⁶ The main character reveals his Korean ethnicity to his fellow Japanese crewmen and is well accepted. But at the end, Kimura is captured by a Korean ship, his Japanese fellows label him a Korean spy while he is in fact accused of being *pan-chopparai* (half-japanese), and beaten to death by Korean soldiers. This film represents well the empty space that *zainichi* occupied between the Koreans and Japan, as aliens in both places. As Tadao Satō suggests, this is one of the first films which dealt with the tragic in-between status of the *zainichi*, who were not accepted either by the Japanese or by the Koreans in (South) Korea.

²⁷ It is based on a book by Yi Yunbogi. It focuses on one 10-years-old-boy living in poverty on the streets of Taegu, South Korea. He describes Yunbogi's poverty and situates it within the context of Japanese exploitation of Koreans and the opens for rebellion and revolution. Yunbogi is the oldest of 3 boys and a girl. Their mother left them and the father is ill. Yungobgi tries to support his brothers and sisters as gum peddler, goatherd, a shoeshine boy and a newspaper seller. The narration informs us that there are 50,000 war orphans on the streets of Korean's cities. Both aesthetic and content may call to mind the Italian Neo-Realist cinema, especially Vittorio de Sica *Sciussia* (shoeshine, 1946), but unlike de Sica, Oshima does not blame conditions on war and social customs. Ko, Mika. Chapter 6. "REPRESENTING THE ZAINICHI" in *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge

²⁸ Despite the announcement of an assistance package to ease the return to Korea in 1959, under the "principle of free choice" (meaning remain in Japan, or be repatriated to either North or South Korea), the conservative and anticommunist South Korean administration of Rhee prevented Koreans affiliated with the pro-North *Joryeon* group from returning to South Korea (to where 98% of the community originally belonged). However, North Korea had offered free transport, jobs and housing to "returnees". This policy caused the 1960s mass repatriation to North Korea out of ideological conviction.

²⁹ "US report", Department of Diplomatic Section GHQ SCAP, 1948

³⁰ US authorities were afraid that communist agents were entering Japan in "in the guise of [Korean] refugees" (Report on the Occupation Area" 1992:489). And another US study claimed "Koreans served as the link between Japanese communists and those of the continent of Asia – Korea, Chinese and Russian" (US Department of Diplomatic Section GHQ SCAP, 1948).

³¹ Koshiro, Yukiko. "Review of Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan" in *American Historical Review*, Apr., 2001, vol. 106, no. 2, p. 542-543

³² Ko, Mika. Chapter 6. "REPRESENTING THE ZAINICHI" in *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge.

³³ Morris-Suzuki, Teresa. "Cap. 2. Freedom and Homecoming" in *Diaspora without Homeland*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp 49.

³⁴ Ryang, Sonia & Lie, John. *Diaspora without Homeland*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp37.

³⁵ The first work inspired by the Komatsugawa Incident was the 1959 Fukuzawas Shichirō's short story *kenran no isu* (The magnificent chair), about a Japanese boy named Yoshio who molests and murders two women; in 1961, Kinoshita Jinji screenplay *Kuchibue ga fuyu no sora ni...* (A whistle in the Winter sky...), broadcasted on NHK but it ends with a suicide instead of a rape/murder; Shirosaka Yoshio's 1962 screenplay *Tanin no chi* (Blood of a stranger) is the story of a *zainichi* Korean boy who rapes and murders his girlfriend after she finds out he is *zainichi* Korean; in November, 1962, the same month of Ri's execution, Oe kenzaburō published *Sakebigoe*, a novel that includes a half-Japanese, half-Korean character named Kure Takao who fantasizes about raping Japanese women; In 1967, the avant-garde playwright Satō Makoto restaged the Komatsugawa Incident as a play-within-a-play in *Atashi no biitoruzu* (My Beatles): the two main

characters rehears a play based on the original incident; in 1981, the zainichi Korean author Kim Sok-pom revisited the Komatsugawa Incident in his novel *Saishi naki matsuri* (The priestless festival), which depicts a zainichi Korean man tormented by fears of raping and murdering women.

³⁶ This is a political representation in which the film “comes back to the reality by ways other than those that reality proposes. It refuses the conventional mechanism of identification and employs the Brechtian “distantiation effect” to encourage spectators to maintain a critical distance, something very characteristic in Oshima 1960s’ films. He operates the renewal of the cinematographic language together with a political commitment and a reflexive concern of the cinematographic media itself, looking for a new film expression, within the international experimentations, aimed at dismantling the “artifice”. Ko, Mika. *Japanese Cinema and Otherness Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. London & New York: Routledge, pp.140

Such a strategy of distancing is most vividly exemplified in the film’s ending, when Oshima’s voice-over addresses to the film’s spectators, he questions the spectators’ position in the relation to the film, asking “where are you in this film and what is this film for you to be there?” (Ollman, B. “Why does the Emperor need the Yakuza: Prolegomenon to a Marxist Theory of the Japanese State” in *New Left Review*, 8 March/April 2001, p. 89).

And the last image of the sole rope, where the main character has disappeared makes the spectator think about several questions, who is R? Is that Oshima wants to remember using “R” the case of the Korean who set himself on fire in 1971 after writing “I’m just too tired. I don’t have the energy to go on anymore?” (Scott, Christopher. Cap.”R is for Rapist” in *Invisible Men: The Zainichi korean presence in Postwar Japanese Culture*. Doctoral thesis. Stanford University, 59). Or is Oshima with the shot of the rope addressing to the notion of invisibility of Koreans within the Japanese society?

The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, semi-transparent arcs. The upper arc is light blue and the lower arc is light red, creating a sense of depth and movement around the central text.

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Sub-theme: Ideologies of Culture
Streams: Environment, Space, Place

Methodological Trouble: Re-Considering the Phenomenologist Exploration of the Identity of Thai Architecture

In the last decade, “identity” has become one of the most controversial topics among Thai scholars. There are at least four major cultural phenomena which support this claim: the penetrating perspective aimed at unmasking the everyday life of Thais in the provocative book *Very Thai*¹; the criticism of what we perceive or present our “Thainess” to be through the *Thai Pavilion at Shanghai EXPO 2010*; and lastly, the longing search for Thai identity occurring not only in the realms of sociology and anthropology but also in the realm of architecture, where the topic of the 2010 ASA architectural seminar was “*How to Unlock Thai Identity*”², focusing on the question of what the identity of Thai architecture should be.

According to Dr. Kasian Tejapira, well-known Thai socio-anthropologist, what most Thai people believe in terms of who they are can be conceptualized in three different scenarios: the first can be understood as “pretentious” or as Tejapira explains, “what we thought we were but actually we have never been”³; the second can be understood as “imaginary” which Tejapira describes as “what we are dreaming of but actually we cannot be”⁴; the final scenario can be understood as “everyday” or “what we are as the way we are nowadays”⁵. Reading through Tejapira’s argument, two things arise: firstly, I believe that Thai people, or to be more precise, Thai scholars, are still searching for the “Self”, or simply stated, we do not yet know who we are; secondly, we may not yet know how to go beyond the surface of what we see or what seem apparent to us. Therefore, I believe that we need a framework or a method which can help us to think these things through.

I would argue that the most important tool to help us in the search for Thai identity is an appropriate methodological framework. As far as I’m concerned, there are at least two approaches exploring how to conceptualize this identity. The first approach tends to assume that the notion of identity does exist essentially and continues from the past, which somehow dominates the present day. However, embracing history and claiming it as the root of identity, is problematic because it is hard to be sure: (1) that what has been written or said about the past has not been changed or adjusted to suit the motivations of the powerful and influential; (2) what part of the history belongs to us; (3) how inclusive or exclusive such history is. Simply claiming that Thai history is the core of the Thai identity can be misleading and may even lead to the end of the culture because, as Assistant Professor Chatri Pakitnantakan explains, doing so may cause Thai culture to become frozen in the past⁶.

The second approach, on the other hand, tends to assume that the notion of identity does exist constructively. It can be changed, adjusted, and reconstructed collectively. Similar to the third concept of Thainess coined by Tejapira, it is the contemporary identity. Such an approach is what this paper aims to explore. History is a part of us, not preserving us or dominating us. History should instead help us to contextualize and visualize how we have been. We should be able to interpret and apply history in order to gain a new understanding of who we are today. Yet this approach may still be problematic because (1) to some extent we still need to

mark the beginning of the constructing process – it is a question of how the marking point can be validated; and (2) the level at which we are able to perceive, observe, and record those collective experiences becomes a great influence in the self-constructing process. These questions are also discussed later on in this paper.

In short, the first approach can be seen as a top-down process, which is traceable, less abstract, less subjective in its interpretations, and more visually dominant image. The second approach can be seen as a bottom-up process, which is difficult to trace because it is more abstract and less visible, based on subjective experience, self-interpretation, and most importantly, a self-exploration based on analytic exploration of a phenomenon. This paper focuses solely on the second approach, the bottom-up one, because (1) it allows for considerably varied interpretations of what can be regarded as identity; (2) it seems to be the way to use the past rather than being dominated by it; and (3) it opens up possibilities for how we can experience the notion of “contemporary” in a cultural and social, as well as a spatial sense. This paper aims to unpack and explore some of the problems and difficulties embedded in the methodological framework, as discussed above.

This paper is also part of my main research project, “From Epistemology to Methodology: Phenomenology in Architecture”. The objectives of this research are to re-consider how phenomenology has been used as a theoretical framework and methodology to unearth architecture and place; to re-investigate how phenomenology has been employed differently in the fields of sociology and of architecture; and lastly, to re-introduce a guideline for those who want to use phenomenology as a research methodology. In particular, I have been investigating the methodological framework used to explore the concept of identity in the work of Associate Professor Tipsuda Patumanon, Thai architectural theorist, who believes in “Thai identity” as a collectively constructed entity, and that Thai identity in architecture can be experienced through the way of dwelling and living in a contemporary space.

Using the bottom-up phenomenological approach allows Patumanon to experience the phenomena and interpret their hidden meaning and the rise of self-understanding. I believe that Patumanon’s book, *Phenomenology in Architecture (1996)*⁷, was described how we perceive architecture, how we can differentiate between a building and an architecture. She pinpoints the use of “feeling”, arguing that it is how the “body” has been thought of, and therefore leads to the creation of the design. We are able to justify our nature into the place in relation to our perception. We transform such perceptions into our memory and experience. And we live and dwell in it. It is the basic understanding of ourselves who live in the world. Later, she begins to trace back to the way we, as Thais, start justifying our nature. Her main argument is that Thai society and culture have been dominated and distorted by the so-called patriarchy. In order to return to the point of origin in Thai society, we must return to the pre-dominated one, that is, to revisit the matriarchy and to reject such domination.

Yet, at some point in Patumanon’s methodological framework, I found three significant unclear points. First, there is a trace of presupposition, preconception, or bias in the work. In Patumanon’s position, it even reflects an essentialist understanding, a top-down approach, which misleads and misguides our understanding of what the identity of Thai architecture really is. This first point will be discussed in greater detail later in this paper. Second, the way in which she selects and uses the unit of analysis – regarded as the channel or the trace through which a phenomenon can be manifested historically and spatially – seems to be unclear. Theoretically, the way in which the unit of analysis functions is to help us in reorienting or returning to ourselves. Simply, by looking at the thing, we are able to recall our

memory and experience, which are embedded beyond the visibility and physicality of what we are looking at. Yet, it cannot be considered the unit of analysis solely based on its physicality without any relation to the historical background or its context. If we regard the unit only as a physical substance, it then becomes an “object” which cannot be used as a channel or a trace for the manifestation of a phenomenon.

Lastly, there is an uncertain process of interpretation because it is important to describe a subjective experience objectively. In my main research, this unclear proposition has been explored extensively. In order to unearth the meaning of what we experience, it is important for us to differentiate in our dialogue the distance of the observer (“near” or “far”) from the event or the thing that he or she observes. Using Han-Georg Gadamer’s notion of “Understanding”, or to be more precise, the notion of “Self-understanding”⁸, in order to find the meaning through the interpretation we must examine the interrelation between the view from inside and the view from outside. The interpretation process does not aim to unearth the “origin” meaning because it never can. Rather, it seeks the meaning derived from the dialogue between what has been named, given or written in the past and the one of the present. More importantly, we must be aware that the meaning derived from what we regard as a “self-understanding” may not something that everyone understands. Looking at the Patumanon’s work, she seems to use it in the sense of domination and classification.

In short, there are three important-yet-unclear conditions embedded in the methodological framework of these three selected works, which represent *methodological problems*. This paper will focus on the first problem, the traces of the essentialist viewpoint, in detail in order to explore the slippery slope from an alternate possibility to domination of the culture.

The Traces of Essentialist Standing Point

In emphasizing the traces of an essentialist viewpoint, I focus mainly on a series of research by Tipsuda Patumanon⁹. Her work has largely adopted the understanding of Phenomenology coined by Martin Heidegger¹⁰. To review the work of Heidegger is not my intention, but it is important to embrace some specific concepts within Heidegger’s understanding of Phenomenology in order to unearth Patumanon’s methodological problems. There are four key concepts that I intent to explore: (1) the historical development of Heidegger’s understanding of “Being” and “the Self”; (2) the co-existence of the “Object” and the “Thing”; (3) the conditions that allow to have such transformation; and (4) the critique of “Authenticity” and “Root”.

1. Historical Development of Heidegger’s Understanding of “Being” and “the Self”

According to Dr. Kasam Penpilai, the Thai sociologist, we can divide the historical development of Heidegger’s understanding of phenomenology into three states¹¹. The first state was around 1927, the year that Heidegger published “Being and Time”. Heidegger describes the meaning of “Being”, which he calls “Dasein’s being”, in a way which allows us to look at the subject-object relationship differently from the previous understanding. That is to say, the subject-object relationship should not be considered from the viewpoint of a third party or from God’s view, but rather should be viewed from within the relationship. By doing so, the understanding of being is not detached from people, environment and the world; the state of being must be considered in relations to those around us. This first state of Heidegger’s understanding of “Being” is the most well-known and has been widely employed in various disciplines. The second state developed around 1933, when his notion of “being” was influenced by the Nazi party. As Adam Sharr argues, the understanding of “Dasein” gradually changed towards what he describes as the “Rising from the Ground”¹². The aspects

of specificity and root were brought up significantly, to argue that “what you are must be connected to the ground [on which] you stand” and that point was meant to specify Germany in particular. The third and final state was after 1945 or after the end of World War II. Heidegger returned to take a position as a professor at the University of Freiburg and spent a lot of time in a small hut on the Todtnauberg mountain¹³. In this period, he found serenity and a peaceful environment, and developed the notion that detachment and death provided the way of returning one to the self, to the state of *Dasien’s* being.

Looking through the historical development of Heidegger’s understanding of being, it seems to me that Patumanon adopted his understating of being without considering the underlying reason. Thus, it is not surprising that we might find different notions of being (or the notion of the root of Thai culture) in Patumanon’s works, which could misguide or incorrectly identify what the being (or what the Thai identity) *really is*.

The length of this paper is insufficient to explain Heidegger’s understanding of being in great detail. However, “*Dasien’s* being” can be understood as the result of Heidegger’s critique of the truth and technology. He argues against the claim that the only way to gain the level of truth is through positivism, the logical understanding of the world based on science. This understanding also leads to the creation of technology, which has become a major influence on the lives of human beings. We consider the relationship between us and external objects from the point of view of a third party. It is hard for us to see how we are related to the world, the culture, the history, the environment, and the people around us, which all influence who and what we are, because through the dominant understanding we have always already detached the subject-object relationship out of context. Heidegger argues against such dominated perception of the self. He points out that the subject-object relationship must be reconsidered from “within”. It must be related to the world, the culture, the history, the environment, and the people. To be able to identify or return to the self, one must be in the state of “Being-in-the-World”, that is called “*Dasien’s* being”. And because positivism, the scientific mode of understanding, and technology have mislead one further away from oneself, it is thus important to learn how one is able to return to oneself. This brings us back to the main point of this paper, which is criticism of methodological problems.

Heidegger’s argument about returning to the self can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, if we take Heidegger’s argument bluntly, we must try to bring back the history as much as possible because the past is always better, purer, and less distracting from the ideal state of being than what happens in the present. Such nostalgia may lead us to hold on strongly to the past and to claim that it is essential. To some extent, it may not allow others to have any alternative meanings or forms of living either. I found various traces in the work of Patumanon which seem to depict this kind of interpretation. Thainess or Thai identity have been essentially understood through the notion of “rising from the ground”, and related strongly to the history of Thais. On the other hand, Heidegger may have no intention to tell us to refuse technology, but rather to make us more aware of using it or to prevent us from being enslaved by technology. The notion of returning to the past or looking backward to history is rather to help us in orienting ourselves, thinking through how we have been related to the world, the place, and the people around us. Embracing history in this way can help one to get to know oneself instead of claiming the root or the sense of authenticity over the others.

2. Co-existing Situation of the “Object” and the “Thing”

Following Heidegger’s understanding of being and the self, the question is how one can return to oneself. How can we return to the state of *Dasien’s* being? The “position” of the

researcher who experiences the phenomenon seems to be less discussed. If the way in which the meaning of being is questioned is the most important point in Heidegger's understanding of Phenomenology, the position of the researcher must be clarified considerably. In order to do so, we need to discuss the difference between the "Object" and the "Thing" because this will show us how to differentiate between "Being" and "Nothingness".

As a brief description, the "Object" is considered the thing which we see mainly in physical aspects, that is to say something that is touchable and visible, while the "Thing" is focused on the abstraction of the object, that is to say how we experience and memorize it. These concepts are not in opposition but are in a state of co-existence, and these two situations can be transformed by particular conditions. As far as this paper is concerned, the "Object" and the "Thing" can be seen as a conceptualization of how we can return to the state of Dasein's being. If we look at a thing and consider only the physical part, what we see is only the "Object". This label depicts the position from which you look at that thing; it is the reflection of nothingness – the dominated position of those who have lost themselves to the logic of science. Yet, if we are aware of how we look at a thing by not looking merely at the physical part, we provoke ourselves to consider more than what we see. Rather, we look at the thing in relation to us, to the environment, to the people, to the surrounding. That is to say, it is the "Thing" in relation to the "World". The "Thing" is the reflection, or perhaps a channel of how one can return to oneself. For Adam Sharr, the notion of the "Thing" pre-exists us and is always there before we think of it¹⁴.

3. Conditions of Transformation

Despite of the lack of clarification of the researchers' position, when Patumanon discusses Thai custom and tradition, her work does not show a clear picture either of what level of phenomenological methodology she uses or what conditions enable her to enter the phenomenon, to perceive the "Thing" (such as Thainess, the place, the community, the building, etc.) in its abstraction, and to gain back the "Being" status. If the situation of the "Thing" and the "Object" is co-existing and able to transform, the question is how such a transformation between these co-existing things can happen.

To answer this question, I found the work of Christian Norberg-Schulz to be very helpful. Following Heidegger, Norberg-Schulz also believes that human beings may not be able to experience what was before the domination of science and technology. He calls that situation "Life-Situation" or "Life-World".¹⁵ The only way to reenter such a situation again is through architecture. He argues that architecture, like art, is based on a poetic quality which makes it possible for us to cross the boundary from the "Object" to the "Thing". It leads us to enter the realm of a physical incarnation. Following Norberg-Schulz's argument, architecture then can be differentiated from the building because it is a result of how we dwell, the relationship between us and the world. To dwell is to live, and it creates a sense of place. As Adam Sharr points out, Heidegger intentionally chooses to use the word "building and dwelling" in his writing instead of "architecture" because the combination of those two words can depict the transformation of how we experience through memory rather than emphasizing what appears before us¹⁶. If building can be regarded as the "Object", architecture can then be regarded as the "Thing". Norberg-Schulz describes this as the "Spirit of Place".

4. Critique of "Authenticity" and "Root"

Three traces of unclear methodology in Patumanon's work have so far been discussed: the way in which Heidegger's Phenomenology has been adopted without an awareness of how Dasein's being has been used differently; the lack of discussion on the notion of the "Thing";

and her vagueness about how the poetic quality of “place” can be depicted and explored. The traces of an essentialist viewpoint make it clear that Patumanon uses Phenomenology in a different way than what her original framework suggests. The meaning and poetic quality of the place that she describes could show the way that she reconnects to the past, puts herself into the context, and experiences the “Thing”, but instead of using it as a way to understand herself, she instead took what she found and used it as a criticism of the Thai patriarchal tradition, arguing for a change. Her position starts dominating the others, defining how the others should be.

Adam Sharr points out that it is dangerous when someone takes Heidegger’s notion of authenticity rooted in nationalism directly because those others in that particular place or land are always already excluded from this notion. To a large extent, it is racism. Thus, when we depict the notion of authenticity which is related directly to the root, the ground and the specificity of the culture, we also depict a sense of exclusiveness at the same time¹⁷. For Norberg-Schulz, the place in which we live is also related to the sense of specificity but not in the sense of root or exclusiveness. Rather, examining the specific relationship between a dweller and a dwelling place and will help us to make sense of ourselves in relation to others and the world, the sense of “Being-in-the-World”. Moreover, the way in which one makes sense of oneself in a place may not work for others in the same way, otherwise it assumes the level of social characterization. So it should not be used to claim that is the only way that we should live, dwell and experience the place. For Patumanon, in contrast with Norberg-Schulz, the way she reenters Thai history and criticizes the patriarchy tends to show how she exposes her essentialist intention to mark the point of origin, the claim of authenticity and to frame the root of what the Thai identity in architecture should be.

Discussion and Suggestion

In summary, a phenomenological approach can be regarded as a bottom-up process allowing us to experience various possibilities. I tend to believe that this kind of methodology can help us to find the way out of logical domination based on positivism and rationalism. However, when I studied the work of a Thai researcher who claims that her work adopts Heidegger’s phenomenology, I found some of what I regard as “methodological problems”. The question arises of why such a phenomenologically-oriented approach has been shifted towards an essentialist one. To prevent any methodological troubles, those who want to use phenomenology as a research methodology must be aware of three levels of relationships: the relationship between “Being” and the “World”; between the “World” and the “Place”; and lastly between “Being” and the “Place”. Within this three-way relationship of concepts lies the path through which we can re-enter the realm of “Life-World” where we return to ourselves. This is the main objective of phenomenology.

“Being” and the “World”

This particular relationship is based solely on Heidegger’s concept of “Dasien’s being” or “Being-in-the-World”. It is the way we think of the subject, not looking or observing from an external viewpoint outside of the subject-object relationship. Considering the subject position, we must orient such a position in relation to the object; to be more precise, the “thing” in relation to the context where it is located. In this way, the history not only of the “thing”, but also of the context is always already embedded in the object to which the subject is related. However, Heidegger and Gadamer take different approaches on this level of relationship. According to Heidegger’s notion of the subject, the relationship to the object is necessary to realize and then to detach. The subjective position must be gained through

solitude. By contrast, Gadamer's notion on the subject is that it must be realized and must be attached through the conversation and the dialogue.

The “Place” and the “World”

When talking about putting the “thing” in the context, we also need to discuss the relationship between the “World” and the “place”. As far as I am concerned, the notion of the “place” also functions similarly to that of the “thing”. The “place” is not meant to be a physicality of the location or the building, but to focus rather on its abstraction. “Place” also creates a sense of belonging for those who live and dwell in it. Thus it must be thought of within the context, that is to say the “Place-in-the-World”. It has always already brought together the lives of the dwellers and the history of how they live. We may think of it like this: if the “thing” tends to help us in re-orienting with ourselves, “place” also opens up a possibility to do the same thing but perhaps on a larger scale, e.g., environmental or architectural scale. It leads us to think through the poetic quality of such a place, letting us enter the realm of the “Spirit of Place”.

“Being” and the “Place”

Finally, the relationship between “Being” and “Place” is the most important for the researcher who adopts a phenomenological approach as a research methodology. This is because, first, the researcher must be aware of the position from which the subject operates – Dasien's being or Being-in-the-World. In relation to this position, the environment, the building, or the object must be experienced or perceived through its abstraction and, importantly, within its context. Unsurprisingly, there is a difference between “space” and “place” operated through phenomenological understanding. “Space” is a result of a consideration on built environment and its physicality, while “place” is a result of experience, memory and perception.

Let us return to my criticism of Patumanon's methodological problems. Besides the three vital relationships discussed above, there are at least six conditions which, as I have argued, can possibly help us in exploring the realm of phenomenology in architecture, opening up a hidden meaning in the place, and rediscovering an alternative meaning of what Thai architecture can be. The first condition is to *be sure about our position when we are about to enter the place or to experience the phenomenon*. By taking a phenomenologist position, we must be aware that the “world” has always existed out there before us, but it has been transformed and hidden away. Moreover, our perception has become distorted and visibly dominant. So, to be able to overcome such distortion, multiple senses should be used. This is how we can regenerate the relationship between “Being” and the “World”.

The second condition is to *make the situation or the position of the others (object or thing, building or architecture, space or place) to which we are related clear*. The third condition is to make sure that when we explore the others through a phenomenologist position, *we must think of them in relation to their contexts and histories*, whether or not we put them in relation to their context, place, and history. The object must be recalled as “Object-in-the-World”, which can reflect the so-called “collective memory” and prejudice.

The “unit of analysis” becomes the next condition that we must be aware of. *We must understand that the “units of analysis” are not something measurable according to the positivism or visual sensibility*. Instead they should be regarded as “physical entities that allow us to recall or return to ourselves”, or “channels that are able to relate us to the world”. That is to say, they are able to lead us to be in the position of “Being-in-the-World”. What measurement can be made is through the sense of experience and through multi-sensory exploration including as smell, taste, memories and feelings that arise from different textures.

The fifth condition is to decode or to extract the hidden meaning of the phenomenon from which we perceive or experience. There is no such direct meaning engraved in the event or the situation, and yet somehow silence and solitude can also be the obvious meaning. Hermeneutic interpretation can be helpful in this case, but we need to know and understand its significant terminology, method, and concept. To be able to understand their lives and experiences, we should integrate our understanding of their lives with the concept of our own. This approach will allow us to expand our experience and perception relating to the other.

Lastly, as this paper's main argument, *we must understand that what we get from entering, experiencing and describing phenomenon is a better understanding of ourselves, and a chance to return to ourselves.* The main function of phenomenology is to be able to understand our lives and ourselves better, not to dominate or to define others. Once we start using our understanding of the phenomenon to dominate the others, we then classify and dominate, and paradoxically turn the phenomenologist proposition into a problem, such as the notion of authenticity, root and an absolute origin in the ideology of culture.

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Tourism as the Cultural Governance: Jiang, Mainland Tourists and the (de)politicization of Cross-Strait Mobility

Chun-Kai Woo

Abstract

Regarding tourism as cultural governance under the practices of the tourist gaze, this paper aims to discuss how tourism represents “otherness” and affects the identity negotiation and conflict in the context of cross-border mobility. On the principle of “shelving differences”, the Kuomintang (KMT) government regards the visiting of Mainland Tourists as an economic opportunity for the cross-strait tourism development and depoliticizes the political controversy of “China” under the “Mainland Tourists” image. The relevant discourse about Mainland Tourists also stresses the its economic benefit to Taiwan, in order that it legitimizes the emergence of Mainland Tourists and the Cultural Resort of the Jiang which is regarded as the popular scenic spot for Mainland tourists. However, shelving differences cannot deal with the political controversy, only shift to Taiwan society and cause more disputes as well as the emotional response of the resistance within the society.

Keywords: Taiwan, Mainland Tourists, Tourism, Cultural governance, Tourist gaze

Introduction

The cross-strait relation was improved since 2008. Pin-kung Chiang, the chairman of Straits Exchange Foundation led a delegation to Beijing and held the summit with Yunlin Chen, the chairman of the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Straits on June 11, 2008. After their agreement on the opening of Mainland Tourists to visit Taiwan, National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China announced citizens in 13 provinces such as Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and Guangdong could attend a group tour to Taiwan. A group of 760 Mainland tourists started a historic journey to Taiwan on July 4. The Second Chiang-Chen Talk was held in Taipei on November 3 to 7 and signed the 2008 Taiwan-China Cross Straits Economic Pact providing for direct passenger flights across Taiwan Strait (Mainland Affairs Council 2008). Mainland Affairs Council in Taiwan believed that the policies would brought an "increasing the number of Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan" (Mainland Affairs Council 2008).

Since the Kuomintang (KMT) presidential candidate Ma Ying-jeou was elected the Taiwan President in 2008, the KMT government is prompt in strengthening the economic relationship between Taiwan and China to claim the economic advantage from the improvement in the cross-strait relation. Media coverage also focuses on the revenue earning from Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan. Economic benefits become the main point of the representation of Mainland tourists as if they are the panacea for the economic downturn in Taiwan. However, why does economic benefits represent the cross-strait relationship? How are Mainland Chinese imagined as Mainland tourists who have never been to Taiwan? How do the KMT government and media in Taiwan represent Mainland tourists as an indicator of cross-strait relation and also as the economic opportunity in Taiwan society? How to represent Taiwan where Mainland tourists are attracted to tour? These questions reflect the theoretical concerns about: 1. representation of Mainland tourists as an otherness in the context of cross-strait mobility; 2. the spatial-social relation between Mainland tourists and tourist destination in Taiwan under the discourse of tourism development. Based on these questions, this paper aims at discussing how to represent Mainland tourist and tourist destination in the discourse of the propaganda of KMT government and the media coverage relevant to the opening of Mainland tourists so as to analyze the cultural effect of such representations to Taiwan society.

Tourism, otherness and the representation of the place

Literatures about cross-strait tourism development discuss the economic benefit

and effect of Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan (Zhang 2009), the characteristic of tourist behavior and its satisfaction (Chen 2009). These researches have a little concern about the effect of political, social and cultural other than economic aspect. Even there are researches forecasting the possible political impact of China's outbound tourism by analyzing the process of changing in China and Taiwan outbound tourism policy (Wang & Fan 2005; Fan 2006), they cannot deal with the interaction between Mainland tourists and Taiwan society because of the forbiddance of Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan at the time of publication. The interaction involves the reproduction and the representation of symbolic meaning between each other which is the important cultural impact of to cross-strait mobility. Therefore, not only the expenditure of Mainland tourists stimulates the economic development, but also changes its symbolic meaning and reflects in the representation of "Mainland tourists" in Taiwan society. The article will consider how tourism represents Mainland tourists as "otherness" in cross-border mobility and then bring the cultural effect to the interaction between Mainland tourists and Taiwan society.

Thus, mass tourist consumption is a dynamic force of accumulating capital and symbol which is also close relationship to tourist experience. S. Britton (1991) points out that the specialization and differentiation of the leisure industry can distinguish different status and identity of tourist. It stimulates consumption if tourists are attracted by the specialization and differentiation through touristic experience (such as souvenirs, a representative scene). The production of touristic experience becomes an important factor in attracting investment to the relevant tourist destination and the local becomes a profitable tourist attraction (Britton 1991). Through tourism programs such as holding festival and carrying out mega-project, the local can represent its symbolic and material meaning (1991: 469-475). In other words, tourism develops opportunities for the local to accumulate capital by commoditization of touristic experience and place (1991: 454, 462).

Although Britton considers the commoditization of touristic experience and its effect to the accumulation of capital and symbolic meanings, he only discusses the relationship between materiality and the representation of the place and ignores the involvement of tourist as "otherness" in touring the destination and its effects to the representation of the place. Actually, the representations of tourist in the commoditization of touristic experience and its related interaction influence the attractiveness of the tourist destination. Research on the cultural aspect of the commoditization of touristic experience concerns: 1. Tourist gaze and the representation of tourists as otherness; 2. Locality as the representation of tourist landscape. Urry's concept of "tourist gaze" (2002) points out tourists is gazed as other while they gaze other. Not only tourist gaze represents the relationship between the

gazer and gazee, but also it embodies the relationship in the landscape so as to produce otherness. By representing the social attribute of tourists such as their social class, nationality, the landscape stresses its attraction to those targeted consumers. So, otherness is an important cultural resource in the development of tourist destination and tourist gaze produces the imagination of otherness in the landscape (Knudsen, Soper & Metro-Roland 2008) .

How does tourist gaze produce otherness and locality in tourist landscape under the process of the commoditization of touristic experience? From this question, we can consider what commoditization affects otherness and locality and then how this effect happens in the production of the touristic experience. In the discussion about the spatial characteristic of shopping mall, M. Crang thinks that shopping mall constructs an enclosed environment that draw out from the historical and geographical dimension in the city (Crang 2003: 168). The purpose of constructing the enclosed environment is to promote commodities to the targeted consumers by creating spectacle and satisfaction in their shopping. Constructing spectacle in the consumption and its relevant space is important in signifying the locality, the consumer and the relationship between each other. Consumption is a social practice which defines the relationship between self and other in the context of cultural order as well as the ideology behind the consumption (Sturken and Cartwright 2001). Applying John Urry's definition of ideology as the 'concealment of interest', Jackson argues that statements are ideological insofar as they conceal the interests of a dominant group by externalizing, isolating, conflating social practices and obscuring the conflicts of interest (Jackson 1994: 51). In other words, the power relationship behind the entanglement between representation and concealment is the focus of ideological governance. Ideology in the social practices furnishes the relationship between self and other with materiality such as social positions and the relevant power in the social hierarchy and performs the materiality through social practices. Briefly, there is reciprocity between ideology and social practices and it reflects in the governance to the representation and concealment of the power relationship. If consumption as a social practice not only represents the social relationship but also conceals the power domination inside, consumption defines power relationship by representing specific characters of the commodities and consumers and then let such a relationship becomes naturalized without questions. The naturalization of the relationship is to conceal its unequal perspective which is benefit to dominant group. So, we need to concern the agency in the process of commoditization and see how their power relationship is concealed and then represented in an "unproblematic" ideology.

As a social practice of ideology, consumption deals with the representation and

concealment of power relationship between self and other. How consumption represents and conceals the power relationship involves the governance of the consumption. Jonas and While (2005: 73) define ‘governance’ as a social mode of coordination in which the aim is to control, guide or facilitate economic and social activities distributed across the landscape. Social science researches on governance focus on two issues: 1. the performance of governance; 2. the capacity of governance. The former considers the action and actor included in the performance and the later the relationship between the actor and the institution involved. Governance produces the concrete strategies of performance and relevant power relationship. However, the researches ignore the conflict in governance if they only focus on the static aspect of governance. Actually, the discourse of governance involves negotiations or even tensions between the representation and concealment of the symbolic meaning in the ideology. It reflects that cultural politics in governance refers to how the power relationship between actors is represented and (or) concealed in social practices and ‘cultural governance’ stresses how governance and tensions is performed in the specific landscape and social practices.

Stemming from the perspective of cultural governance, my study on tourism plays attention to how it represents the spatial relationship between gazer and gazee by imagining the visiting of a specific category of tourist in the tourist landscapes which can projects the ‘prospective’ economic development and legitimates the opening of cross-border tourism. This is a process of ideological practices of the representation and concealment of otherness and space which signify the tensions and the governance under the relationship between self and other in cross-border mobility. This theoretical perspective helps us to unpack the cultural political issues on the emergence of Mainland tourists and concerns how the discourse of the tourism development represents otherness and locality to legitimate the cross-strait mobility by signifying the images of Mainland tourists and the relevant tourist landscapes. By planning the Cultural Resort of the Jiang and repackaging buildings related to Chiang’s regime in Taoyuan County in Taiwan, ‘Jiang’ becomes the concept of spatial arrangement in the development of the tourist landscape which is promoted as an attraction to the Mainland tourists. The production of Mainland tourist gaze in ‘Jiang’ by KMT tries to represent the economic symbol to depoliticize the political symbol of *Jiang*¹ in response to the DPP’s ‘Anti-Chiang Campaign’. Moreover, Mainland tourist gaze also signifies wealth and high consumption power so that it seems as a benefit for the economic development in Taiwan. This ‘benefit’ depoliticizes the hostile of

¹ “Chiang Kai-Shek” is the proper name which is known in English. When “the Culture of Resort of Jiang” was opened, Taoyuan County Government used Pinyin name “*Jiang*” to signify “Chiang Kai-Shek.” In this article, “Chiang” refers to “Chiang Kai-Shek” and “*Jiang*” refers to the concept promoted in the Culture Resort of Jiang and its related programs and commodities.

'China' behind the images of 'Mainland tourists' and legitimates the policy to loosen the restriction on Mainland Tourists. However, since the purpose of depoliticization provided by Mainland tourist gaze is to deal with the political controversy of 'Jiang' and 'China' in Taiwan society, we should also consider the entanglement between depoliticization and politicization in the Mainland tourist gaze and analyze how it represent as well as conceal the ideology about cross-strait mobility.

'Jiang' as the resource of tourism development: the consumptive ideology and its controversy

In the context of tourism development, *Jiang* is a spatial concept which stresses the commoditization of space relevant to Chiang Kai-Shek's regime. In 2005, Taoyuan County Government, under opposition party KMT administration, started planning the Cultural Resort of Jiang in Dianxi town which combine all the existing buildings about Chiang's regime in the town. At the same time when the Taoyuan County promoted the Cultural Resort, the central government, under Democratic Progress Party (DPP) administration, carried out "Anti-Chiang Campaign" and stated that Chiang Kai-Shek status was represented as a authoritarian rule (Dong 2008). Following the campaign, the Military of National Defense in Taiwan decided to remove Chiang Kai-Shek statues from the military camps since 2006. Some public opinion also criticized that the Cultural Resort of Jiang reflected the cherishing the dictator and removal of Chiang's statues was the only way to break away from authoritarian (Dong 2008). Facing such a "Anti-Chiang Campaign", Taoyuan County represented the symbol of Chiang as a "business opportunity". When Taoyuan County held a press conference to promote the souvenir in the Cultural Resort of Jiang, Li-luan Chu, Magistrate of Taoyuan County, questioned why the ruling party opposed such a business opportunity of Jiang's culture (Liou 2007). His expression highlighted the economic benefit of Jiang as a spatial concept of tourism development so as to make a feedback to the "Anti-Chiang Campaign".

By developing the Cultural Resort of Jiang, Taoyuan County Government promoted the economic benefit of developing *Jiang* in the context of tourism. One of the promotions is to organize activities of Cultural and Creative Industry. Under the theme of "political liberalization, spatial deconstruction", a three-day annual activity "Campo@Cihu Creative Bazaar" was held in the Resort on April 2008 by the Cultural Affairs Bureau, Taoyuan County Government and Campo, an arts group organizing creative bazaar (Yang 2007). Many booths in the bazaar sold *Jiang*-related souvenirs and other creative commodities and also a game called "Fun with Chiang Kai-Shek" in the bazaar provides costume for tourists to mimic Chiang Kai-Shek and created Chiang image for their own (Hsu, 2007). This was a special occasion for the Resort

and the concept *Jiang* since the bazaar created, in Mike Crang's concept, a liminal space (Crang 1998: 122) that formed the interstices outside the normal rules of the political ideology of *Jiang* and let the personal creative to fill the interstices with fun. Fun is an important element for the spatial concept of *Jiang* not only because of its stimulation to the local economic development, but also because of the participation of the tourists in playing with *Jiang*-related programs to make a "people-first" image for *Jiang*. So, Cultural and Creative Industry helped to weaken the political Chiang image by representing a "fun-with-people" economic image of *Jiang* in the Resort.

Personal creative replaces the political controversy of Chiang image by producing economic *Jiang* image in the context of tourism development which seems beneficial to Taiwan society. However, personal creative is constrained by the political aspect behind the economic *Jiang* image. The constraint reflected on the revision of "Cool Card" design called "Mickey Chiang" which was a postcard and distributed free of charge in the "Campo@Cihu Creative Bazaar." The original design of "Mickey Chiang" was a cute feature of Chiang Kai-Shek wearing a Mickey hat and the designer, Bon, said the purpose is to make everyone like Chiang by commercializing Chiang image with "lovely" design. After the revision of the design which took off the Mickey hat, the designer commented that "the revision cut the power by half even it still seems lovely." We can consider what "cutting the power by half" means through comparing "Mickey Chiang" with another cute statuses called "Big Head Chiang" and "Little Chiang" which represented Chiang Kai-Shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo respectively and was displayed besides the gate of the Tourist Center in the Culture Resort of Jiang. While these two statuses represented the two ex-presidents in a cute design, they retained the image of "great leadership" with the figure of the cute status and reminded so-called "contribution" to Taiwan society. According to the explanation from the official of Taoyuan Tourism Promotion Bureau, the military uniform on the "Big Head Chiang" represented the close relationship between Chiang Kai-Shek and his founding of National Armed Forces, and "Little Chiang" dressing up as a worker signified the relationship between Chiang Ching-kuo and his launching the Ten Major Construction Project (Wu 2008). Contrasting to the "Big Head Chiang" and the "Little Chiang", "Mickey Chiang" is a cute feature without "great leadership" representation. Such a selective representation means that fun design of *Jiang*-related creative commodities is a mean to depoliticize the political controversy of Chiang and then praises him for the "great leadership contribution" so as to produce a repoliticized *Jiang* image as the selling point of creative commodities. In other word, *Jiang* becomes a consumptive ideology which practices the political imagination by de(re)politicization of consumption.

Through promoting *Jiang*-related consumption, *Jiang* is given a value of

economic development and become the selling point of the resort. To maximize the expectation of benefit from promoting *Jiang* as the selling point, Taoyuan County Government focus on Mainland tourists as the target of promotion. On the 2006 policy address, Li-Luan Chu expressed that in response to the opening of Mainland tourists to visit Taiwan for sightseeing, Taoyuan County Government drawn up “Double Tourist Arrivals Plan” and set up “the Commission of the Culture Rosort of Jiang” to promote the Resort actively (Chu 2006). Moreover, On the interview with reporter from Mainland media, Chu reminded that Chiang was the “essence” of modern Chinese history and also combined the essence with the Culture Resort of Jiang to represent the “historical trajectory” in Taoyuan County (Li and Chu 2008). The essence of Chiang in Chinese history becomes the selling point of the Resort for the Mainland tourists. By attracting Mainland tourists visiting Taoyuan and the Resort, Taoyuan County Government hoped to represent the economic benefit of developing *Jiang*-related consumption. Not only Taoyuan County Government but also the Central Government and the media in Taiwan expected the stimulation to the economic development by opening the Mainland tourists to Taiwan. They tried to stress the attractiveness of the tourist destination in the context of the “Mainland tourist gaze,” for instance; the “essence” of Chiang in the modern Chinese history represented the Mainland touristic experience in relation to the Resort and became the attractiveness of *Jiang* as the resource tourism development. In the next section, I will discuss what the Mainland tourist gaze is and how it represents the Mainland tourists in Taiwan society.

Shelving differences? The tension of representation between the de-politicization and re-politicization

The main purpose of representing Mainland tourists by the discourse from the government and the media is to signify their spending power and make their images be acceptable by Taiwan society. So, how the discourse represented the attractiveness of the tourist destination under the Mainland tourist gaze is the mainpoint in the discourse. After reaching agreement on the opening of Mainland tourists, the mission composed of tourism industries’ senior staff started their exploratory trip in Taiwan for 10 days for the preparation of the tour later on. The exploratory mission’s comments, for example, “Wonderful experience in the hot springs in Jiansi,” (Li & Hsu 2008) “the masterpiece scenery in Taroko” (Yu 2008) became the stimulation of the media reports to imagine the perspective on the Mainland touristic experience (Li & Hsu 2008). The reports also expressed their disappointment and worry about the marginalization if the exploratory trip did not come over certain county (Tang 2008). It seems that the exploratory mission determined whether the place is attractive under the Mainland tourist gaze and arranged to be the destination of the tour. In other

words, representing the Mainland tourist gaze became so critical to imagine the prosperous perspective in the destination after opening the Mainland tourists to tour around Taiwan. Media and Government always indicated the Prosperity under Mainland tourist gaze to legitimize the opening of Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan.

Under such an expectation about the speeding power of Mainland tourists, the Culture Resort of Jiang also expected the Mainland tourist gaze could backup its value for tourist development. However, it neglected the controversy between the image of “Mainland tourists” and that of *Jiang* which represent the political sensitivity involving in the Cross-strait mobility. Some media attributed the rejection of the exploratory mission to visit the Resort to the political sensitivity of the Resort which is a memorial space for anti-communist Chiang Kai-Shek (Wang 2008), some even criticized the Taoyuan County Government for “being taken the visiting of Mainland tourists for granted” (Yeh 2008) Even Taoyuan County Government stressed the economic benefit of developing *Jiang* as a theme for tourism and weakened the political controversy of the Chiang image, it was once again re-politicized under the consumption by Mainland tourist gaze. When the selling point of the “great leadership” image in *Jiang* signifies the political sensitivity between Taiwan and China, such sensitivity exposes the tension between the concealment and representation of a ideology behind the political image of Chiang and also the dilemmas of Taiwan identity when facing the Cross-Strait mobility. The tourist development of *Jiang* is an example of discussing the de-politicization and re-politicization of the political image.

Not only does *Jiang* contain the political image, but also the “Mainland tourists” does. The political image of the Mainland tourists involves the tension within the Cross-Strait mobility. Before the Second Chiang-Chen Talk, President Ying-Jeou Ma indicated the negotiation in the summit was not involved any political issue (Li 2008). The document provided by the Mainland Affair Council after the summit also stated that “In the negotiation of the direct cross-strait flight path, both sides acted in accordance with the spirit of putting aside disputes and not touching on sensitive issues, and were thus able to reach agreement on the northern flight path.” (Mainland Affair Council 2008) Facing the opening of Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan, Tourism Bureau only focused on the business opportunities following the speeding power of the Mainland tourists. In other words, Cross-Strait mobility is not a political issue and the Mainland tourists become the Other representing economic benefit without any political controversies. Nevertheless, political ideology of *Jiang* recall the controversies behind the “Mainland tourists” image. Actually, whether the opening of Mainland tourists visiting Taiwan is a political issue became the main topic in the public opinion, and it even triggered the dispute between the position of Government

on supporting Cross-Strait mobility and that of oppositional party on countering the policy (cf. Mainland Affairs Council 2008; Democratic Progress Party 2008). Shelving differences cannot deal with the political controversy, only shift to Taiwan society and cause more disputes as well as the emotional response of the resistance within the society.





Figure 1. Map of the Culture Resort of Jiang (circled)
 Source: *The Guideline for the Culture Resort of Jiang*



Figure 2. Coolcard design “Mickey Chiang” before (left) and after (right) revision (provided by Bon, the designer of “Mickey Jiang”)



Figure 3. The cute statues “Big Head Chiang” (left) and “Little Chiang” (right)

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Consumption Performativity, Deployment and Boycott among
Taiwanese Gay Men: A Critical Case Study of the 'Chao Ge
Phenomenon'

by

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Categories: Queering Culture

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Introduction

From 2006 to 2008, there emerged the so-called 'Chao Ge Phenomenon' within the Taiwanese Gay Community. The 'Chao Ge Phenomenon' refers to how and why this Taiwan-based Malaysian Chinese² male pop music singer became a gay icon by dint of continually showing homophilic attitude toward gay consumers or even identification with the gay community, to how and why he turned out notorious among the gay community due to his shocking declaration of not being a gay in the 19th Golden Melody Awards³ Ceremony, and to how and why a number of gay men initiated and developed a boycott against him on the net.

This paper aims to explore consumption performativity⁴, deployment and boycott among Taiwanese gay men through a critical case study of the above 'Chao Ge Phenomenon'. The main questions it attempts to look at are: (1) How and why did local gay men perform and constitute their gay consumer subjectivity via their consumption of and boycott against the Chao Ge product/brand? (2) How and why did local gay men deploy consumers' power over the Chao Ge product/brand? (3) How and why did local gay men boycott against the Chao Ge product/brand? (4) In what way and to what extent did the 'Chao Ge Phenomenon' impact upon local gay community? (5) How do we complicate the 'Chao Ge Phenomenon' from the perspectives of gender/sexuality, class and nation-ethnicity?

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² Chao Ge was born on July 9, 1979 in Kota Belud, Sabah, Malaysia.

³ The Golden Melody Awards is an annual Taiwanese music award founded by Taiwan Government Information Office in 1990. It is presented for music in Mandarin, Hoklo, Hakka and indigenous languages. It is Taiwan's equivalent to the Grammy Awards.

⁴ In this paper, the term 'performativity' is not to be employed in a purely Butlerian sense (Butler, 1999). Rather, it also stresses the importance of the reflexive agency of the subject and of the constitutive dynamics of the unconscious.

In this paper, I employ a qualitative approach by adopting a combination of textual analysis and in-depth interview. The texts to be analyzed in this paper include newspaper reports, press releases, and online gay forum and BBS articles. Moreover, I have interviewed local gay activists who became involved in and/or concerned with the 'Chao Ge Phenomenon'. In what follows, I shall provide a critical review of the related literature.

From Gay Consumption to Gay Equal Rights: A Critical Review

In spite of the fact that the American press had begun to formulate the concept of a gay niche market in the 1970s (Chasin, 2000: 24), it was not until the 1990s that the gay market dubbed the 'Dream Market' (quoted in Penalzoa, 1996: 10) was widely discussed within both the academy and the marketplace. In "We're Here, We're Queer, and We're Going Shopping ! : A Critical Perspective on the Accommodation of Gays and Lesbians in the U.S. Marketplace" (1996), Lisa Penalzoa puts it: 'In the 1970s, marketing studies flourished that prescribed strategies for targeting women and Blacks. Analogously, the Latino market was "discovered" in the 1980s, while the gay market is a 1990s phenomenon' (Penalzoa, 1996: 19).

It needs to be noted that the flourishing gay market is, in many ways, to be in the wake of the development of gay activism and gay identity politics. Alexandra Chasin has observed the link between capitalism and identity politics. In *Selling Out: The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes To Market* (2000), she argues that 'capitalism contributes to the formation of individual identity, which in turn contributes to the formation of identity-based social movements' (Chasin, 2000: 16). Since identity-based social movement upholds the rights of the individual, it to a large extent transforms capitalist market 'as a site of representation and enfranchisement' (Ibid.).

Living in a capitalist society, more and more gay people may tend to construct sexual identity and at the same time to demonstrate economic power by dint of consumption. They maintain that consumption stands for visibility and power, representing a dynamic approach to gay equal rights (Chasin, 2000:29-56; Lukenbill, 1995: 1). This gives rise to a belief that 'gay consumerism' can be deployed as the politics of equal rights for gay people. That is, if gay people demonstrate economic power via consumption, the marketplace, the media and even the whole society cannot dismiss the existence of gay people, and therefore they would further approve of gay equal rights.

However, the above gay consumerist politics remains arguable. In *Business, Not*

Politics: The Making of the Gay Market (2004), Katherine Sender points out that despite the boom in gay marketing, ‘corporate representatives and media executives have been careful to circumscribe these developments within a discursive framework of sound businesses practices. Trade and popular press articles abound with claims that marketing appeals to gay and lesbian consumers are a matter of “business, not politics”’ (Sender, 2004: 1-2). Moreover, critics have found that the gay consumerist politics brings into relief the agenda of white, middle-class, metropolitan gay men, while ignoring the voices of lesbians, transgenders, queers of color, and working-class queers (Bronski, 1984: 178; Fejes & Petrich, 1993; McIntosh, 1997: 242). This is why Chasin has argued that ‘identity-based marketing and consumption are intimately related to identity politics, and that, working together, they are inimical to progressive political change’ (Chasin, 2000: 24).

Gay consumers demonstrate economic power toward mainstream society by dint of not only ‘buy’ but also ‘boycott’. The boycott initiated and developed by gay consumers is also called ‘gaycott’ (Chasin, 2000: 148). Within the history of the American gay rights movement, one of the most noticeable ‘gaycotts’ was led by the late gay politician Harvey Milk (1930-1978) in order to protest against the gay rights opponent Anita Bryant, the then spokesperson for the Florida Citrus Commission (Chasin, 2000: 162). Yet, the very ‘gaycott’, refusing to consume Florida orange juice, appeared to be controversial within the gay community. As Chasin has pointed out, the National Gay Task Force issued a statement which ‘was generally understood to accuse boycotters of perpetrating the same kind of discrimination against Bryant’s “job rights” that was legal against gay people----discrimination based on the personal life of an employee’ (Chasin, 2000: 163).

Like the USA and other countries, Taiwan has seen the development of gay consumerism. Along with the ‘seemingly’ progressive development of gay activism in the 2000s, there have been an increasing number of newspaper reports focusing on gay consumption.⁵ These reports, for the most part, have brought into relief the subjectivity of gay consumer, characterized by male homosexuality, middle-class, singlehood, high personal disposable income, fashion and metropolitaniety (Chen, 2009; Yen, 2007; Zhang, 2002).

In the academy, some theses concerning gay consumption have been produced by master students in management studies (Chen, 2006; Huang, 2002; Kao, 2006).

⁵ In ‘The Development and Tendency of Micro-segment: An Inquiry into the Emerging Gay Marketing’ (1998), the local scholar Chung-chuan Yang has observed that in the late 1990s Taiwanese marketers and media managers were still reluctant to pay much attention to gay consumption and to what gay consumers want. He argues that the very reluctance could be seen as the result of the then homophobic phenomenon spreading through the whole society (Yang, 1998: 54).

Notably, the research findings of these theses, employing a quantitative approach, fully resonate with the contents of the above newspaper reports. Without a critical perspective, all these discourses produced by the academy and the media tend to focus on how marketers and media managers become able to formulate substantial marketing and advertising strategies in order to satisfy gay consumers' needs. This, I would argue, in many ways gives rise to local gay consumerist politics.

Local gay consumerist politics is to a large extent inscribed by male homocentrism and classism as it views the demonstration of gay male economic power as the most crucial approach to gay equal rights, dismissing economic disadvantage among lesbians, transgenders and working-class queers. Those who engage in the very politics seem to hold a naïve, narrow view of gay/queer activism and of equal rights without considering the complex intersections among gender, sexuality and class within local gay/queer communities. For instance, the local gay consumerist Eric Su in *G-Spot*⁶ puts it: 'The amazing power of gay [male]consumption as well as its globally positive image have led the government and the enterprisers to think about the huge advantages numerous gay [male]consumers may bring' (Su, 2007). Seemingly, for Su, gay equal rights are to buy in rather than to fight for. There have been an increasing number of gay consumerists intending to become involved with local gay/queer activism. Not surprisingly, their agenda has come under severe criticisms from left-wing queer activists. For instance, Ping Wang, a well-known left-wing queer activist, has called for debate over gay/queer activism and agenda so as to challenge the gay consumerist politics (Hsu, 2009).

The 'Chao Ge Phenomenon' happened within the above context. In a sense, it could be seen as a product of the gay consumerist politics. In what follows, I shall provide more accounts of how and why local gay men constructed and performed sexual and consumer identities through consuming Chao Ge's albums and related products and of how and why they intended to deploy the very consumption as an approach to equal rights.

Performing and Deploying Gay Consumer Identity

Gays are the epitome of capitalism.

---- *Steven Shifflett, former President of Houston's Gay Political Caucus*
(quoted in Chasin, 2000: 1).

As I have mentioned above, since the 2000s, Taiwan has 'seemingly' advanced in

⁶ *G-Spot*, published by Eric Su, is a bi-monthly gay Taipei's travel and leisure guide magazine.

gay/queer activism. The two major political parties, the KMT and the DDP, have repeatedly announced that gay rights are human rights in order to emphasize the democracy of Taiwan in contrast to the autocracy of Mainland China. However, confronted with the pressure from conservative groups, the government has never accomplished any gay rights policy. In this sense, gay rights are always a mere touching slogan which is not to be put into practice. To make matters worse, as the local gay activist Gofyy has observed, more and more young gay people, as if they have been persuaded by the government that Taiwan is truly gay-friendly, do not think that they are under oppression and therefore show no interest in gay/queer activism (Hsu, 2009). When most local gay people tend to replace (radical) gay/queer activism with (joyful) gay pride parade, local gay/queer activism seems to have come under a difficult time. Paradoxically, it is also the time when local gay consumerist politics has emerged and has spread through the gay community. More and more local gay people become gay consumerists.

Among the gay consumerist leaders is Yuan, the owner of the well-known gay bar Funky. Funky was founded by Lai in 1989 and is still the most long-standing gay bar in the great Taipei area. Yuan took over the bar in 2005. Since then, Funky has become one of the most important sites for practicing gay consumerist politics. In my interview with him, Yuan took a clear stance against any radical form of gay/queer activism:

Well, I don't think that there is any gay interested in any radical slogan or any radical form of activism. . . . In my view, gay people just wanna have fun. We are essentially party animals. So, who is gonna care about gay activism?. . . Can you tell me why we have to protest against the government? Don't you know the government have done a lot for gay rights?. . . I would say in all Asian countries Taiwan is the most gay-friendly. So we don't need to march in the streets. . . We were born to live a fashionable life. If we all live a fashionable life and show a friendly attitude toward the heterosexual public, they would adore us and then accept us.

For Yuan, the notion of fashion refers not only to clothing and hairstyle but also to music, dance, film, and so forth. Fashion entails consumption and, in many ways, represents bourgeois taste. Based on gay consumerism, Yuan has strived to transform Funky as a multi-functional commercial space where gay consumers can dance, drink, and, more surprisingly, interact with pop music singers and gay-themed film directors and actors. In doing so, he has appointed a team of public relations experts, in charge of arranging small concerts of pop music singers and gay-themed film release parties in Funky.

Among the pop music singers coming to Funky was Chao Ge. Significantly, he was also the first celebrity became the Star of Funky. In the spring of 2006, Chao Ge joined 'Rock Records & Tapes' (RRT) and released his debut album 'Ge Ge Blue'. In the beginning, this album did not sell well. Given that this album was characterized by its healing style and that most gay people suffered from sentimental wound, RRT decided to turn into the gay market and to transform Chao Ge as a gay icon. RRT proposed a gay-friendly cooperative project with Funky, suggesting that Chao Ge might regularly hold small concerts in Funky without demanding remuneration. Funky was happy with this proposal and strived to disseminate related information within the gay community. Chao Ge's first gay concert in Funky attracted a great number of gay consumers and was widely reported in the press. Consequently, his once unmarketable album turned out to be a hit of the season due to gay people's frantic consumption. Yuan recounts the then Chao Ge frenzy among gay consumers:

I was deeply affected by the fact that Chao Ge, as a pop music singer, dared to come into Funky and showed a gay-friendly attitude toward us. This really touched numerous gay people's hearts. Definitely, we would be desperate to consume his albums and related products. This is because we all have seen him as one of us. And we need to let Chao Ge and mainstream society know that.

In the end of 2006, Chao Ge released his second album 'Superman' and claimed that he would love to sing these lovely songs included in the album for his gay fans in Funky so as to thank their warm support. More interestingly, Chao Ge even said to the press: 'For me, love has nothing to do with gender. I would be happy to be gay "if" I meet my true love who is just a man' (Huang, 2006). In spite of the fact that Chao Ge stressed the highly rhetoric term 'if' and the very term seemed to imply a kind of concealment of his heterosexuality, many gay people, though naively, still tend to regard it as his openly coming out as a gay. Not surprisingly, Chao Ge was elected by the gay community as the best gay icon in 2006 (Huang, 2007).

At that time, identifying with Chao Ge was widely deemed by local gay men as an essential part of their gay identity. As a gay man put it on a gay BBS: 'I am a gay, so I am definitely a loyal fan of Chao Ge'. In this sense, to be a gay meant to constitute and at the same time to perform consumer identity over the brand of Chao Ge; that is, sexual identity and consumer identity were to be closely intertwined over the brand of Chao Ge. Furthermore, for those upholding gay consumerist politics, gay consumption of the brand of Chao Ge could be deployed so as to demonstrate gay economic power toward mainstream society. Yet, Chao Ge was also a brand over which RRT manipulated marketing strategies in order to gain commercial profits.

Thus, Chao Ge became a site of power relations where gay consumers' psychic identifications with him, the deployment of gay consumerist politics, RRT's marketing strategies and Chao Ge's own subjectivity were to be consistently negotiated and contested.

'Gaycotting' Chao Ge

From 2006 to (the July of) 2008, with gay consumers' frantic support, Chao Ge had become one of the best selling pop music singers in Taiwan. Moreover, he had increasingly gained reputation for his excellence in pop music performance. In the May of 2008, Chao Ge was nominated for the best male pop music singer for the 19th Golden Melody Awards. Notably, it was regarded as a kind of gay pride among the gay community. During the ceremony, held on the fifth of July, numerous gay men were staring at TV screens and praying for the win of Chao Ge. Definitely, they were all in an ecstasy of joy when the presenters revealed that Chao Ge was the winner. Yet, they suddenly turned out furious and sorrowful when Chao Ge, their beloved, smugly stood on the stage and shockingly claimed like this: 'Listen! I ain't, I ain't gay! Understand?'

The very claim provoked a great number of criticisms against Chao Ge on Gay BBSs and online forums. For instance, a heartbroken gay man accused Chao Ge of treating his gay fans like 'toilet papers': 'He just dumped us in the bin after use'. There were articles attempting to recall and to examine the development of the Chao Ge mania among the gay community. Among them was the following article receiving a great echo:

Everyone knows that it was gay people who made Chao Ge a superstar. When his first album didn't sell well, he walked into Funky and we all gave him a warm hug. We all became his loyal fans. . . When we all realize that his gay identity or gay-friendly attitude or whatever was just a marketing strategy and that the very strategy was just making use of our 'foolish' identification with him, we have every damn right to be angry!!!

However, Chao Ge's 'non-gay' claim provoked not only gay rage but also gay boycott against him. On the net, gay men sequentially called for a boycott against the brand of Chao Ge and in the end manipulated the so-called 'Four Steps against Chao Ge': 'Don't Buy His Albums', 'Don't Buy His Concert Tickets', 'Stop Him Getting into Funky' and 'Putting His Non-Gay Claim on Gay Pride T-Shirts'(for the sake of mocking him) (Chu; Wu, 2008). It needs to be noted that the online 'gaycott' (gay

boycott) was initiated and developed by a number of gay men rather than by gay/queer organizations and that the very 'gaycott' had made a great impact upon the brand of Chao Ge. For instance, 50% of the tickets of his annual concert, held in the November of 2008, remained unsold in the end of the September (Chen, 2008). For both Chao Ge and RRT, this was really a big wake-up call.

To pour oil on troubled waters, Chao Ge as well as his manager Wang Chen-hon became desperate to emphasize that there must be some misunderstanding between Chao Ge and his gay fans and that 'Chao Ge would always love his gay fans' (Chen, 2008; Chu; Wu, 2008). Yet, as the press revealed that Chao Ge had married a female fashion stylist and that prior to their wedding ceremony held in Malaysia she just gave a birth to their son (Jiang, 2008; Wu, 2008), the above claim that 'Chao Ge would always love his gay fans' appeared to be hypocritical.

Indeed, Chao Ge's coming out as a heterosexual had damaged his relationship with the gay community. As many gay men had stated, the main reason why they abominated Chao Ge was not because of his heterosexuality per se, but rather, because of being deceived and betrayed by him. What made the situation worse was that in order to conceal the increasingly deteriorating relationship between Chao Ge and the gay community, his manager Wang even lied to the press that Chao Ge had rebuilt his relationship with the gay community since he was invited to join the 2008 LGBT Pride Parade (Chen, 2008). Yet, Taiwan LGBT Pride Community, the organizer of the 2008 LGBT Pride Parade, immediately refuted the lie by claiming that 'it was impossible for us to invite a person whose remarks had annoyed numerous gay people' (Taiwan LGBT Pride Community, 2008).

Notably, there were Chao Ge's straight fans attempting to defend their idol against the gay community on the net. Among them were many Malaysian Chinese. Some of them used homophobic terms so as to attack the gay community. In order to fight back, some gay men employed racist terms such as 'Malayan tapirs' to refer to Chao Ge and to his Malaysian Chinese straight fans. In this sense, the 'gaycott' as well as its backlash appeared to be further complicated by racism and homophobia.

For gay men who might uphold the gay assimilationist agenda or even the gay consumerist politics,⁷ the 'gaycott' seemed to have functioned to harm the increasingly harmonious relationship between mainstream society and the gay community. For instance, Yuan, the owner of Funky, strongly disagreed with the 'gaycott' and claimed that he would be attending Chao Ge's concert in order to support him. Yuan's claim annoyed many anti-Chao Ge gay men. They therefore

⁷ That is, there was a dispute over the 'gaycott' against Chao Ge among local gay consumerists.

called for a boycott against Funky. Moreover, given that the 'gaycott' was inscribed by gay consumerism, classism and male homocentrism, some gay/queer left-wing activists maintained that it might exert negative influence upon local gay activism. The 'gaycott', in many ways, seemed to have contributed to disputes among the gay community.

Since his shocking declaration of not being a gay in the 19th Golden Melody Awards Ceremony, Chao Ge's career had suffered a dramatic decline due to the fierce 'gaycott'. The 2008 concert did not sell well; his new album had been postponed. Chao Ge was not a superstar anymore; and decided to leave Taiwan temporarily. Following his disappearance, the very 'gaycott' which was the first and, in a sense, the most successful one within the history of local gay activism gradually came to an end.

Conclusion

This paper deals with the 'Chao Ge Phenomenon', which refers to how and why this Taiwan-based Malaysian Chinese male pop music singer became a gay icon by dint of continually showing a homophilic attitude toward gay consumers or even identification with the gay community, to how and why he turned out notorious among the gay community due to his shocking declaration of not being a gay in the 19th Golden Melody Awards Ceremony, and to how and why a number of gay men initiated and developed a 'gaycott' against him on the net. Through examining the 'Chao Ge Phenomenon', this paper has attempted to offer a critical understanding of consumption performativity, deployment and boycott among local gay men.

Significantly, the very phenomenon happened in a time when most local gay people tended to replace (radical) gay/queer activism with (joyful) gay pride parade and when local gay consumerist politics had emerged and had spread through the gay community. For those upholding gay consumerist politics, gay consumption of the brand of Chao Ge could be deployed so as to demonstrate gay economic power toward mainstream society. Yet, Chao Ge was also a brand over which RRT manipulated marketing strategies in order to gain commercial profits. Thus, Chao Ge became a site of power relations where gay consumers' psychic identifications with him, the deployment of gay consumerist politics, RRT's marketing strategies and Chao Ge's own subjectivity were to be consistently negotiated and contested.

In spite of the fact that the 'gaycott' against Chao Ge was the first and, in a sense, the most successful one within the history of local gay activism, it might in

some ways turned out to be a double-edged sword. For instance, since the ‘gaycott’ was inscribed by gay consumerism, classism and male homocentrism, it might have dismissed economic disadvantage among, and the voices from, lesbians, transgenders and working-class queers. Moreover, it was also likely to lead mainstream society to equate gay people with advantaged bourgeoisie without considering their disadvantaged status of being sexual minorities.

The ‘Chao Ge Phenomenon’, however, provides us with a critical perspective through which we are capable of looking at both the efficacy of and the risk of local gay consumerist politics. For those who become involved in and/or concerned with local gay activism for academic and/or activist reasons, it deserves further exploration.

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American Migrants in the Yokohama Treaty Port: The Construction of National Identity

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Migration

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Treaty ports operated in Japan from 1859 to 1899. The ports included Hakodate, Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, Osaka, and Yokohama (Kanagawa). The treaty ports were essentially forced on Japan by Western powers for purposes of access to Japan's markets. The most important port was Yokohama. It had the largest non-Japanese population. It also had the largest overseas trade.¹

An important feature of the Yokohama port was the heterogeneity of the international population. Non-Japanese residents were an amalgam, comprising, in the 1880s, at least sixteen national groups. As a member of the British legation described the non-Japanese population in Yokohama in the mid 1860s, it "is the most curious motley imaginable. English, French, Dutch, German, Italian, Americans, Greeks, Chinese...[Blacks] all live together, the most incongruous elements...."²

The local population, then, included a striking ethnocultural admixture. Residents were drawn from the East (the single largest non-Japanese group present were Chinese) as well as the West.³ Difference by race, ethnicity, nationality, and cultural antecedents was part of the fabric of life.

How did the difference play itself out in local life? What role did ethnocultural group attachments have in the various arenas of life in the port? How did group boundaries figure in everyday interaction in Yokohama?

In theory the different groups living in Japan's treaty ports could co-mingle with one another. Prevailing law did not segregate groups. There were no separate foreign concessions by nationality. Laws did not separate groups by race or religion. Non-Japanese were free to interact among themselves. Also Japanese and non-Japanese could have contact. Treaty law served to regulate but not prohibit daily exchange between natives and non-natives.⁴

Centrifugal behavior was possible by Japanese and non-Japanese alike. In practice to what extent did individuals mix with people from other groups? Across the landscape of Yokohama life where were group lines drawn? If boundaries were manifest, how were

they maintained?

These questions are taken up below in a case study focusing on Americans residing in Yokohama. The year 1884 was chosen for examination because of the availability of primary sources. Investigation addresses Americans and group boundaries in relation to sociocultural and economic spheres of life in the treaty port. Group difference and the political sphere in Yokohama is not considered. Under the terms of the treaties the rights and powers of governance in relation to non-Japanese residents was largely invested in the local foreign consuls. For a time a municipal council elected by the resident international population did operate. But the period of operation was brief—up until 1867—and the council had little power.⁵

In order to frame the discussion which follows analysis begins with an overview of the demography of the American population in Yokohama in 1884.

Demographic profile⁶

1. Population count

Two hundred and thirty-four Americans have been identified as residents in Yokohama in 1884.

In counting the population two main sources were used: a population census taken by the local U.S. Consul in 1884 and a city directory for 1884.⁷

2. Age and gender

One hundred and eighty-five of the two hundred and thirty-four resident Americans were adults. Forty-nine were children.

Year of birth is known for sixty-two of the adults. Six were sixty or over in 1884, forty-five were thirty to fifty-nine, and eleven were twenty to twenty-nine.

One hundred and ten of the adults were men. Seventy-five were women.

3. Marital status and familial circumstances

At least 104 of the adults were—or had been—married.

At least ninety-eight of the married adults lived with a spouse, in 1884, in Yokohama.

At least twenty of the forty-nine resident couples had children living with them in 1884.

The available evidence points to the migration stream of Americans in Yokohama in 1884 as having been family-based and comprising many middle-age adults.

How did group boundaries figure in the American population's experience in the treaty port?

Residential patterns

There were two main areas of residences for non-Japanese in Yokohama. Residences—and businesses—were situated in the harbor area of the port, which was called the Foreign Settlement. Residences were also situated on high ground immediately adjacent to and overlooking the harbor, which was called the Bluff.

Based on the U.S. Consul population census and the city directory, the American population resident in 1884 appears to have included 108 households. Fifty-six of these households were situated in residences in the Foreign Settlement. Fifty-two were situated in residences on the Bluff. Figure 1 shows American households situated in the Foreign Settlement in 1884. Figure 2 shows American households situated on the Bluff.

Figures 1 and 2 suggest the following. Americans did not disperse residentially. Neither did they enclave. Clustering, however, is evident. Americans appear not to have lived in certain areas in the Settlement or on the Bluff. In the areas in which they located, they tended to bunch, creating in effect residential nodes.

In the economic arena

American businesses, business owners, and workers were present in Yokohama. How were the businesses, the business owners, and workers distributed in the treaty port economy? That is, was there a pattern to the geographic location of American businesses? Was there a pattern to American owners of businesses and business partner nationality? Was there a pattern by American workers in relation to the staffing of businesses in the treaty port?

1. Geographic location of American businesses ⁸

Thirty-five American businesses have been identified for Yokohama in relation to 1884. The thirty-five businesses all were located in the Foreign Settlement, which was the main business district in the treaty port. Figure 3 shows the location of the thirty-five

businesses in the Settlement.

Figure 3 indicates that in 1884 most American businesses in Yokohama clustered in their geographic location. Like American households, American businesses tended not to disperse, be found in certain geographic areas, and arranged themselves in nodes, bunching together.

2. American owners of businesses and business partner nationality⁹

Nineteen American residents in Yokohama in 1884 have been identified as owning businesses with partners in the treaty port in that year. Fifteen of the nineteen had business partners who were also American. Six had business partners whose nationality was other than American. (Two of the nineteen had both American and non-American business partners.)

3. American workers and business staffing¹⁰

Thirty-nine Americans have been identified as employees in businesses in Yokohama in 1884. Twenty-six of the thirty-nine were employees at businesses owned by Americans. Eleven were employees at businesses which were not owned by Americans. Two were employees at businesses whose ownership background is not known.

Americans and the construction of social ties

Residentially and in the economic sphere, Americans displayed centripetal behavior. How did the Americans configure themselves in their social ties?

1. Clubs, fraternal organizations, and other voluntary associations

The American residents in Yokohama joined voluntary social organizations which had mixed membership by nationality. In 1884 a cultural study organization in the treaty port had forty-two local members, at least eleven of whom were Americans. Also in 1884 a local choral society had four club officers, one of whom was American.¹¹

At the same time Americans in the treaty port joined organizations which were exclusively or primarily American in membership. Voluntary associations in Yokohama which were the product of centripetal behavior by Americans were apparently not uncommon. During the life of the treaty port such organizations appear to have included the American Fire Brigade, the Columbia Society, and the American Asiatic Society of Japan.¹²

In 1884 ingrouping by Americans occurred in relation to at least two associational

arenas in Yokohama: fraternal clubs and religious organizations. A Masonic lodge had been established in the treaty port by 1868. In 1884 there were at least eight local Masonic lodges, two of which were American grounded, coming, as they did, under the auspices of the “Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite...Southern Jurisdiction...United States.” Seven of the eleven officers in the latter two Masonic lodges in 1884 were Americans.¹³

A so-called American church had been established in Yokohama by the early 1860s. The church was Protestant, nondenominational. In 1893 the congregation comprised seventy-seven members. Other American grounded religious bodies in the treaty port in 1884 included the American Baptist Missionary Union, the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the American Presbyterian Mission, the American Bible Society, the American Reformed Church Mission, and the American Women’s Union Mission.¹⁴

2. Intimate personal relations

Americans drew together in formulating public social ties. How did nationality figure in the way Americans constructed close interpersonal ties? The available sources shed light on this question for one relevant concern: marital patterns.¹⁵

To what extent did the migration stream practice endogamy for nationality in a strict sense—native-born American marrying native-born American? Of the forty-nine identified resident couples in 1884, nativity is known for both spouses for ten couples. In the cases of eight of the ten couples both spouses were native-born Americans. In the cases of the other two couples one spouse was native-born American, the other spouse was a native of a country other than the United States, in one instance a native of England, in the other instance a native of Ireland. These findings suggest that the migration stream may have been largely endogamous for nationality by choice of partner country of origin.

In 1862, during the American Civil War, the U.S. Consul in Yokohama, George Fisher, wrote to the American Secretary of State, “In our small community we have not I am happy to say one disloyal person to our Country and flag....”¹⁶ In 1884 the context and terms for identifying as an American in Yokohama were not, within the daily rhythm of life, primarily that of political allegiance. Intercourse with fellow Americans was a or the leading marker for group identification. Evidence points to Americans in the treaty port in 1884 cohering in the interaction of everyday life. How can this centripetal behavior by the migration stream be understood?

Explaining immigrant behavior

Why did Americans resident in Yokohama in 1884 draw together? Also what means were employed to foster the collective ties? No doubt Americans came together for a variety of reasons. Inward impulses pulled Americans together. In 1876 an American young woman living in Tokyo wrote in her diary about meeting an American friend she knew in Yokohama, "It did me...much good to see...and...be with a...girl...my own age and nationality."¹⁷ Americans felt comfortable among themselves.

Americans were also drawn by the cultural ways they had known in their homeland. In 1886 a hotel in Yokohama advertised that it had "the best American Billiard Table in the East." In the same year another local hotel advertised: "speciality [sic], American Drinks."¹⁸

Yet if Americans were pulled together, they were also pushed. In this regard a main outside reason that impelled ingrouping was related to the character of the aggregate international population in the treaty port. As mentioned above, the non-Japanese population as an aggregation was strikingly heterogeneous by national and cultural background. This diversity led to intergroup division.

Amity and concourse, across groups, was sought. As a local newspaper editorialized in 1881, "A few mutual concessions, a drop of...human kindness, a little charitableness would smooth down the ruffled plumage of this little village wonderfully." Comity was on occasion achieved. The historical record points to acts of cooperation by members of one group with members of another group occurring regularly throughout the treaty port period. In 1863 an American living in Yokohama wrote in his diary about local celebration of American Independence Day, 4 July, "Salutes fired by...English...French vessels in harbor." A British Consul has written about the short-lived Yokohama Municipal Council, "The choice...by a majority of English...of an American as first chairman proves how united the different nationalities were...that it was a question of the best man, and not of nationality." In 1872 a local newspaper praised a Swiss recreational association in the port for "succeed[ing]...to a greater extent than most similar societies in infusing interest in...the general public." In 1886 another social club in Yokohama announced the following principle of membership: "Social position, nationality...class prejudices...have nothing to do with the object of the Association."¹⁹

Yet intergroup competition and conflict was rife if not the norm. Difference among the various nationalities present was interpreted as the basis for separate—not shared—

national agendas at a very early point in the treaty port's history. In 1864 the British Ambassador in Japan called for separate burial by nationality in the international cemetery in Yokohama: "The aggregation of the dead of one nation...in contiguity...." The causes of and what was at stake in the different national agendas appears sometimes not to have been very weighty. A local German club accepted non-German members but restricted voting rights in the organization to the German national members.²⁰

Sometimes, however, the matters underlying the national differences were significant, if not at least in the eyes of the parties involved, and on occasion truly far-reaching. A case in point regarding the former kind of issue involved recurring problems emanating from heightened feelings of patriotism held by some foreign nationals living in Yokohama for their respective homelands. Time and again friction—past or present—between countries became the source of personal animosities in the treaty port. In 1887, for example, tempers flared locally when the owners of the leading hotel in the port, who were French, did not decorate their establishment, as neighboring businesses had, to mark a British national celebration. Ten years earlier it had been the local French population that took umbrage with how they were treated by others in the port.²¹

Two areas in which national differences led to deep division within the Yokohama international population were religion and economic interest. Some in Yokohama looked at the local English Anglican church in disfavor, seeing it confounding spiritual and national endeavor. Similar sentiments were expressed in relation to the work of the Russian Orthodox Church in Japan. The Anglican and Russian Churches both proselytized and their missionary activities were held suspect as mixing religion and nationalism. As a British-owned local newspaper spoke to the matter in an editorial, in 1902: "We...differ most emphatically with [the opinion]...that 'every British missionary is regarded more or less as representing the Government which he obeys,' whereas 'the Americans, who do not labour under this disadvantage, often find it easier on that account to win the confidence of the people among whom they labour.' That assertion is absolutely incorrect so far as Japan is concerned."²²

But the most conflicted arena for national difference was economic life. Business prosperity was often seen through the lens of national competitions in the marketplace. At different times it was thought—and anguished over by the losing interests—that Britain or Germany or the United States had captured the market. In 1887 in Yokohama leading British merchants believed that there was a "predilection for everything German...." In the treaty port's incipient years British merchants had controlled a majority of the imports and exports. Competition was stiff and, at one and the same

time, inflamed and inflicted by national difference. The Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, it seems, was closed to Chinese merchants at least into the 1880s. One Yokohama merchant described the internecine conditions in the local marketplace this way: “There are too many kinds of us...You can’t do much uniting in a community that is Chinese, English, American, German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Indian, Parsee, and what not. Even the white foreigners can’t keep together. If we were only English and Americans we could accomplish something, but when it comes to getting Frenchmen to stand shoulder to shoulder with Germans—*augespielt!*”²³

In such a divisive environment national ingrouping made sense. Solidarity among nationals may have been a cause of the competitive and conflicting conditions but it also was a way to make do in those circumstances. Coming together by nationality individuals could mobilize for self-interest. There is evidence of Americans—and nationals from other countries—doing such, in the 1880s, and at other times, in the treaty port.

Americans rallied among themselves in the religious and economic arenas. In the competitive endeavor of Christian missionary work two American Protestant denominations represented in Yokohama decided, in 1887, to join forces. A local newspaper noted: “...a union is about to be consummated between the Congregational Churches here, and the Presbyterian Church, known as the United Church of Christ in Japan. That two bodies which have kept so distinctly apart for centuries as Congregationalists and Presbyterians have done, should be able...to join hands in the Japan Mission field, is a fact at once gratifying and significant. Concessions have been made on both sides, as is necessary and seemly in every auspicious union.” Five years later there was a campaign to enlist “all Christian foreigners in Japan” to prepare a petition in relation to an issue involving observance of the Sabbath. A longtime American Protestant minister in Yokohama responded to the call by commenting: “While not disapproving...I yet wish to make known...that already the preliminary steps for a petition of American citizens have been taken and a call for signatures of these has been privately issued....If the foreign residents of other nationalities in Japan desire to add their names...I am sure no objection will be taken....”²⁴

In 1886 the U.S. Consul in Yokohama sought to boost trade between the United States and Japan. He contacted American firms in the port to solicit their support and suggestions. The leading local U.S. firm responded: “The official representatives of several of the European governments are instructed to further the commercial interests of their nationals in Japan, and we understand...they do so very assiduously...

intelligently....It would probably be very difficult to wholly neutralize the efforts of these representatives, but if American interests were similarly protected...promoted the result might be advantageous to American trade.” The American resident in Yokohama who commented on local celebration of American Independence Day wrote in his diary in 1860, at a time the port was just coming into being: “Went to...see what I could do towards getting a building lot. Found that the Americans, weary of vexative delay and the inability or unwillingness of the foreign representatives to render aid, had resolved to help themselves. Some...led the way by ‘staking out claims....’ I followed suit...”²⁵

External forces at work in the local setting brought Americans together. What, if anything, was at work in the setting that augmented the feelings of national mutuality the Americans shared? Deepening the ties were another set of dynamics which it appears may have contributed significantly to the affinity bonding the Americans. The migration stream was of the United States. Potentially more important, many if not most in the stream shared identity on a sub-national level which would have strengthened the national element they had in common.

Experience pre-arrival Japan is known for fifty of the resident American adults.²⁶ Twenty-eight of the fifty were born in the eastern United States. More specifically, twenty-four of the fifty were born in the Northeast (i.e. Pennsylvania to Maine). At least twenty-four of the twenty-eight born in the East were from communities which were ocean ports or located near such ports. Evidence points to many if not most of the fifty adults having middle-class antecedents. Indications are most if not all of the fifty were literate. At least thirteen, it appears, had more than a basic level of formal education.

These findings suggest that the migration stream as a whole included a large subgroup with shared background in relation to region of origin, profile of the community of residence, and class ties.

The subgroup, furthermore, had, it is likely, other features in common. Based on surname, most of the fifty resident Americans just profiled were of western European ancestral antecedents. Religious ties in Yokohama are known for thirty-three of the fifty Americans. Twenty-eight were Protestant, three were Jewish, and two were Catholic. At least thirty-eight of the fifty Americans had taken up residence in Yokohama by 1879. Of these thirty-eight at least thirty-one had arrived in the treaty port by 1875. These findings, collectively, point to the migration stream in aggregate including a large number of individuals with the same makeup for ancestral origins, religious identity, and type of migrant—settler rather than sojourner.

In sum, from what is known about the fifty resident American adults it is reasonable to speculate as follows about the migration stream of Americans in total in Yokohama in 1884. A number of individuals were of a particular background. They had similar antecedents and, to an extent, life experience. They shared an historic grounding less formal and inclusive than that rooted in nationality. This common ground would have no doubt provided a kind of basis for everyday exchange and solidarity beneath that at work in the identity of American nationality held by all group members resident in the treaty port in 1884.

Below is some brief biographical information about nine of the fifty resident American adults profiled above. The nine Americans embodied to different degrees the features just sketched for the subgroup of fifty as a whole. Each of the nine, however, generally fit the composite laid out from what is known about the lives of the fifty Americans.

Jane Loomis was born in Boston. In the United States she had been a teacher, of Latin and mathematics. Loomis came to Yokohama with her husband, Henry, a Protestant minister, in 1872. She died in the port in 1920.²⁷

Julia Crosby was born in New York City. She came to Yokohama in 1871. Single, Crosby was a Protestant missionary and educator. She died in Yokohama in 1918.²⁸

Louisa Harman was born in Albany, New York. She had arrived in Yokohama by the 1870s. Harman was married. Her husband, Charles, had also been born in Albany, and worked in a management position for a shipping line in Yokohama. Louisa Harman's religious ties are not known. She died in the port in 1919.²⁹

Nellie Swain, it appears, was born in a small maritime community in Maine. Swain had arrived in Yokohama by 1881. She was married. Her husband, a ship captain in the treaty port, was, it is likely, a native of the sea-faring island of Nantucket, Massachusetts. Nellie Swain's religious ties are not known. She died in Yokohama in 1887.³⁰

Arthur Otis Gay was born in a small port community near Boston. His father was a prominent local attorney. Gay had arrived in Yokohama by 1865. He was (in 1884) single and a partner in a trading firm in the port. Gay was Protestant. He died in Yokohama in 1901.³¹

Joseph Gorham, like Arthur Otis Gay, was born in a small maritime community not far from Boston. Gorman, it appears, had arrived in Yokohama by 1879. He was married and worked in a management position for a shipping line in the treaty port. Gorman appears to have belonged to the American Church in Yokohama. He died in the treaty port in 1891.³²

Stuart Eldridge was born in Philadelphia. A trained physician, Eldridge, in 1875, came to Yokohama, where he established a practice. Eldridge was married and appears to have been Protestant. He died in Yokohama in 1901.³³

Thomas Tyler was born in a small port community in Maine. Tyler, it appears, arrived in Yokohama in 1884. He appears to have been single and worked in various management positions at firms in the treaty port. Tyler was Protestant. He died in Yokohama in 1907.³⁴

John Gibbs, it is likely, was born in a small community not far from New York City. An engineer by profession, Gibbs had arrived in Yokohama by 1872. Gibbs was married and a Roman Catholic. He died in the port in 1902.³⁵

In 1884 some 230 Americans resided in Yokohama. To a noteworthy extent these individuals ingrouped as co-nationals in their daily lives. The centripetal behavior they manifested, it appears, was a consequence of felt national bonds and a response to pressures encountered in the treaty port. Strengthening the ties of mutuality at work and the solidarity produced from those ties was no doubt a kind of affinity felt among many in the migration stream which was rooted in a shared background beneath that of nationality and constructed from similar sociocultural antecedents and life course experiences in the United States and Japan.

Like background and personal experience help explain the actions of the migration stream of Americans in Yokohama in 1884. There are, however, limits to viewing the stream in this manner.

The total stream was not homogeneous in background and experience. Based upon what is known about the sample of fifty resident American adults, the migration stream, it is clear, probably included at least one other significant subpopulation besides the one described above. Fifteen of the fifty American adults were naturalized, as opposed to native-born, citizens.³⁶ The aggregate migration stream, therefore, it is likely, included a

number of first generation Americans who in effect had undergone step migration in the United States in their path of movement from native homeland to Japan. Countries of origin among the fifteen identified naturalized Americans include England, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Russia, and Scotland. A sizeable population made up of a mix such as this by homeland would have added diversity to the total resident population of Americans in Yokohama.

Similarly the migration stream did not comprise settlers only. A number of the Americans resident in 1884 were sojourners. Based on a population census taken by the U.S. Consul in 1885, thirty-one of the American adults who had lived in Yokohama in 1884 were no longer resident.³⁷

If the migration stream was not seamless in relation to origins and antecedents or length of stay in Yokohama, it was also not unified in relation to everyday interaction among co-nationals in the treaty port. Lines of division are known to have splintered the American population at different times in the treaty port's history. A main source of conflict was class. The young American who took succor in the opportunity for having friendship with a fellow American noted in her diary for 1876, "Next Tuesday will be the Fourth of July...The Americans in Yokohama have been trying for the last two months to 'get up' some celebration and have failed because if they have a dinner and invite all...Americans, the low...rough sailor-class would...come. And if those come, the respectable will stay away, not caring to identify...with such people as countrymen." A few years earlier the local U.S. Consul had expelled marginal population from the treaty port, forcing, in the words of one newspaper, upwards to one hundred "loafers" to leave Yokohama.³⁸

Religious difference was also a flashpoint among Americans. Interfaith relations were problematic. One longtime member of the local Protestant clergy commented about a fellow American living in the treaty port: "...that merchant, strange to say, is a Jew, but a most liberal one; indeed, I think he is more of a Christian than a Jew." Another longtime American minister in Yokohama used similar language in describing the same businessman. In 1897 an American Protestant missionary spoke on "Home Missions and the Jews." Another Protestant missionary described the landscape of organized religion in Yokohama in this manner: "False doctrines, Universalism, Unitarianism, Romanism, and all those allies of the great adversary of the Truth, have phalanxed their forces against the progress of the kingdom..." in the port.³⁹

Also interdenominational relations among local American Protestants were not in

complete concert. The examples of the American Church and the coming together of the Presbyterian and Congregational missionary work notwithstanding, the different Protestant denominations represented in the community often were at odds with one another. In 1886 the American Church was described as an outcome of various denominations having “with great good sense sunk all their minor differences and, uniting...to support together some place of worship in which they can all meet.” Yet in 1891 the lack of Protestant “Mission Comity” was publicly being noted.⁴⁰

Given what is known about the fifty resident American adults in 1884, it is likely that Eastern whites with middle-class and Protestant ties were the largest group within the total migration stream. Still, the stream included other groups, relations among the various subpopulations being at times problematic.

Finally, in trying to understand the construction of the migration stream of American residents in Yokohama in 1884 in greater detail, it is worth going beyond the available data and speculate about another dynamic which possibly was part of the group’s experience and could have impacted on collective ties. Was there chain migration among the migration stream? More particularly, did the subgroup which has been the focus of this study, a grouping defined by like antecedents and pre-arrival experience, practice chain migration? The records in hand do not shed much light on this point, although one might expect chain migration, by family or locale, to have been common given the similar and, in some cases, overlapping backgrounds, in the United States, which characterized a large portion of the migration stream.

In 1870 a Yokohama newspaper editorialized: “Nationality is one of the strongest bonds that bind...men to each other....it matters not how far asunder may be the particular spots where they were born...those who claim the same protection...and obey the same national laws, meet where they may...under whatever circumstances, are countrymen still....”⁴¹ Ties are often at the heart of individual immigrant or migration stream experience. Americans residing in Yokohama in 1884, it seems, fashioned a collective identity constructed from selected elements of their ties to the United States. A kind of American ethnocultural identity was invented, rooted in shared past regional if not community and perhaps extended kinship experience and bound almost assuredly by distinctions associated with class and ancestral antecedents. Nationality was transformed. An informal but powerful fusion of feelings, relations, and associations tied to the United States was formulated to help the settlers get through their daily lives in the treaty port.

Notes

Abbreviations

DDK Department of State, United States, Diplomatic Despatches, Japan, Despatches from United States Consuls in Kanagawa, 1861-1897, Record Group 59, File Microcopy 135

DDY Department of State, United States, Diplomatic Despatches, Japan, Despatches from the United States Consuls in Yokohama, 1897-1906, Record Group 59, File Microcopy 136

JD *Japan Directory* (Tokyo: Yumani Shoboh, 1996)
--various years

JG *Japan Gazette*

JWM *Japan Weekly Mail*

1. The findings presented in this study should be considered work-in-progress as I continue to research the topic.

Originally the treaty port at Yokohama had been planned for a nearby location, at Kanagawa. International settlement started in 1859 at the Kanagawa site. Almost immediately non-Japanese residence and business shifted to the Yokohama location. For a valuable introduction to Japan's treaty ports, see: J.D. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858-1899* (Sandgate, Kent: Japan Library, 1994). In 1884 the non-Japanese population in Yokohama was some 3, 700. *Irish University Press Area Studies Series, British Parliamentary Papers, Japan, Volume 7, Embassy and Consular Commercial Reports, 1882-87* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971) p. 459.

2. *Ibid.*; Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Mitford's Japan: The Memoirs and Recollections, 1866-1906, of Algernon Bertram Mitford, the first Lord Redesdale* (The Athlone Press, London: 1985) p. 31.

3. In 1884 the Chinese population was some 2,400. British were the second largest international population, with some 600 residents. Americans were the third largest international group present. For a breakdown of the international population in Yokohama in 1884 by nationality and size, see: *Irish University Press Area Studies Series, British Parliamentary Papers, Japan, Volume 7, Embassy and Consular Commercial Reports, 1882-87*, p. 459.

4. See, for example: *Japan Gazette, Yokohama Semi-Centennial*, July 1909, p. 26; Yuzo Kato, ed., *Yokohama: Past and Present* (Yokohama: Yokohama City University, 1990)

p. 37; Robert Reischauer, "Alien Land Tenure in Japan," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Second Series, XIII (1936) pp. 22, 35, 49; *JWM*, August 15, 1891, pp. 186-187.

5. Kevin Murphy, *The American Merchant Experience in 19th Century Japan* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003) p. 33.

6. A number of sources were used to compile demographic data. The most useful sources were the five listed in the abbreviations section above: two collections of records of the U.S. Consul in Yokohama (Kanagawa), an annual city directory, and two local newspapers.

7. See: note #6; DDK, no. 871, January 16, 1885, Register of American Residents on December 31, 1884; *JD*, 1884, pp. 131-164. (The population enumeration of Americans in Yokohama, 1884, by local British consul pointed out in note #3 and the just-cited 31 December 1884 count by the U.S. Consul in the treaty port give the same totals; for a population estimation of American residents in Yokohama earlier in 1884 by the local U.S. Consul, see: DDK, no. 857, November 5, 1884, Thomas Van Buren to John Davis.)

8. The main source used to identify American businesses was *JD*, 1884. American business means here a business which appears to have had sole American ownership or a business which had American ownership and ownership which was other than American. Twenty-nine businesses have been identified which fit the first category. Six businesses have been identified which fit the second category. In 1884 the local U.S. Consul noted that there were some thirty American businesses in Yokohama; DDK, no. 857, November 5, 1884, Thomas Van Buren to John Davis. The local British Consul counted twenty-five American firms in the treaty port in 1884; *Irish University Press Area Studies Series, British Parliamentary Papers, Japan, Volume 7, Embassy and Consular Commercial Reports, 1882-87*, p. 459.

9. The main source used for this section was *JD*, 1884.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XIII (1885) pp. xiv-xviii; *JD*, 1884, p. 10.

12. *JD*, 1875, p. 10; Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports*, pp. 42, 44, 203, 204; Harold S. Williams, "'Shades of the Past': George Washington Ball," *Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan* (February 1976): 23-27; DDY, no. 142, June 27, 1899, J.F. Gowey to David Hill; DDY, no. 22, October 31, 1900, E.C. Bellows to David Hill.

13. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports*, p. 8; *JD*, 1884, pp. 14, 42, 49; *JD*, 1887, p. 56.

14. The church appears to have had two names, American Church and Union Church. DDK, no. 46, December 29, 1864, George Fisher to William H. Seward, enclosure #1, Plan of new Consular grounds and proposition to build permanent [?] Consulate; *JD*, 1884, pp. 9, 48, 131, 161; *JG*, October 1, 1880, pp. 3; *JWM*, December 18, 1886, pp.

- 602-603; William Elliot Griffis, *Hepburn of Japan and His Wife and Helpmates* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1913) pp. 180-181; *JWM*, January 27, 1894, p. 117; *JD*, 1884, pp. 6-7.
15. See note #6.
16. DDK, no. 13, September 16, 1862, George Fisher to William H. Seward.
17. Clara Whitney, *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979) pp. 57-58.
18. *JG*, July 8, 1886, p. 1.
19. *JG*, January 22, 1881, p. 2; F.G. Notehelfer, *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859-1866* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) p. 490; M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868* (New York: Paragon Book, 1968) p. 269; *The Far East*, November 16, 1872, p. 142; *Japan Gazette, Yokohama Semi-Centennial*, p. 19.
20. Kato, *Yokohama: Past and Present*, p. 50; *Japan Gazette, Yokohama Semi-Centennial*, p. 58.
21. *JWM*, July 9, 1887, p. 35; Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports*, pp. 49-50.
22. *JWM*, February 8, 1902, p. 147; James Hoare, "British Journalists in Meiji Japan," in Nish, Ian, ed., *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* (Sandgate, Kent: Japan Library, 1994) pp. 26-27; also see, for example: *JWM*, July 16, 1887, pp. 59-60; *JWM*, February 9, 1884, pp. 132-137; *JWM*, May 3, 1884, p. 419; *JWM*, June 15, 1895, p. 677; *JWM*, February, 24, 1912, p. 220; *JWM*, March 14, 1891, pp. 312-313.
23. *JWM*, February 19, 1887, p. 174; Grace Fox, *Britain and Japan: 1858-1883* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) pp. 320-321; *JG*, February 3, 1880, p. 2; Clarence Ludlow Brownell, *The Heart of Japan: Glimpses of Life and Nature Far From the Travellers' Track in the Land of the Rising Sun* (London: Methuen, n.d.) p. 77.
24. *JWM*, July 16, 1887, p. 58; *JWM*, January 30, 1892, p. 151.
25. DDK, no. 84, May 13, 1886 Warren Green to James Porter, enclosure no. 2, April 17, 1886, Walsh, Hall Co., to Warren Green; Notehelfer, *Japan Through American Eyes*, p. 168.
26. For this paragraph and the next two paragraphs, see: note #6.
27. Clara Denison Loomis, *Henry Loomis: Friend of the East* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1923) pp. 25, 26, 27, 147; Patricia McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi, The Foreigners' Cemetery, Yokohama, Japan* (London: BACSA, 1994) p. 35; *JD*, 1884, p. 149.
28. *JG*, July 5, 1918, p. 8; McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 65; *JD*, 1884, p. 139.
29. *JG*, November 28, 1919, p. 8; *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, December 11, 1919 p. 883; *JWM*, January 23, 1892, pp. 97, 109; McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 203; *JD*, 1875, p. 40; *JD*, 1884, p. 144.

30. McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, pp. 227, 502; *JD*, 1881, pp. 56, 62; *JD*, 1884, p. 159; DDK, no. 58, June 6, 1887, C. R. Greathouse to James Porter.
31. *History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts*, Vol. II (Hingham [?]: The Town of Hingham, 1893) p. 266; *History of the Town of Hingham*, Vol. I pp. 329-330; McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 66; *JD*, 1865, p. 238; *JD*, 1884, p. 27, 142; *Eastern World*, July 20, 1901, p. 8; *JWM*, July 27, 1901, pp. 86-87; *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, July 24, 1901, p. 78; DDK, no. 57, July 22, 1901, E.C. Bellows to David Hill. Gay married in 1891; see: DDK, no. 298, January 12, 1891, G.H. Scidmore to William Wharton.
32. *JWM*, March 7, 1891, p. 269; *JD*, 1879, pp. 27, 92; *JD*, 1884, pp. 27, 143; *JWM*, February 8, 1890, p. 39; McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 82; DDK, no. 312, March 4, 1891, G.H. Scidmore to William Wharton.
33. *JWM*, November 23, 1901, p. 542; McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 66; *JD*, 1884, p. 141; DDK, no. 71, November 18, 1901, E.C. Bellows to David Hill.
34. McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 332; *JD*, 1884, pp. 46, 160; *JWM*, September 14, 1907, p. 287.
35. *JWM*, June 14, 1902, p. 654; *JD*, 1872, p. 66; McCabe, *Gaijin Bochi*, p. 66; *JD*, 1884, pp. 33, 142; DDK, no. 98, June 9, 1902, E.C. Bellows to David Hill.
36. Here and for the remainder of the paragraph, see: note #6. A condition for naturalization, under American law, is period of residence in the physical United States. Treaty-port law in Yokohama was grounded in the principle of extraterritoriality. There was, as such, at least one instance in which a foreign national, who was a longtime resident in the port, applied to the local U.S. Consul to become a naturalized citizen of the United States. DDK, no. 127, July 23, 1895, N.W. McIvor to Edwin Uhl. For naturalization law in the U.S., see, for example: Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980) pp. 734-748.
37. DDK, no. 67, January 25, 1886, List of Citizens of the United States Resident within the District of the Consulate General at Kanagawa on December 31, 1885.
38. Whitney, *Clara's Diary*, p. 89; *The Far East*, April 17, 1871, p. 6.
39. Paul Blum, *Yokohama in 1872: A Rambling Account of the Community in which the Asiatic Society of Japan was Founded* (Tokyo: Asiatic Society of Japan, 1963) p. 18; *Japan Gazette, Yokohama-Semi-Centennial*, p. 7; *JWM*, January 2, 1897, p. 15; *JD*, 1897, p. 124; L.H. Pierson, *A Quarter of a Century in the Island Empire or The Progress of a Mission in Japan* (Tokyo: Methodist Publishing House, 1899) p. 104.
40. *JWM*, December 18, 1886, p. 603; *JWM*, March 14, 1891, p. 319.
41. *The Far East*, December 1, 1870, p. 1.

Figure 1
American households situated in the
Foreign Settlement, 1884

X American household
(total shown fifty-one households Five
households in the foreign Settlement
could not be found)

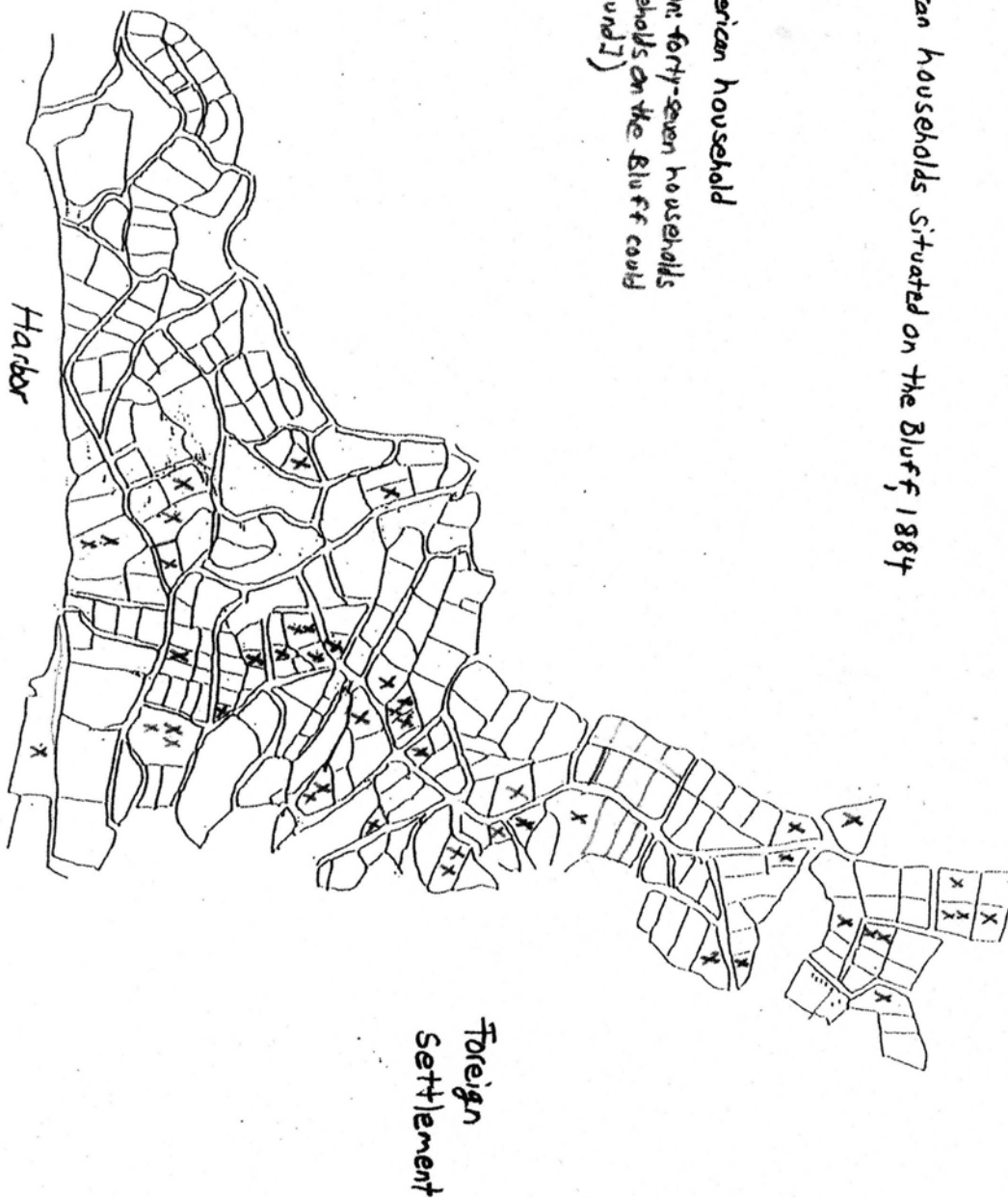


source: map of foreign Settlement adapted from map of Yokohama, Japan Directory, 1884 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobai 1996)

Figure 2

American households situated on the Bluff, 1884

X: American household
(Total shown: forty-seven households
(five households on the Bluff could
not be found))



SOURCE: map of Bluff adapted from map of Yokohama, Japan Directory, 1884 (Tokyo: Yomani Shobo, 1996)

Figure 3
American businesses situated in
the foreign settlement, 1884

X American business
(Total shown: thirty-five
businesses)

Bluff



Source: map of Foreign Settlement adapted from map of Yokohama, Japan Directory, 1884 (Tokyo: Kumari Shoboh, 1966)

Reconstruction of 'GOOD' and 'BAD' through Melodrama in Modern Thai Society



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A while after the bloodless coup in September 2006 which ousted Thaksin Shinawatra, the former Prime Minister whom accused by the military of severely corruption, the opposed party leader, Abhisit Vejjajiva was elected as Thailand's present Prime Minister. As a well-educated and good looking man with an image of clean-handed young politician, Abhisit could gain high popularity among urban and educated middle class. Abhisit's ministry shows its attempt to reconstruct public consciousness about ethical norms and raised this awareness as one of national agenda. Accordingly, relentless propaganda campaign against immoral practice is broadly in execution. The dichotomy of 'good' and 'bad' are being discussed seriously in public sphere. The identity of being a good person, once again, became in people's consciousness than it used to be. Despite the fact that the term 'good' and 'bad' are critically abstract and what is considered 'good' and 'bad' is somehow very subjective, what happens is, by critically discriminating 'bad person', those who considered a 'good person', like in popular TV melodrama, became an unconditional hero. This study aims to explore Thais' perceptions toward the terms 'good' and 'bad', what is 'good' and what is 'bad' for them and the way these perceptions have been constructed and reconstructed through public media. It argues that melodrama shown in Thai television programs have an influence on the reconstruction of public opinion towards the perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' in modern Thai society.

Keywords: melodrama, perceptions of good and bad, media reconstructed image

Introduction:

The term good versus bad is one of those popular terms one can regularly hear Thais debate in different contexts and in various situations. At the National Boy Scout Assembly opening ceremony on 11 December 1969, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the most beloved and worshiped person in the country, delivered a royal speech, an important ritual on special national occasions for decades, containing an memorable statement:

*“In the country, there are both **good and bad persons**. No one can turn everyone into a **good person**. To keep the country in peace and order, one cannot attempt to make everyone good, but has to support **good persons** to be in power, and keep bad persons in check, not allowed to create troubles (King Bhumibol Adulyadej, 1969).”*

The quoted royal speech above has been repeated over and over again in the political sphere and has a certain level of influence on Thai value concepts. As a consequence, different people in Thailand eagerly support “good persons” who can lead the country to a more delightful future, especially when the country is under strong political conflict as today. When it comes time to provide an explanation about ‘what kind of person is good and what kind of person is not’, most of the Thais tend to connect the terms of *good* and *bad* to Buddhist philosophy. Since Thailand is well-known as a strong Buddhist country, and it is widely accepted that Buddhism has a strong influence on Thais attitudes, we can assume that Buddhist philosophy has enormous impacts on attitudes, and the dichotomy of *good* and *bad* is not an exception. Not accidentally, a ‘good person’ within the perception of the Thais is always those who can be reflected within the Buddhist sphere which will be discussed later.

One interesting episode that attracted public attention was when Korn Chatikavanij, Finance Minister and Deputy Leader of The Democrat Party, who is complimented as a ‘good man’ appeared in the most popular television channel in Thailand, Channel 3’s prime time high ratings soap opera, ‘Wanida’ as government propaganda to promote a plan to help the public repay high-interest debts. On the show, which was set in the 1940s, a debt-ridden character says he has found a way to escape debts. Moments later, Korn appears in a vast hall to explain how this plan works. “The government of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva has helped over 500,000 people to reduce their burdens of debts by about 3 billion bahts (\$100 million) per month. It’s lucky that Mr. Prajuab registered,” Korn said, referring to the character. Ahead of expected elections next year, the government unveiled several populist policies to help win support in the vote-rich north and northeast, home to a mass anti-government movement that took to the streets of Bangkok last year. On next day after the airing, everyone talked up a storm about his appearance in the drama. The short period version of Wanida was also uploaded to ‘YouTube,’ and almost 200,000 people visited this episode of Wanida. The feedback was good and Korn has been praised for making the most efficient use of the media and the popularity of the soap opera.

Accordingly, this study aims to focus on how the perception of good and bad is reconstructed by focusing on the influence of television, the most influential media and explores television’s role in shaping social and perceptual changes.

Background:

“If we want it to be, television can be a blessing such as rarely comes to mankind. If we are uninterested or indifferent to it—as we are now—it can be a veritable menace of frightening proportions (Gould, 1946: 320).”

Sociological research on television and its potential power over society has been debated since the 1960s. Television’s symbolic impacts in shaping or directing viewers perceptions and behaviors toward others and society have been widely researched and documented. Over the past 20 years, a large number of studies have found that those who spend much time watching television are more likely to express views, beliefs, and assumptions that are congruent with depictions of life and society on television (Morgan and Rothschild, 1983; Kang et al., 1996). Gerbner and his research team have proposed a ‘Cultivation Theory,’

arguing that television functions as a society's story-teller, communicating cultural values and myths, and cultivating a set of beliefs in the minds of the audience. This cultivation can have an impact even on light viewers of television, because the impact on heavy viewers has an impact on our entire culture. Gerbner and his team have obtained a great deal of evidence to support the cultivation hypothesis: the more time one spends 'living' in the world of television, the more likely one is to report perceptions of social reality which can be traced to television's most persistent representations of life and society (Gerbner et al., 1986).

Furthermore, focusing on healing possibilities of television, Spencer shows how television programs were correlated with social change and awareness about different issues, including a sense of empathy for both good and bad characters, which can help inform ethical dilemmas in their own lives. When one sees those who have misbehaved or who have hurt others punished for their actions, social norms are reinforced which can help strengthen societal morals (Spencer, 2006). Hasegawa's research on perceptual changes brought about by television drama viewing concludes that watching Korean dramas has some effects on precipitating Japanese viewer's perceptual changes which could neither be achieved with conventional educational techniques, nor with friendships built on an interpersonal level. She argues that with the strong educational effects of television watching in changing people's attitudes and the fact that more and more foreign dramas are being imported and exported worldwide, closer attention should be paid to the effects of the dramas by researchers focusing on intercultural education (Hasegawa, 2006).

In Thailand where television can be found in almost every household nowadays, and as mentioned above, the government is trying to include a strong sense of integrity by delivering a heavy dose of government propaganda to Thailand's commercial television airwaves, providing an interesting circumstance to study the influence of television on people's perceptions of *good* and *bad*. Hence, this study conceptually focuses on how television cultivates attitudes which reflect television's most stable and repetitive portrayals based on Gerbner's cultivation theory hypothesis (Gerbner et al., 1980). It skims through the derivation of the Thais obsession with *good* and *bad*, investigates the nature of character stereotyping in drama programs, the role of television in reconstruction perceptions of *good* and *bad* in the country.

This study examines Thais perceptions toward *good* and *bad* by asking members of Chalermthai Room, a message board for those who share interests in cinema, radio, television and other media, in Pantip.com, the most popular website in Thailand, to answer an online questionnaire. A total of 141 answers were received. Of the respondents, 81 percent were women while only 19 percent were men. According to age, 39 percent of the respondents were those between ages 30-39, and then 32 percent were those between ages 20-29, 13 percent were those between ages 40-49, and 11 percent were those between ages 10-19. Only 5 percent were of those over 50 years old. The content of the questionnaires was about their television watching habits, their viewing of prime time melodramas, their most favorite drama characters, and lastly, asking them to provide 3 names of well-known persons whom they think are representatives of a 'good person.' Then relating to attitude towards 'good person,' several of the respondents were picked and required to participate in an informal focus group interview. In order to accomplish a more comprehensive analysis, secondary data and content analysis were utilized.

This article starts with a short discussion about the derivation of Thais obsession with *good* and *bad* by referring to Gerbner's argument about the influence of religion on reconstructing social trends and mores (Gerbner et al., 1986). Since Buddhism is widely accepted as the national religion, the consideration of Buddhism's role towards people's perception relating to *good* and *bad* is absolutely imperative.

Buddhism and the perception of *good* and *bad*

Lay Buddhists believe in *dhamma*. Generally speaking this means that those who behave well are kind and never harm others are considered as possessing *dhamma*. *Dhamma* usually means the principle teachings of the Buddha. In addition, Buddhism teaches us that one's life

does not begin with birth and end with death but is a link in a chain of lives, each conditioned by volitional acts (karma) committed in previous lives. Reward or punishment depends on one's own doing. The concept of karma suggests that selfishness and craving result in suffering while, compassion and love bring happiness and well-being. The ideal Buddhist aspiration is to attain perfection through Nirvana or '*Nibbhana*,' an indescribable, immutable state unconditioned by desire, suffering, or further rebirth, in which a person simply 'is,' yet is completely at one with their surroundings. The way to get close to Nirvana is to do '*boon* (or *good* deeds),' which is in contrast with '*barb* (or *bad* deeds),' or in other words, '*boon*' is *good thing*, and '*barb*' is *bad thing*. As in every sermon delivered by Buddhist monks or in every Buddhist program on television or radio, the word 'good things' versus 'bad things' will repeatedly be heard in order to persuade people to have a better life. This circumstance shows that the perception of *good* and *bad* among Thai people is based on Buddhism philosophy.

In the early 1980s, Major General Chamlong Srimuang became very popular among the middle class in Bangkok. Because of his being a devout Buddhist, and his gentle and down-to-earth appearance, he has been recognized and become a representative of national 'good man.' He spent his free time touring the countryside, urging people to abstain from alcohol, cigarettes, meat, and gambling. On October 1985, he decided to resign from the Army and registered as a candidate for governor of Bangkok. By adopting an 'anti-system' political rhetoric, criticizing corruption and bureaucratic intransigence from the perspective of a 'Mr. Clean' (McCargo, 1997), he won the election with half a million votes, twice as many as his most popular competitor and was Governor of Bangkok from 1985 to 1992. Chamlong turned himself into an activist as a leader of the protestors to call for Army chief [Suchinda Kraprayoon](#)'s resignation. Later, this protest triggered the 'Bloody May,' or *phruetsapha thamin*, in May 1992, which the military crackdown resulted in 52 officially confirmed deaths, many disappearances, hundreds of injuries, and over 3,500 arrests who allegedly were tortured. Later in 2005, Chamlong leaped back into the public view again. He led a coalition of 67 religious and 172 anti-alcohol groups to protest the [initial public offering](#) of [Thai Beverage Public Company](#), a maker of [Beer Chang](#) and [Mekhong](#) rum, on the [Stock Exchange of Thailand](#) (SET). Along with thousands of supporters, he camped in front of the [Stock Exchange of Thailand](#) for several nights declaring that alcoholic drink is against ethics of Thai culture and cannot be listed in the SET. Finally, the project was indefinitely postponed by the SET and Thai Beverage eventually listed in [Singapore](#). In 2005, Chamlong became a key leader of the [People's Alliance for Democracy](#) (PAD), a coalition of protesters against the government of [Thaksin Shinawatra](#) and a key player in the [Thailand political crisis](#) during 2005-2006. Recently, as a PAD leader, Chamlong led a protest against Cambodia's attempt to list Preah Vihear temple as a UN World Heritage and the protest is still ongoing.

Even though Chamlong alleges that what he was doing is based on Buddhist virtues and economic values, and even though 'his impact on the new Thai politics of the 1980s and early 1990s was immense' (McCargo, 1997), since he turned himself into a strong activist, the reduction of his popularity as a 'good man' can clearly be seen. As a result, in the interviews on who is considered a 'good person' in Thai society, the name Chamlong has not been raised by even one respondent. One reason is because what he has been doing as a strong and aggressive activist does not conform with Buddhist form of perception that is reconstructed through space and time by different religious ritual such as the habit of listening to sermon delivered by monk on annual Buddhist event, merit making ritual or '*tamboon*' (Damrongchai, 2003).

One more factor that could be considered as having a strong influence on the reconstruction of *good* and *bad* among the Thais is education. Education in Thailand has a long history of being related to Buddhism. In the past, temples were centers of learning and monks were the teachers in charge of education for ordinary people. Even at the present time where Buddhism seems to have less influence in the educational sphere, it has not completely lost its importance. As Thailand's national religion, Buddhism still has a residual or latent role, and sometimes these residual things have great impact for Thai society (Phra Dhammapitaka, 1986). The Ministry of Education pays much importance to Buddhism and

mandates that all primary school pupils should study Buddhist ethics and should be trained to be morally good in their own traditions (Sirikanchana, 1998). The government is making an effort to both enhance education by adopting a Western approach while maintaining the national customs by promoting the study of Buddhism throughout all educational institutions. Incidentally, ‘good’ is the comprehensive behavior which complies with Buddhism value and, by this way, is reconstructed through educational system.

However, to reconstruct Buddhist philosophy or ethics through education is somehow colorless. Young people in particular, who are eager for things more interesting and ‘fun,’ always find Buddhism classes as “the most boring class.” Hence, this study focuses on the last factor that can be considered as one important factor in reconstructing the perception of *good* and *bad* among the Thais, the role of mass media, which Hasegawa (2006) argues that has bigger effect in viewer’s perceptual changes than those achieved with conventional educational techniques.

Television Consumption Habits and Melodramas

“The Mass Media Survey: Radio and Television” targeting people older than 6 years old done by Thailand’s National Statistical Office (2008) shows that 64.7 percent of Thais prefer to watch television more than other media. In addition, the study also shows that the percentage of tendency of television watching over 2 decades has been increasing each year while the consumption of radio is gradually decreasing. The survey reports that children around 6-14 years old are the biggest group of consumers while the second group is juveniles between 15-24 years old. Regards to genre of the program shown on television, entertainment programs are the most popular one which mark 57.7 percent of the whole program broadcasted. News programs came in at second rank taking 40 percent and still far ahead of the third rank, documentaries/knowledge-based programs that have only 0.2 percent.

Results from the ABAC Poll study conducted by the Assumption University on “Television and Violence among Juvenile Group” (2006) targeting people between 14-25 years old, shows that 72.1 percent of the respondents watch television every day. The most popular type of program is dramas (67.4%), followed by news shows (54.9%), music programs (52.7%), and animation (43.8%), and variety programs (43.1%). In comparison to Thailand, broadcast in Japan has more variation. A study done by the National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in Japan or NHK shows that although entertainment programs, which includes drama, music, sport, variety programs, have the highest percent of total broadcast time (36.5% on year 2008), other genres such as culture (25%), education (12.2%), news show (19.9%) do share not much different overall percentage (NHK, 2008). On the other hand, among top 30 of high household viewership rates program around Kanto area in year 2010, 66.7 percent were sports related programs, 33.3 percent were entertainment programs which were shared by drama, music, animation and variety programs (Video Research, 2010). These studies reaffirm that the consumption of Thai people of television entertainment programs is extremely high, especially television drama which has been in a ‘monopoly situation’ in the Thai entertainment broadcast business for such a long time.

A study done by Yenjabok (2007) on 150 Melodramas in Thailand shows that high percentage of drama is broadcasted on Channel 3 (27.8%) and Channel 7 (38.2%), the two most popular channels in Thailand. The study also shows that each character in the drama has a specific personality that is not much different in any Thai melodrama produced and broadcasted nowadays. For example, a hero appearing in the drama always has a good job, is a gentleman and honest, the heroine is kind, proactive and naïve, while the villain will always be ‘extremely’ bad. The study also indicates that there is a reflection of socio-cultural aspect through melodramas which includes belief in religious, norms and superstitious belief. Among these attitudes, the belief in Reincarnation, Karma, Boon/Barb (good deed/bad deed) and Buddhist values such as being devoted or honest are the story that are always seen on screen. As a whole, the study found that each character in every drama has similar personality which can be categorized below:

Rank	Hero	Heroine	Villain (woman)	Villian (man)
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1	having good job	kind/optimistic	jealousy	Tricky
2	being a gentleman	candor	wasteful spending	Cruel
3	honest to love	proactive	liar	Abusive
4	reasonable	rectitude	good pretender	unpredictably bad
5	down to earth	naïve	selfish	head of mafia

Table 1: Specific personality of characters appearing in Thai melodrama ranked from 1-5, (Yenjabok, 2007)

Not only the personality of each character appears in the drama, but also the plot of each drama is not much different. Separated by content of dramas, 34 percent are about tough life, 23.3percent are about love/jealousy, 14.7 percent are romantic comedy, 8 percent are about revenge, 6 percent are about music/sport and 2.7 percent are about an attempt to find the heir to the estate. Content related to suspense, adventure, comedy and action share only 2 percent each (Yenjabok, 2007).

One more interesting piece of information is the truth that Thai popular melodrama will be remade over and over, and always earning high popularity. For example, “*Wanida*,” which was a popular drama in 1991, has been remade and enjoyed high popularity again in 2010. “*Baansaihong*,” another marketable drama was television drama in 1958, 1970, 1978, 1987 and 2000. “*Jumloeyrak*” has been produced three times in 1989, 1997 and 2008. “*Kookham*,” a wartime love story between a Thai woman and Japanese soldier, was a television drama in 1970, 1972, 1978, 1990 and 2004.

All data above implies that business in Thai drama production shows less change over this half century. Although there were some attempts by progressive producers to develop Thai dramas into a more creative and productive style (Hutajinda, 2002), household viewership rates which became the most important factor in entertainment business force producers to make dramas that ‘will gain high viewership rate,’ which finally, turn out to be the same drama, the same plot and the same characters as before. Let’s make a comparison to Japan once again. All major TV networks in Japan produce a variety of drama series including [romance](#), [comedy](#), [detective](#) stories, [horror](#), and many others. Some of them not only demonstrate social problems but also call for social reaction. All these dramas have different types of characters and various styles of plots and nobody can predict what will happen next, or which character is the ‘real good guy.’ Accordingly, I would call this phenomenon in Thai melodrama business a ‘static condition.’ And I would say, this ‘static condition’ of Thai melodrama produces a character of a human being that is not real and has ‘no dimension’ when comparing to characters in foreign drama. Heroes/Heroines in Thai drama will be almost 100 percent perfect, while a villain is extremely evil. One can even make out in one glance who is good or who is bad from the character’s appearance, the way they dress and the way they act.

Melodrama and Reality: the Thais Ideal Good Man

In Thailand, one can see from entertainment news that venders in markets always show their passionate hatred of actresses who play villains in popular drama, sometimes by throwing durian rinds at the actor/actress. Several studies show that television drama has a strong impact on the people who watch it, especially the young generation (Seelekdee, 2000; ABAC Poll, 2006). During this study, a questionnaire was distributed to a target group in ‘Chalermthai Room,’ a message board for those who share interests in cinema, radio, television and other media, in Pantip.com. Of the respondents, 81 percent were women, while only 19 percent were men. Among these people, 61 percent watch Thai drama, while 39 percent do not consume as a routine habit. A total of 99 percent of the respondents watched television drama when they were young, among them, 46 percent still watch some drama when there is an opportunity, 35 percent still update themselves with new drama, and 18 percent do not watch drama now. Channel 3 is the most popular channel consumed by the respondents.

Regarding the question about ‘good person,’ by asking the respondent to rank 3 names of well-known ordinary persons¹ they think can be considered a ‘good person’, diverse names from different occupation backgrounds were selected. However, an overwhelming majority of the names that have been raised as a ‘Good Person’ are men that occupied 71 percent of the total, only 16 percent are women. Among women selected, 56 percent are actress and 44 percent are those categorized in other groups. The remaining 13 percent said they do not know, or it is difficult to say who is good or bad.

Sex	%
Men	71
Women	16
No Answer	13

Table 2: ‘Good Person’ selected by the respondents, separated by sex.

The top 5 names that were popularly picked are listed below:

Rank	Name	Total Point
1	Abhisit Vejjajiva	52
2	Anand Panyarachun	37
3	Phramaha Vuthichai Vachiramethi	36
4	Pol Col Sompian Eksomya	28
5	Theeradej Wongpuapan	26

Table 3: Name of people who have been raised as a ‘Good Person’ as a whole, ranked from 1 to 5.

Thailand’s present Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva stands out as number one ranked among the target group. Anand Panyarachun, a former [Prime](#) Minister of Thailand who was effective in initiating economic and political reforms, came in 2nd and is followed by Phramaha Vuthichai Vachiramethi, a young Buddhism monk who has currently gained popularity among the young Thai generation. The 4th was Pol Col Sompian Eksomya, who was voted as the most admired person of the year because of the outstanding service to the country by helping boost the morale of police officers until he was killed in a roadside bomb attack (The Nation, December 27, 2010). The most interesting finding is a man who came in 5th, Theeradej Wongpuapan. Teeradej is not a politician. He is neither a monk nor a businessman. He is a currently a popular actor of the most popular Channel 3, and plays in high ratings soap operas. This fact shows that the perception of Thai people towards *good* and *bad* have some relation to media and entertainment. This will be analyzed and discussed more later on.



Images of the top 5 ranked “Good Person” by the respondents.

(from left: Abhisit, Anand, Phramaha Vuthichai Vachiramethi, Sompian, Theeradej)

In order to make analysis easier, the data was categorized in 9 different groups as listed below:

1 The word ‘ordinary person’ was inserted in the question on purpose. Since the king, who has been nationally respected, is a model of national ‘good person’, this fact might somehow have immense influence to the answer as a whole, so the researcher used ‘ordinary person’ in order to gain more variation from respondents. Despite inserting this word in the sentence, some of the respondents still pick up the king as their ‘good person.’

- ☒ **People with political impacts:** includes politicians, scholars who somehow play their role in the political arena. Abhisit and Anand are categorized in this group.
- ☒ **People with social impacts:** Those who contribute to society in various fields such as NGOs, doctors, officers, scholars, artists etc. People who devoted their life for society are included. Pol Col Sompian, a man who has sacrificed himself for social security is categorized in this group.
- ☒ **News caster/commentators:** Announcers, news casters from news shows, commentators of variety shows or documentary programs are included.
- ☒ **Monks:** Buddhist monks and nuns are all included in this group.
- ☒ **Businessmen:** Successful businessman in various business fields.
- ☒ **Actors and Actresses:** Actors and actresses are included. Most of them play a hero/heroine in Thai prime time melodramas.
- ☒ **Singers:** Some singers selected also appear in television dramas.
- ☒ **Foreigners:** Those who have been internationally recognized as a great person. For example, Gandhi, Mother Theresa.
- ☒ **King:** King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama 9), King of Thailand since 1946, who has been long beloved nationally.

Among the groups categorized above, those persons who have been selected in the top three as a 'good person' are: 1) people with political impact, 2) people with social impact and 3) actor (see table 4). One interesting fact is, instead of 'Businessmen' with high performance and great success stories, or 'Singers' who are idols among youngsters, or even 'Monks,' a successive of Buddhist philosophy. "Actors," who mostly appear in television dramas, have been highly selected and always ranked in the top three, and even became the 1st rank for Good Person No.3. The data proves that television drama somehow really has influence on people's perception related to who is *good* or who is *bad*.

Rank	Good Person No.1	%	Good Person No.2	%	Good Person No.3	%
1	People with political impact	29	People with political impact	28	Actor	28
2	People with social impact	20	People with social impact	25	People with social impact	22
3	Actor	16	Actor	24	People with political impact	21
4	Monk	16	News Caster/Commentator	7	News Caster/Commentator	9
5	King	5	Foreigner	4	Foreigner	6
6	Foreigner	5	Monk	4	Singer	5
7	News Caster/Commentator	5	Businessman	3	Monk	5
8	Singer	3	Singer	3	Businessman	3
9	Businessman	1	King	2	King	1

Table 4: Rank of 'Good Person' type selected by target group as a whole.

When separated by sex, the data shows that women tend to choose 'Actor' as their 'Good Person' more than men. Among women, Actor was selected as 'Good Person' in every level and became number one ranked in 'Good Person No.3.' According to the age groups, people between 10-29 years old, the age group that has been reported to have the highest consumption of television programs (National Statistical Office, 2008), have a high tendency to choose actors as their 'Good Person' more than people in other age groups, and people categorized in 'Actor' group were selected as the first ranked of 'Good Person.' As the 'Actor' group, mostly those who perform as a heroes in melodramas, has been overlapped to an image of 'Good Person,' it can be assumed that television melodramas have some kind of impact on people's perception relating to *good* and *bad* especially among youngsters.

Sex	Rank	Good Person No.1	%	Good Person No.2	%	Good Person No.3	%
Men	1	People with political impact	32	People with political impact	45	People with political impact	30

	2	People with social impact	27	Actor	20	People with social impact	30
	3	Monk	18	People with social impact	20	Actor	20
Women	1	People with political impact	28	People with social impact	26	Actor	30
	2	Actor	19	People with political impact	25	People with social impact	20
	3	People with social impact	19	Actor	25	People with political impact	19

Table 5: Rank of 'Good Person' type selected, separated by sex.

Age	Good Person No.1	%	Good Person No.2	%	Good Person No.3	%
10-19	Actor	57	Actor	69	Actor	67
20-29	Actor	24	Actor	42	Actor	38
30-39	People with political impact	31	People with political impact	43	People with social impact	28
40-49	People with political impact	53	People with social impact	44	People with political impact	23
Upper 50	People with political impact	71	People with social impact	50	People with social impact	43

Table 6: First ranked category of 'Good Person' selected, separated by age.

On the other hand, when separating the data into those who watch Thai melodramas and those who do not, the data shows that those who watch the dramas have a higher tendency to choose 'Actor,' and Actor appears in the top 3 ranking of 'Good Person' they chose in every level. While those who do not watch the dramas do not consider 'Actor' as their 'Good Person', but instead, give priority to other groups such as 'People with political/social impact' or 'Monk' instead. This data also proved that the perception of *good* and *bad* varies by the consumption of melodrama.

Consumption habit	Good Person No.1	%	Good Person No.2	%	Good Person No.3	%
Watch Thai drama (61%)	People with political impact	30	Actor	29	Actor	35
	People with social impact	19	People with political impact	26	People with political impact	22
	Actor	19	People with social impact	21	People with social impact	17
Do not watch Thai drama (39%)	People with political impact	27	People with social impact	31	People with social impact	28
	People with social impact	21	People with political impact	31	People with political impact	20
	Monk	18	Actor	17	Actor	17

Table 7: Rank of 'Good Person' type selected, separated by television drama consuming habit.

Based on the data collected, a focus group interview was conducted with those who selected top 5 'Good Person' for more in depth fact finding. According to the interview, the reasons in common that Abhisit, Anand and Theeradej were selected are: 1) good family and education background 2) being a gentleman of complete integrity 3) comparatively simple and do not have extravagant lifestyle 4) being a level-headed person 5) being a compromised and reasonable person. Abhisit and Theeradej were also seen as a family man who is good-looking but is always loyal to his wife. Moreover, more than half of others who were selected as a 'Good Person' also share the same personality mentioned above. The reason why Phramaha Vuthichai Vachiramethi was selected is because he is a forward-thinking young monk who can teach Buddhist philosophy to lay Buddhists in an easy to understand way. Pol Col Sompian Eksomya was selected because of his brave heart and his devotion and loyalty to family, society and the country.

When comparing responses elicited from focus interviews to the research done by Yenjabok (2007) which was mentioned above, it can be analyzed that the character of a '*khondee* (good person)' and '*pra ake* (hero)' overlap. For example, the reason of being a gentleman, being loyal to family or being reasonable. Even appearance is no exception. Abhisit, Anand and Theeradej are all a considered good-looking men.

As mentioned before, drama in Thailand is in a 'static condition.' It produces a character of an 'ideal' human being that has no dimension, and somehow, not realistic. This image of an ideal good man, a hero in Thai melodrama, has been once and again shown on television for at least half a century. Based on social cognitive theory, which posits that portions of an individual's knowledge acquisition can be directly related to observing others within different contexts, the broadcasting of 'static conditioned' Thai melodrama can somehow influence the reconstruction of people's perception towards a 'good man' as can be proved in this study.

Conclusion

According to Gerbner and his team, while religion or education previously had greater influences on social trends and mores, it is commonly acknowledged that television has become the source of the most broadly shared images and messages (Gerbner et al., 1986). From this, it can be concluded that the factors that have an influence on the perception of Thais on *good* and *bad* are: 1) Buddhist philosophy, 2) education and, 3) mass media. In this study, the focus was on melodramas broadcasted on free television. Buddhism can be considered as a principle of the terms *good* and *bad* among Thai people while education and melodramas play their role in reconstructing the perception among Thais. Especially dramas, the most consumed television program in Thailand, show an immense influence, not only on the behavior of people, but also have a strong influence on the perception of values in society too. Accordingly, this perception of 'good person' can always be utilized as a political discourse to, on one hand, build one image as '*good*,' and on the other hand, reconstructing the opponent as '*bad*' by comparing those person's demerit to an image of a villain in a melodrama.

Figure 8: The reconstruction of 'good' and 'bad' in Thai society

However, the reason for choosing one person as a 'good person' varies a great deal depending on, for example, substance that is essential for one's survival, likes/dislikes, conflict of interest. This target group in this study is still limited to only users who share special interests about media on an internet message board. Because of the fact that those who have access to the internet, especially to this message board, is just a small group who probably share similar interests, experiences, and are not different in education background, and economic condition, the results of the study might alter in different circumstances. Accordingly, with more consideration to the truth that the whole society consists of different age groups, occupations with varieties of education backgrounds, further studies have to be implemented. A point to emphasize here is that due to the immense impact on people's perception, use of television dramas can lead to sustainable development in the future if used appropriately. One more point that is worth studying regards to the presentation of media in Thailand is the news broadcast since this type of program earned 2nd ranking in terms of high popularity among television consumption as a whole in Thailand. The study on its influence on people's perception and behavior is then absolutely imperative.

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A Study of the Memory of Place of Tadao Ando's Architecture

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Introduction

People living on the land for a long time may be left indelible memories, feelings and profound impressions on the land by what they have experienced in life. Therefore, the site has its own physical and geographical features¹; at the same time, it bears a number of memories on the site. Ando's City View is connected to the entire impression formed by people's memories of various architectures in the city.

Design architecture is certainly related to design city. Each architecture being in people's mind shared as a landscape is gradually formed into a real city meaningfully. Human beings used to depend on memories for living. An architect is a direct and an important factor to form an environment based by being's memories. Aldo Rossi said "City memories," "Architecture memories" ..When we consider architecture design, it is important to put these into our mind. Ancient things kept in our mind must be passed down to the next generation. These are the social history responsibilities for architects and people to take. ²

As a result, he insists to preserve the valuable old architectures or streets in the city and to utilize appropriate programs to make these architectures or streets lively so as to lengthen the present memories of the city. Ando proposed two methods to preserve memories of one place: a. preservation of existing buildings; b. the garden of nothingness.

Preservation of existing buildings

¹ Ando and Curtis, 2000, p.13

² Ando, 1999, pp.208-209

Historical remains in Ando's architectures were inclusive of old artifacts and existing trees. Both of them were rooted on the land for a long period. The recollection people had might be probably deep-rooted. Once removing them, people might lose the memories of this place. Therefore, "Trees and architecture are builders of our memories."³

Kitanomachi in Kobe is a block with special historical significance. Since Meiji Time of the 19th century and the beginning of doing business with Westerns, Westerns started to construct residences and churches in *Kitanomachi*. Until now, there are still many wooden buildings or Western-style brick buildings in Kobe, and there is an exotic atmosphere pervasively. However, those historic architectures were massively threatened by the impacts resulted from the large-scale commercial development and the urban expansion, and the memories of place were gradually disintegrated. For this reason, Ando advocated protecting old architectures to prevent the haphazard development projects⁴ and positively preserving the local history and the memories of place.

Ando's first commercial building named Rose Garden built from 1975 to 1977 was located in this region. Close to the site of Rose Garden is an old brick building. In order to show the importance of the old building and to last the original traces of the region, Ando continued utilizing the red bricks which were used in the old building to shape the textured façade of the new architecture (picture 1).

Therefore, we used the red bricks to build the walls of Rose Garden to be in harmony with the red bricks of the traditional architectures. A mixture of new and old walls is to make old memories of the street blocks left behind. There was just an old and well-built house next to Rose Garden. Besides, we carefully repaired its walls to combine with the new house designed by me. I hope the building could be reserved like the old house nearby.⁵

In the early period, Ando used red bricks as the materials of the ground or the walls to continue the memories of place for the commercial architectures, such as Kobe Kitano Alley (1976-1977) (picture 2), Kobe Kitano Ivy Court (1978-1980), and Kobe Ring Gallery



³ Ando and Hagenberg, 2004, p.30

⁴ Ando, 1977, p.28

⁵ Ando, 1984, p.33 ; cf. Ando, 1977, p.28 ; Ando, 2008b, p.116

Picture 1. Rose Garden (left Photo by P.Y. Tsai) Picture 2. Kitano Alley (Photo by P.Y. Tsai) Picture 3. Ring Gallery (Photo by P.Y. Tsai) Picture 4. Komyo-ji Temple (Ando, 2003a, p.250)

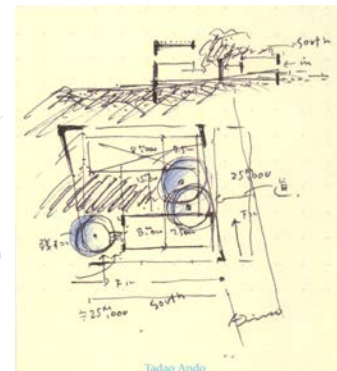
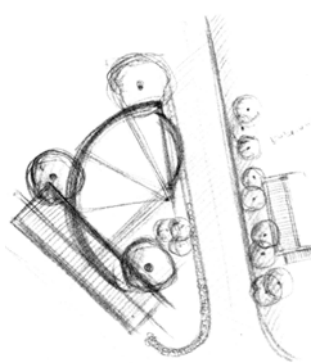
(1978-1981) (picture 3).

The old buildings were preserved and repaired in Oyamazaki Villa Museum (1991-1995) in Kyoto for the purpose of preservation of memories of places. Ando also designed a new modern building to bridge a communication between the old and new buildings with an attempt to fire up vitality of the old buildings by opposition. On the design of Oyamazaki Villa Museum, saving old building was responsible not only for Ando but also for the proprietor. However, in the case of Ehime reconstruction, the proprietor allowed to demolish the old entrance, the belfry, the existing trees and stones in Komyo-ji Temple (1998-2000) ⁶, but Ando intended to continue the memories of the place and actively brought up an idea of non-demolition to preserve these sites. Efforts were made to keep the trees, the main gate, and the belfry in their original positions as much as possible, in order to bestow old memories of place on the new temple⁷(picture 4).

In the book named “Good City Form,” Lynch indicated that preservation of old architectures would be to conserve and to pass on the history of the city.

We conserve old things, not for their own sake nor in a quixotic attempt to stop change, but the better to convey a sense of history. This then implies a celebration of change, and of the conflicts of values that accompany history.⁸

Tokyo Omotesando Hills Regeneration Project (1996-2006) was planned by Ando. On the site was Aoyama Dojunkai Apartments which were well built in 1927. Aoyama Dojunkai Apartments were the first set of ferroconcrete congregate housing and it was highly appraised in Modern Japanese Architecture, even higher than people’s feelings and images to Omotesando for over 70 years. Therefore, the street scene shaped by the apartments should be



⁶ Ando, 2005b, p.184

⁷ Ando, 2000, pp.258-259

⁸ Lynch, 1996, p.260

Picture 5. Omotesando Hills (Photo by P.Y. Tsai) Picture 6. OLD/NEW Rokko (Dal Co, 1996, p.252) Picture 7. Kidosaki House (Ando, 2005b, p108)

carried on as City Memory.⁹ However, the old apartments were seriously aging, the infrastructure was too unusable to meet the needs of modern life,¹⁰ and the site was located in a highly-valued lot. Being used as an apartment for residence, it couldn't conform to the economic value of land. Consequently, demolition, reconstruction, application of compound function construction would be a chance to make the apartments lively. Facing the dilemma of preservation and reconstruction, Ando decided to conserve some parts of the old apartments and to demolish and rebuild the rest. Ando hoped to make city memory impressed by preserving old architectures (picture 5) and to arouse interaction between new and old buildings by adding new architecture. Ando had been trying to communicate with the landlords for the ten years.

To Ando, the existing trees are important factors of reserving city memory¹¹. Hence, preserving the existing trees is also preserving memories of place. There were three existing trees aged about 200 years old on Kobe Old/New Rokko (1985-1986). Regarding these uncommon and special scenery on the site, Ando preserved these three old trees¹², planned to mark these three old trees on the draft and intended to combine these trees with the architecture to indicate that we could have the memory of place of this site by preserving these trees (picture 6).

Several large beeches were originally planted on the site of Kidosaki House in Tokyo (1982-1986). Ando proposed the project of protecting the beeches and attempted to preserve the memories of places (picture 7). Ando indicated about the design:

The lush trees should be planted more in the forecourt in the north and in the atrium in the south the habitants' memories and the history of construction shouldn't be separated. These trees grew up with the vines and the shrubs in the atrium and the forecourt. This would make up wonderful scenery full of changes.¹³

An old cherry tree was preserved in Itoh House in Tokyo (1988-1990) where all the spaces were located around the old cherry blossom trees. Every family could see the same tree, but their sights wouldn't get intersected. They could have their own privacy. When Ando explained the design of Itoh House, he said,

⁹ Ando, 2008b, p.136

¹⁰ Ando, 2001, p.67

¹¹ Ando, 2009, p.64

¹² Ando, 2001b, p.206

¹³ Ando, 1987, p.32

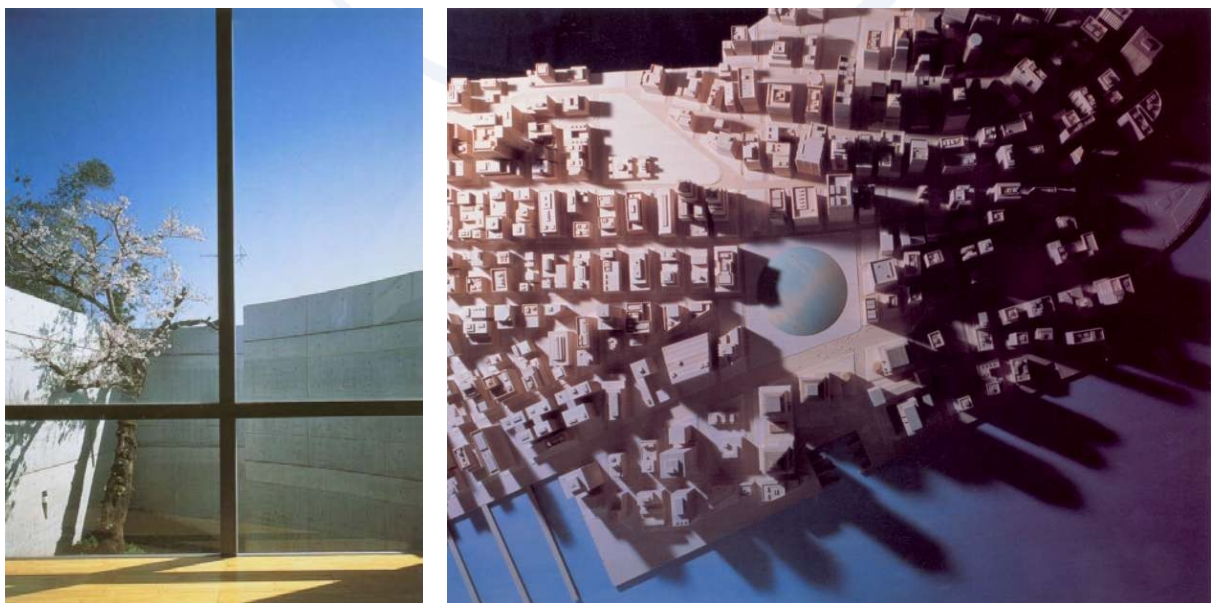
On the site were a dogwood, an old cherry tree, and a distinctive concrete garden wall, and I chose to consider them as given conditions in the design of the whole. The northwestern part of the site had been designated a road construction district and no buildings were permitted there. The dogwood and the concrete wall left there. The old cherry tree was left in the southeastern corner of the courtyard. The intention for the occupants, as reminders of the past (picture 8).¹⁴

The Garden of Nothingness¹⁵

We usually informed others about the major events in the memorial sites by constructing commemorative artificialities, such as monuments, memorial halls, or sculptures. On the contrary, Ando made use of empty space to respond what happened in this place and to make people commemorate or arouse people's memories of the event.

However, the space with spirit but non-real-function was not totally identified in this society. Iijima indicated that Ground Zero Project (2001-2002) of Ando was an example of applying "Nothingness" to commemorate 911 terrorist attacks.

The problem is that society today has lost nearly all such "emptiness". It is not just New York's problem. Other world cities too have few "empty place" or "spaces of nothingness". As is often pointed out, spiritual places and places of remembrance such as cemeteries have been banished for the most part to areas outside of cities. Banishing places such as cemeteries from within cities is tantamount to ridding cities of their communal past and history. It suggests why there is so little consideration given to memory in world cities today. Ando's



Picture 8. Itoh House (Nussaume, 2009, p.92) Picture 9. Ground Zero Project (Ando, 2005b, p.97)

¹⁴ Ando, 1993b, p.22

¹⁵ This term is cited from Yoichi Iijima's article. (Iijima, 2003, pp.19-22)

proposal is intended to do more than simply encourage meditation on the tragedy. He is suggesting through “Ground Zero Project” that we consider once more the whole issue of urban communal memory.¹⁶

911 terrorist attacks happened in New York in 2001. Ando deemed that this event took away not only precious lives but also the most important memory of the city.¹⁷ He proposed a program for the relics of World Trade Center and named the program as Ground Zero Project. It derived from the memories of place. Ando adopted a way of not constructing any visible buildings to make people commemorate this event. Therefore, he constructed the site into a landscape park with a 30-meter height and a shape like grave mound (picture 9).

However, I had some concerns about the proposed reconstruction program itself, and decided to decline the invitation. While as an architect I am conscious that something should be built, it is impossible for me to think about designing actual buildings in that place. I wondered if it might be better not to build anything. Eventually I conceived a project for a tomb-like monument formed simply by making a mound of earth. If the urban blank space created by that despicable act of indiscriminate terrorism is filled, it shouldn't be rebuilt unthinkingly, but should become a place for memorial and reflection. No formal gymnastics are necessary— what is required is a place where visitors spend each moment recalling the lost landscape. From this place, a new cityscape for New York could be created.¹⁸

Iijima praised “the garden of nothingness” for reinforcing people’s memories.

It suggests the exposed, aboveground portion of an enormous sphere embedded in the earth. Although Ando calls it a “tomb”, nothing tomblike is to be seen in the scheme. Instead, the landform is a place of “nothingness” in the Japanese sense, resembling a Zen garden. There is, as I repeat, nothing there. Of course, if were realized, it would probably be used as a park. People would gather there from not only New York but all over the world to remember the incident and to think from their respective viewpoints about the lives and the building that were lost. They would do so, not because something was there. Instead, people would be forced to think and to remember precisely because there was nothing. The existence of a

¹⁶ Iijima, 2003, p.20

¹⁷ Ando, 2002, p.4 ; Ando, 2009, p.22

¹⁸ Ando, 2003b, p.30

place of “emptiness” in the middle of the city would enable people to imagine much more powerfully what existed there once and what has since been lost.¹⁹

Being stimulated by Grant Hanshin Earthquake in 1995, Ando proposed the conception of open space to arouse people’s memories of the important events. After the earthquake happened, Ando personally visited Kobe which was seriously damaged. He sorrowed over these historic architectures for being destroyed and over the memories of the city for being obliterating.

In designing architecture the question is how to inscribe in the human body what one might call architectural or urban memory. The earthquake made me realize anew the importance of that. The buildings in the Kobe I had know for 30 years— buildings from the *Meiji, Taisho and Showa* eras— were destroyed.²⁰

For Ando, this catastrophe strengthened his belief of preserving old architectures to lengthen the memories of place. He preserved a wall of an old church in Kobe as the memory after the earthquake disaster²¹ and he kept emphasizing the importance of memories of city in his writing.

The earthquake made me painfully aware of the value of human memory. Buildings that need to be destroyed or dismantled; they ought to be saved for the next generation.²²

Meanwhile, he also hoped this event wouldn’t be forgotten and could be remembered as city memory. From this, Ando hoped that the citizens would cherish the memory of the relatives who died of the disaster, and he also hoped they could forget sadness.

How to build a place, in which people can soothe the grief, for maintaing the memories after the earthquake was the important issue Ando needed to think about. At the Rokko Station in spring, Ando discovered that Magnolias with beautiful flowers in blossom there were like the dead who regained the lives (picture 10). Therefore, Ando and the lawyer, Nakabo Kouhei, initiated the activity Hyogo Green Network Tree in 1995. He advocated planting a large number of Magnolias in the disaster area and hoped that, in spring when the flowers were in blossom, the white flowers could soothe the dead and make the survivors think of the earthquake and the victims.²³ Ando indicated the purpose of the Hyogo Green Network was to establish a world with memory and spirit.

¹⁹ Iijima, 2003, p.20

²⁰ Ando, 1996, p.16

²¹ Ando, 1999, p.210

²² Ando, 1996, p.18

²³ Ando, 1999, pp.210-211

You realize that it not only shapes your physical landscape but your mental world as well. The city is more than a pure functional arrangement; it is also a spiritual fabric for your memories. That's why I started the Hyogo Green Network.²⁴

Ando planted a forest of camphor trees in Kobe Waterfront Plaza (1996-2001) to placate the traumatized spirit of the disaster and expect to keep the memories of the city firmly in mind.

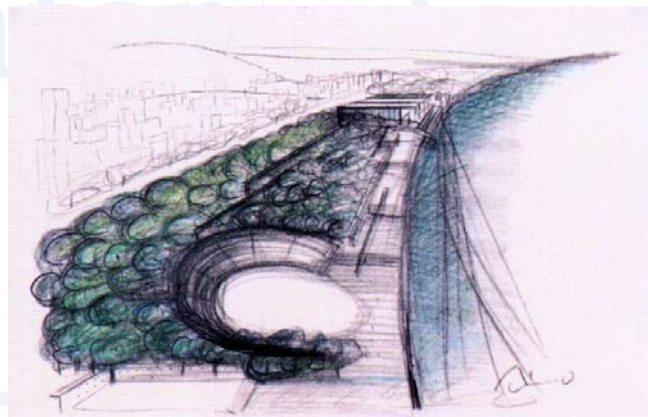
Also with the support from certain government appointed municipalities many trees were planted to provide spiritual regeneration after the disaster. There is a forest of flourishing camphor tree, which is the official tree of Hyogo Prefecture. In order to integrate the museum with the plaza, we created a presence that the two projects cannot achieve by themselves. We hope that the site will closely bond with people's life and imprint itself in the memory of the city as the new plaza. (picture 11) 。²⁵

Iijima pointed out that nothingness of Kobe Waterfront Plaza brought the memory.

“Kobe Waterfront Plaza” and “Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Art” , which Ando proposed for Kobe after the earthquake, were different from other reconstruction



Picture 10. (Nussaume, 2009, p.136)



Picture 11. Kobe Waterfront Plaza (Ando, 2005b, p.126)

projects..... No effort is made to preserve memory there in any direct way. Nothing specific was preserved. However, there are a number of thing that are notable about the project.²⁶

Environment suffered from human destruction was a serious event. Ando intended to eliminate the memory of the calamitous history by afforestation and to remind people about

²⁴ Ando and Hagenberg, 2004, p.30

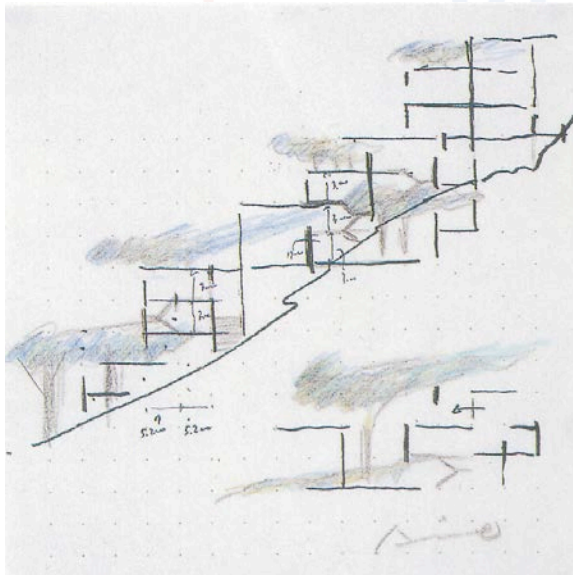
²⁵ Ando, 2005b, p.126

²⁶ Iijima, 2003, p.20

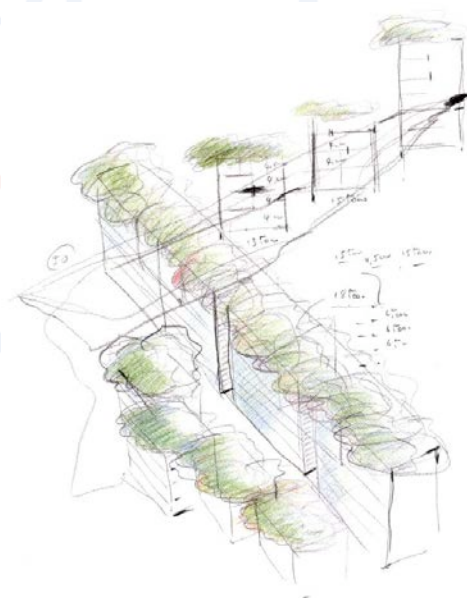
the destructive movement happened before. He mentioned several times that Rokko Mountain was overcut and turned into bare hills in Edo period, and Rokko Mountain was afforested by people to have rich shades.¹ In order to reflect the memory of the history and to declare the importance of afforestation and nature, Ando designed Rokko Housing II (1983-1993, picture 12) and Rokko Housing III (1992-1999, picture 13) with some parts which could be used to plant in order to make the green roof united with the green trees on the hills. In *Awaji-Yumebutai* [Awaji Island Project, 1993-99, picture 14, 15] and *Umi-no-Mori* [Sea Forest, 2007, picture 16], Ando proposed to plant trees and establish parks to record the stabbing memory of the history.

Conclusion

Nowadays, the developmental approach is economy-oriented in order to obtain the largest area and the rapidest and the most convenient construction, which leads to elimination of old trees and old buildings on the site to be then quick. Constructors take no heed of the hidden memories of this place. To Ando, he regards the trees or the old buildings as the inheritance of the local place, and he thinks if we eliminate the trees and the old buildings, the memories of place will be gradually getting vanished. For this reason, preservation of the existing trees and the old buildings is the primary approach to maintain the memories of place.



Picture 12. Rokko Housing II [Ando, 1993a, p.118]



Picture 13. Rokko Housing III [Jodidio, 2007, p.118]

¹ Ando, 2008b, p.361; Ando, 1999, p.146



Picture 14. *Awaji-Yumebutai* [Awaji Island Project] in the year 1992. [Ando, 2008a, p.261]



Picture 15 Current Situation [Ando, 2008a, p.261]



Picture 16.

Umi-no-Mori [Sea Forest] [Ando, 2009, p.69]

Not only the existing trees and old buildings but also the historical events stand for the memories of place. Ando is well aware that these historical events mean a lot to this place; however, he reminds people what happened by the way of reflection to awaken people's memories. Therefore, Ando expresses his concern for the historical events by greening the buildings. Hiroyuki Suzuki thinks that Ando's interpretation of the memories of place is beyond personal emotional feelings and toward society concern.

All his work start from an interpretation of such "memory of place". However, that is subtly difference from intertextuality, that is the idea that each and every work is a reinterpretation of all the works that predate it. Furthermore, "memory of place" is not a matter of personal nostalgia. For Ando, "memory of place" is something that transcends the emotion of an individual and has a social dimension. That is why so many people are sympathetic to his architecture.²

² Suzuki, 2003, p.11

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The Seduction of Nonsense: From Kuso to Baudrillard and Back

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“Kuso,” meaning “shit” in Japanese, originally refers to a subculture which advocates enjoying any online game. Even the uninspiring crap can be played with relish. As an internet phenomenon featuring odd doings, it sprang into existence around 2000 and soon spread from Japan to Taiwan and other countries. From messing with one’s classmates to making fun of a celebrity, from dancing in one’s underwear to lip-synching to certain popular songs, kuso videos are mostly vulgar or nonsensical. For example, in 2005, two Chinese boys, now known as Back Dorm Boys, mouthed along to Backstreet Boys songs and uploaded their goofy homemade videos onto a website. Their lip-synching videos became a viral sensation and catapulted them to fame. Gary Brolsma, a young man from New Jersey, rocketed out of anonymity in a similar way. He placed on the internet a video of himself in which he performed a lip-synced version of a Romanian pop song. Brolsma not only mouthed the words but did what he called the “Numa Numan Dance” in a hilarious way. The debut of this video made him well-known worldwide and spawned a lot of sequels. Unlike those who lip-synch their way to stardom, some kuso videographers try their hand at daring or even transgressive acts in order to hit the viral video circuit. Performing steel pipe dance or showing off their gymnastic skills on a train, doing press-ups in the middle of the roadway, etc., some viral videos consist of nothing but nonsensical acts of messing around and having fun. Worse still, kuso videos which involve scenes of school bullies or animal abuses are not rare in Taiwan. In 2007, some college students replaced tapioca balls in pearl milk tea with living tadpoles and then asked their classmates to drink it up. In 2010, a high school girl trespassed on Gaomei Wetland. She dissected a crab that was alive and stuffed a cigarette into a globefish’s mouth. What is more startling is that she flaunts herself by taping the process of animal abuse and placing the clip online. Facing this wacky internet phenomenon, we may wonder why these kuso videos always stir up a viral sensation, especially among young people. If kuso features nothing but “embarrassment, obscenity, and plain old goofiness” (“Greatest Hits”), why is it being called into existence and even becomes the object of fascination? Does kuso culture testify to what Jean Baudrillard calls the end of the spectacular (30)? In other words, do kuso videos mushroom because the overflow of spectacles has surfeited us to the extent that we would rather embrace that which is stripped of meaning and value? To answer these questions, I suggest that we revisit what Baudrillard calls the seduction of

nonsense to see if his theory can fully account for the emergence of the kuso phenomena. Bringing the Baudrillardian notion in dialogue with other thinkers, such as Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin and Zygmunt Bauman, this paper seeks to grasp the impact of the kuso phenomena on contemporary life rather than hastily dismissing kuso videos as sheer nonsense.

This paper is divided into four sections. In the first section, I investigate whether the overabundance of meaning necessarily ignites its own implosion and paves the way for the emergence of kuso culture. Section Two and Three focus on reconsidering what Baudrillard calls the seduction of nonsense, examining his definition of the non-meaning and his analysis of seduction respectively. In Section Two, I argue that what Baudrillard designates as nonsense should refer to that which is devoid of traditional sense, or, that which is “relatively” insignificant. If the kuso phenomena can be said to be luring because of their insignificance, what must be added is that different kuso products are (in)significant in different ways. Some kuso videos, like the viral hit Charlie the Unicorn¹, (un)wittingly counterbalance the excess of reality by emptying out their meanings, but there are also videos saturated with personal idiosyncrasies. In addition to distinguishing the subtle nuance of every insignificant signifier, different affects associated with seduction should be further examined before we celebrate the power of the postmodern pure signs in Baudrillardian ecstasy. Thus, the third section strives to discuss what consists of the attraction of different kuso videos. Are they enticing because the videographers’ attempt to spoof serious themes and mainstream stereotypes enlists our empathy? Or does the ostensible addiction to these nonsensical videos reveal not so much our amusement as the “blasé attitude” or even “a disentanglement from being attached to anything specific” (Bauman 42)? That kuso videos are popular because they cater to a desire for deviation and individualism is not the whole story, I would argue. Though some viral videos attract numerous visitors, the accumulation of hits does not necessarily betoken the intensity of the viewers’ affection; on the contrary, it may indicate contemporary subjects’ blasé attitude. In other words, sometimes we keep up with the latest viral videos not because we find them entertaining but because viewing the most recent video hits has become an aspect of behaviour, a habit, or even a compulsion.

According to Bauman, when there are no trustworthy criteria that could “separate the relevant from the irrelevant, and the message from the noise,” we are doomed to be faced with “the fatal encounter between the obligation and compulsion to choose/the addiction to choosing, and the inability to choose” (42). In the last section, I discuss if there is any alternative to this new ob-scenity. I conclude that a reinvention

¹ An animated short film about Charlie the Unicorn’s adventure to Candy Mountain. *Time* includes it in “Youtube’s 50 Best Videos” list and states that “Charlie the Unicorn proves that something doesn’t have to make any sense at all to earn a cultlike following.”

of experience is needed if we want to be emancipated from the automatic shock defense and enter what Benjamin calls the profound experience. To conclude, unless kuso videos can catalyze “a mode of attention ever ready to parry mechanical shocks” (Hansen 8) and prepare the ground for profound experiences, we cannot easily yield to the fate of being seduced by nonsense in a Baudrillardian way.

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Are civilizations closed monads?

F. Koneczny and S.P Huntington

The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, semi-transparent arcs: a light blue one in the foreground and a light red one behind it, creating a sense of depth and movement.

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Are civilizations closed monads?

In 1989, in the 16th issue of a quarterly *The National Interest*, an article by Francis Fukuyama appeared, making him a major star in the world of philosophy of politics. It was entitled *The End of History?* In the article Fukuyama proclaimed the end of history which, in the understanding of Hegel, is a process of development of consciousness of freedom (or the freedom ideologies). The inevitable fall of the communist world puts people, for the first time in the history, in the situation without alternatives, where liberal democracy is the only available ideology of freedom. Thus we do not only witness the end of cold war or the end of some post-war era but the end of history itself. This is the end of ideological evolution of mankind.

Fukuyamas article met with vivid response. The next three issues (summer-fall-winter 1989) of *The National Interest* contained several discourses. One of the most interesting ones, being also one of the most critical ones, was written by Samuel P. Huntington and summarized by him in the following words: “The hope for a mild end of history is a human thing. Expecting that it will take place is unrealistic. Basing plans on it can result in a catastrophe.”

In the summer of 1993 Huntington published an article in *Foreign Affairs* (vol. 72, no. 3) which was entitled *The Clash of the Civilizations?* It was a base for a bestseller which was published 3 years later and entitled *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*¹. Authors’ main argument is that “the history of mankind is the history of civilizations”. Although in the past few centuries, the history consisted of conflicts of kings, the nation-states and, finally, ideologies, looking at it as a whole we can see that it consists of sequences of successive civilizations. Moreover, what Fukuyama took as the end of history, is the end of the phase of clashes of ideologies and now we enter the phase of clashes of civilizations. While in the modern times non-Western civilizations were just objects of history – the aim of Western colonialism – they have now joined the West as subjects which create and transform history.

Philosophical attempts to explain the historical process, by using differently constructed theories of civilizations, have relatively long history, one of them being the concept of Nikolai Danilewski available in his work *Rassija i Europa* (Russia and Europe) published in 1869. Especially the first half of the twentieth century was full of such concepts (of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee being the leading ones). In Poland, an interwar period historian, Feliks Koneczny developed a specific theory of civilizations, being the only subject of historical process. Soon after the release of Huntington’s book, an American author Neil Mc Innes noticed large similarities between his and Konecznys’ theories of

¹ New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996 Three years after publishing his essay, Fukuyama wrote a book, in which he developed his thesis (this time without a question mark in the title): *The End of History and the Last Man*, Free Press, 1992.

civilizations.² One Polish follower of Koneczny even asserts that Huntington's concept might be a plagiarism of more than 50 years older theory of the Polish thinker.³

This accusation is a fabrication of course; there is no evidence that Huntington was aware of Koneczny's conception while writing *The Clash of Civilizations*⁴, and although the similarities are quite obvious the differences are also apparent. We have to take into account that both of the conceptions were an attempt of an answer on a very fiery question: the menace of European (Western) civilization and of its sources or causes. Only that the state of western civilization on which they made observations was different as their observations were made in different time periods. Koneczny came up with his conception in the period between two world wars, Huntington towards the end of the twentieth century.

Let us first compare the similarities. Above all else both authors understood civilization as the highest level of social identity; as a closed cultural unit which is the ultimate and broadest subject of history. Secondly both of them asserted that the relations between civilizations are rather hostile (Koneczny stresses this hostility more strongly than Huntington). Further: it is not the race, ethnical roots or the language which differs the civilizations from each other but different systems of values, ideas, customs, morals and methods of social life. Both authors also emphasize the important (Koneczny) or even fundamental (Huntington) weight of religion within a civilization. Both Koneczny and Huntington insist that their theory is completely inductive.

Koneczny mentions seven contemporary civilizations: being the Diaspora Jewish, the Turanian, Brahmine, Arabic, Chinese, Byzantine and Latin civilizations; Huntington on the other hand mentions eight civilizations: Western, Chinese, Japanese, Muslim, Hindu, Orthodox-Slavonic, Latino (in the sense of South American) and African. We have to add that, according to Koneczny, Russia represents the Turanian civilization, which has its origins in the Asiatic tribal hordes and (this can be indeed a surprise) Germany represents the Byzantine.⁵ As we see they not only differently identify the civilizations but, what is more significant, they see differently the identity of European civilization. According to Huntington the whole Western and Central Europe (with North America and Australia) belongs to the Western civilization and the problem of the autonomy of the Jewish civilization doesn't exist. According to Koneczny Europe was deeply divided between 3 or 4 hostile civilizations (the fourth is the Turanian in the East – this according to Huntington because the Christian roots is not so alien to the Western). Moreover all three of them, except the Latin one, have its roots in the East, so the conflict we have is no less than a conflict between the East and the West.

² *The Great Doomsday*, The National Interest, no. 48 (1997)

³ Robert Piotrowski, *Problem filozoficzny ładu społecznego a porównawcza nauka o cywilizacjach*, Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog, Warszawa 2003, s. 192-205.

⁴ But he could have known it: Koneczny's main book *On the Plurality of Civilizations* appeared in English translation and with Arnold Toynby's preface in 1962. In Poland this work (*O wielości cywilizacji*) appeared in Cracow in 1935.

⁵ Koneczny insists that the Byzantine civilization did not disappear with the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire but was assimilated in X century by the German Empire, and still exists on German lands.

Huntington likewise asserts that a main axis of intercivilization clash runs between the East and the West. To express it more precisely, he means, that “in the microscale” the most conflicts arise along the borders separating the Muslim civilization from the Orthodox, Hindu, African and Western civilizations. However “in the macroscale” the most violent conflicts arose between the Muslim and Asiatic civilizations from one side and the Western from another.⁶ The difference between the two authors is that Huntington perceives this conflict as a product of modern times⁷, and Koneczny universalizes the pressure or threat coming from the East to the Western civilization as the fundamental “axis of the world history”.⁸ What consequences does it have?

Let's have a look on Koneczny's conception of civilization. It is quite complex and sophisticated. Briefly: there are two crucial concepts- „trilaw” and the *quincunx* . In the first case, trilaw, Koneczny means the system or complex of normalities, which regulates the relations of kinship, property, obligation and power at the beginning of every culture. However the fundamental borders between the civilizations are drawn by the *quincunx*. This notion includes five fundamental categories that define the social being of people. These categories symbolize the spiritual-material unity of the civilization, which reflects such a unity of a human being. Two of these fundamental categories represent a spiritual sphere, two the material, the last one unites the other two spheres. And so to the first sphere belongs *right* (or *good*) which defines morality; to this sphere is also assigned *truth*, which is in some way a signpost of both supernatural and natural cognizance (the human praxis corresponds it to science and religion). The other two categories, which compose the second sphere, are: *health* and *welfare*. The first category, health, defines the relations of human being with his own carnality (which has expression in the customs). The second category, welfare, is what defines all the economical relations, which generate not only complicated system of institutions, but also ideas which stand behind them (as solidarism or communism). The fifth category, which unifies both sets of spheres, is beauty (in the human praxis it is expressed in art.). So we have to do here with a very complicated network of institutions, values and ideas which constitute the framework of the civilization. Because configurations of these categories are endless, there have been and are endless amounts of civilizations. The significant conclusion is that because of the unequal development of these categories, which constitute civilizations, there become inferior and superior societies. As Koneczny wrote, there are complete and there are “defective” civilizations.

This “defectiveness” can vary, depending on different values; the result of this is that ideas or institutions end up not being formed (for example the major part of all civilizations did not know science). Essential is that even the less developed

⁶ See his *Clash of Civilizations*,... p. 260n.

⁷ In his opinion the interactions between different civilizations before the year 1500 were occasional and spontaneous, while later a stage of pressure occurred, of one of the civilizations (the Western one) on the others.

⁸ F, Koneczny, *Różne typy cywilizacji. Napór Orientu na Zachód*, [in:] *Kultura i cywilizacja*, Eurocentric – he is convinced that the final clash between the East and the West will take place in Europe (the Poles, defenders of Latin civilizations since at least 6 centuries, should play in the possible victory of the West an important part). Whereas Huntington is convinced that the clash will occur in Lublin 1937.

civilization, a “fragmentary” civilization, is a coherent unit. Amongst all civilizations, according to Koneczny, one will distinguish itself because it is the only full civilization in the history of mankind – this is naturally the Latin. What makes it different from the other civilizations is not only the fact that the values of quincunx are in balance but also, among other differences, that only in this society division between the public and the private law exists (this division has a roots in ancient Rome). The other differences are that in the Latin civilization the source of law is ethics, not religion and that only in it could be formed a complicated shape of the time consciousness (he calls it historicism) which led to the forming of a true national consciousness. This is the reason, that only the Latin civilization developed the national states. The substantial problem is that the nation has its foundations in the society, not in the state. Only society (or civil society) which developed historicism is in power to create nation; the state does not have any creative power in that matter. The nation determines the ethical superstructure of society, while the state defines the legal structure.

Thus, civilization is the ultimate subject of history, which is ruled by the laws of inner and inter-civilization. They are six laws and one superlaw. The last of these laws runs: it is impossible to be civilized simultaneously in two manners. The one of the six is the law of facilitated inferiority. And this is the bed news for us (representatives of the Latin or the Western civilization). What does this law mean? To express it in short: in the clash of an axe with the computer, the former winning. The higher or more developed civilization the more complicated are its needs, and more efforts are required for it to keep retain inner coherence; this is not such a concern when discussing the less developed civilizations. This means, that the Latin civilization as the most developed is really in deep waters, or to say exactly, stands on the brink of catastrophe.

But fortunately the laws which Koneczny observed in history are inductively derived regularities, not the Hegelian-Marxian unavoidable laws. The fact that these laws are not unavoidable means the catastrophe can be avoided. To avoid catastrophe, the Latin civilization, which is in deep crisis, needs a consolidation of its fundamental values. Koneczny (60 years later Huntington) saw this crisis in the intensifying irreligiosity, weakening of the institution of family, and above all in influencing of the other civilizations on our own. One of the six laws tells us that the synthesis of the civilizations is impossible, only mixtures are possible; another law goes as follows: the mixture of civilization is destructive. But it is possible for a civilization to undergo metamorphosis. The Germans got byzantinised in the Xth century, why can't they be Latinized now? At the end of his life Koneczny hoped for such a historical scenario (he died in 1948). Naturally this scenario would strengthen the Latin civilization, but not cancel the main front of a civilization clash, namely between the West and the East.

Konecznys' theory of civilizations did not raise much interest in Poland and has been almost forgotten for decades. This interest came back in the last two decades; it has rather a historical character, although some authors stress the actuality of his thoughts. It has also gone almost unnoticed outside Polish borders, although Koneczny had a warm supporter in the West in the person of a professor of comparative study of civilizations at the University of Mainz (at that time West Germany) – Anton Hilckman. In 1952 he wrote: “In several decades the name of

Feliks Koneczny will be known to every scholar, even though today only a few people outside his country know him.”⁹ Unfortunately, despite Hilckmans efforts (he published several articles about Konecznys theory), he remains almost unknown, nevertheless it does not mean uninteresting.

Of course Koneczny was mistaken stating the deep unidentity of Europe. His evaluation of Jews, Germans but also Russians depicted not the reality but rather his own national dislike or prepossession. But his theory of historical laws and laws ruling the relations between the civilizations sound distressingly actual (the partisans of Koneczny may point out the history of Yugoslavia as the best example of the rules of “superlaw” and the law of destructiveness of the civilization mixtures).

Huntingtons article met with a great response and the book developing his argument became a bestseller. But there were also critical voices. The main concern was the thesis that conflicts after the fall of Soviet Union ceased or will cease to be conflicts of ideologies but rather conflicts of civilizations (also the typology of civilizations itself was believed to be doubtful).¹⁰

Despite various concerns, or charges against these conceptions of civilizational strangeness or even hostility, they may worry because their authors are certainly not completely going astray, but touch a problem that, at least for the West, is a fundamental challenge.

The main and really important question we can ask about Konecznys and Huntingtons conception is if civilizations are really closed and rather reciprocally hostile monads? A positive answer has deep political and philosophical consequences. Fukuyamas “end of history” is very far away, if at all attainable. In all reality the Western civilization has to purge oneself from the outside elements (and above all has to resign from the idea of multiculturalism). However the philosophers must give an answer on the question which values, ideas, institutions are really alien to the Western civilization and which are essential to keep the Western identity.

On February 5th this year, during the Conference on Security in Munich, Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Cameron gave a speech in which he said that the doctrine of multicultural state is the past (before it was announced by Angela Merkel, German Chancellor). Although Cameron insisted strongly that Islam and Islamism are different phenomenon. He stressed that irreconcilable are ideologies (liberal democracy and Islamism) not religions – Islam and Christianity. But one may notice that Islamism has it’s roots in Islam and liberal democracy originated in Enlightenment which was possible in the world of post-roman Christianity. Either way, leading Western politicians do what was postulated by Koneczny and

⁹ A. Hilckman, *Feliks Koneczny i porównawcza nauka o cywilizacjach* [w:] Dodatek pierwszy do: F. Koneczny, *O ład w historii*, Warszawa-Struga, 1991, s. 110.

¹⁰ See: Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The illusion of Destiny*; Paul Berman, *Terror and Liberalism*, Norton&Company 2003

Huntington – take measures aimed at consolidating the values and ideas crucial for the unity and sustainability of Western civilization.



The Kimono in the Mirror of European Orientalism

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The kimono has been the focus of European attention throughout the history of Japano-European cultural exchange. Four centuries of such exchange have witnessed several changes in the European perception of the Japanese traditional raiment.

The first known mention of the Japanese costume is commonly attributed to the Catholic missionaries on Kyushu Island in the mid-XVI century. As a comprehensive account of the mission was given in recent studies (Nikolaeva 1996, Rogers 1987, Cooper 2005 et al.), we shall limit ourselves to the costume-related episodes. In their reports to the Pope of Rome, as well as their private correspondence and memoirs, the pioneer priests provided eye-witness evidence of the country and its inhabitants, appearance included. The impressions were summarized by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), who found Japanese 'manners civil, courteous and modest'.

The arrival of the Japanese legation to Lisbon, on August 10, 1586, initiated by Alessandro Valignano, with a subsequent tour of the country, left a deep impression on the European counterparts, for whom it was the first *rendez-vous* with the exotic Orient, causing the utmost curiosity. Naturally, the unusual costume could not help but catch the European eye. As is known, Philip II of Spain, who granted an audience to the legation, gave it a warm welcome, enquiring, among other things, about the items of clothing (Cooper 2005).

Characteristically, to commemorate the event, portraits of the Japanese legates were commissioned to Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594) to be later hung on display in the Great Council Hall of the Doge's Palace in Venice. For reasons unknown, however, the artist completed only one portrait, now lost (Nikolaeva, 1996:). Among the surviving portraits of the time, worth-mentioning is an etched group portrait featuring young missionaries, printed in Augsburg in 1586, as well as the title page portrait of Japanese missionaries in Alessandro Benacci's *Documenti del saggio storico sulle antiche ambasciate giapponesi in Italia*, Bologna, 1585, and a fresco in the *Teatro Olimpico*, Vicenza, Italy. N.Nikolaeva notices that in the two latter cases the Japanese emissaries were depicted as wearing European clothing (Nikolaeva, 1996:33). To a certain extent, this can be explained through Alessandro Valignano's request to the legates not to arouse too much attention and dress European unless it was a high occasion.

The Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536 (1537) - 1598) diplomatic embassy received no less coverage, with at least one portrait, of Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571-1622), painted by an unknown artist in 1615, surviving the ravages of time. The artist was meticulous about conveying the peculiarities of the male costume, with the lustrous and exquisitely-patterned silk fabric.

This interest, however, was by no means a unilateral one, with the advent of Christianity affecting the Japanese costume as well. The Japanese gladly took to wearing Catholic crucifixes, regarding them as a fashionable accessory rather than a symbol of faith. Miniature crucifixes are known to have been applied for netsuke (for attaching things to the band).

The Ost-Indian Company took over from the early Christian missionaries in maintaining Japano-European cultural exchange in the XVII-XVIII centuries. By that time, the early attempts at converting the Japanese to Christianity had been met with strong opposition on the part of the shogun Ieyasu Tokugawa (1543-1616), who commenced an undeclared war on the steadily increasing Christian population. In order to secure control over commerce and Southern clans, in 1641, he initiated the *sakoku* (Jap. "locked country") policy, following an uprising of 40,000

mostly Christian peasants known as the *Shimabara* Rebellion of 1637-1638. The policy envisioned, above all, ousting the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries with a ban on foreign ships approaching the 'sacred Japanese land'. The only exception made was for Dutch traders, who were permitted to continue modest trade with Japan.

In this context, to channel foreign trade, in 1641, the Japanese *shogunate* designated a specially-built artificial island, Dejima, off the coast of Kyushu in the vicinity of Nagasaki. The island being of artificial origin, it could not be considered 'sacred' soil and, therefore, allowed for disembarkation. This small area, of about 600 feet in length, was surrounded by a fence and was closely guarded by the police. Thus, the only 'Japanese' experience of Europeans in 1641 and on was that of Dejima. It was once a year that a limited Dutch party was granted a goodwill visit to the capital, naturally, in a police entourage, to present gifts to the shogun and relate topical events of the previous year.

The entire history of the XVII-XVIII cc., abounding with ground-breaking discoveries, devastating wars, political intrigue and adventurism, left an eclectic picture of Japan with Europeans. Not surprisingly, among the European writers in the Japanese theme of the time were such figures as notorious adventure-seeker Jan Jansen Struys (1630 – 1694), fearless navigator William Adams (1564-1620), also known in Japan as *Anjin-sama* (*anjin*, "pilot"; *sama*, "honorific") or *Miura Anjin* ("the pilot of Miura"), or such acclaimed researchers as E. Kaempfer (1651 - 1716), K.P.Thunberg (1743-1828), Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796 - 1866), all of whom were at one time in service with the Dutch Ost-Indian Company. As far as Jan Struys is concerned, his adventure might well serve as a source of inspiration for a fiction-story writer, whereas his own accounts of his extensive travels are teeming with flaws and inconsistencies and should be taken with a pinch of salt. Whether it was due to his erratic memory or geographic incompetence, but among his 'inaccuracies', for instance, was a report on the habit of foot binding, which he erroneously ascribed to Japanese women, or the description of classical Chinese hairstyles and accessories, attributed to the Japanese.

Attention to detail, on the other hand, is an inalienable feature of E.Kaempfer's, K.P.Thunberg's, and Franz von Siebold's writings, all of whom were qualified doctors, also in service with the Ost-Indian Company. Interestingly, the pivotal character of Jonathan Swift's (1667-1745) *Gulliver's Travels*, Lemuel Gulliver, was also portrayed as a doctor with the Ost-Indian Company, who under the guise of a Dutch sailor first reached Japan on board a Dutch ship and then returned home on board another Dutch ship. Curiously, 40 years after the complete 'Gulliver' was published, a Swedish doctor spent three years studying Dutch to pass for a Dutchman and get employment with the Ost-Indian Company to work on Dejima Island. His name, now well-known in Japanese studies, was Carl Peter Thunberg.

The choice of Japan as one of Gulliver's destinations was a telling detail in itself. Being set among otherwise imaginary countries, it added to the verisimilitude of the narrative and worked for the concept of a topsy-turvy world, which was too unbelievable to be true.

Among the Japanese studies by the Ost-Indian Company's doctors, special mention should be made of Franz von Siebold's acclaimed work on Japan (Siebold 1837-1840). A highly-educated and knowledge-thirsty individual, Siebold enthusiastically documented his observations, visualizing them with numerous drawings. In 1830, on his return to Europe, he put together his random sketches of Japan, including genuine Japanese prints featuring costumes pertinent to all walks of Japanese society. This book, translated into several European languages, was an eye-opener to most Europeans and, for a long time, remained the most authoritative, if not the only, source of knowledge of the far-away Japanese Islands.

Other European explorers were less lucky as they were bound to stay aboard for months on end, their experience of Japan confined to appointments with Japanese officials. Such were, for

instance, the voyages of Russian navigators Adam Kirillovich (Erikovich) Laxman (1766 – after 1796) and Ivan F. Krusenstern (1770-1846) in an attempt to establish trade with Russia's eastern neighbours, whereby their contacts with the locals were limited to the Northern territories, which at that time were under the control of the central government but remained peripheral to the Japanese culture proper. This accounts for the erroneous description of the Japanese costume provided by Krusenstern, which was reminiscent of that of the Ainu or Siberian aborigines and consisted of a fur anorak with a cone-like hood which he could also observe on Sakhalin. His other observations were taken from a distance as his ship was anchored in the Nagasaki harbor without disembarkation rights [12]. Thus, the initial ethnographic studies of Japan were rather fragmentary yet praise-worthy as the intrepid explorers challenged the elements of the ocean to map the geographic and cultural contours of Japan.

Vasily Mikhailovich Golovnin's (1776-1831) book, published in 1816, seemingly continued the established traditions of a travelogue with the essential distinction, however, that it presented an inside view – an exploit the more significant as it was performed in an environment hardly conducive for research. Convicted, for violation of the *sakoku* law, to a prison sentence, of which he eventually served two years, V.M. Golovnin took a profound interest in the Japanese language and customs and was much aided in his studies by the prison wardens and interpreters, for whom he, incidentally, compiled a manual in Russian grammar. His 'prison experience' enabled him to give the first known detailed description of traditional Japanese clothing, footwear and hairstyles (Golovnin 2004: 357-360). Russian and, later, European readers (for the book was translated into most European languages) owed much of their knowledge of Japan to Golovnin's notes, which were truly remarkable for their style and tone of narration revealing an impartial rigorous observer rather than an appalled and helpless prisoner.

One of the last but not the least significant books to focus on the Japan of the *sakoku* period belonged to Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov (1812-1891), who undertook his voyage under the impression of V.M. Golovnin's and Franz von Siebold's books. In his own book, *The Frigate Pallada (The Frigate Pallas)*, published in 1858, he not only documented his own observations, but also presented literary reminiscences referring to his acclaimed predecessors.

The writer's initial approach to Japanese raiment showed influences of Russian Enlightenment aesthetics, particularly that of Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766 – 1826), whereby the idiom of the costume was often disregarded unless conducive to the general message of a literary work. However, in the course of his travels, the writer's attitude towards Japanese customs and costumes underwent a noticeable change. The initial condescending view that a representative of a mighty European power may have exhibited towards what he believed to be barbarian people, stagnant in their development, gradually gave way to appreciation, if not admiration. Typically, at first he was unable to differentiate between the Japanese and the Chinese, finding their clothing as ridiculous as were their ways. His diary entry of September 9, noted that "without getting used to the view, it is impossible to refrain from laughter at the sight of those figures wearing skirts and pigtails, leaving their knees bare." Such remarks were interspersed with jokes like "how long should we tolerate all these, - **said somebody**, fondly stroking a sixty-pound shot cannon", or "why not take Nagasaki and that's it". Eventually, the tone of his comments changed to "what I especially like about this milieu of silk robes, skirts and canopies is an absence of glaring saturated colors. There are no 'clean' colors as such, be that red or yellow or green: all are mixed hues or subdued shades of this or that. So don't trust those pictures which present the Japanese as akin to parrots". (Goncharov 1986).

Eventually, I.O. Goncharov came to appreciate not only the color patterns, but the cut and silhouette of Japanese clothing which, until recently, he had perceived as uncomfortable and ridiculous. He exemplified a European's initial reaction to the Japanese costume as follows, "watching the Japanese, his head low, clad in a kind of cowl, a box on the forehead and overlong pantaloons, one can't help wondering if there had been a jester behind all that array whose ulterior

motive was to clad people in a clothing that would prevent them from striding or running if not moving at all. Indeed, moving in this clothing takes some skill. So it might as well have been invented for squatting and showing oneself off.” But then, he noted, “Yet, as you give a second thought to the way the Japanese squat you can only say that their array is exclusively well suited for sitting, rendering the wearer a particular grace and dignity. The rich wavelike drapes of silk that enwrap the lazy mass of the body give it a magnificence and monumentality of a statue. (Goncharov 1986: 277).

Goncharov’s attention to Japanese clothing came as a surprise to the author himself: “never thought I’d have to write about Japanese fashions”. Apparently, as the expedition was setting out, no one, the author included, could anticipate the trouble arising from differences in costume and related behavioral stereotypes. After a long wait in Nagasaki harbor, the Russians were finally granted an audience with Nagasaki’s governor, prior to which the Japanese officials had brought forth the issue of the protocol. The Japanese party insisted on adhering to Japanese etiquette (shoes off, rank-bound arrangement, sitting on the floor), while the Russians found the requirements humiliating. “A little give-in now would set a precedent for them to expect further drawbacks on our side and, perhaps, lead to certain haughtiness on theirs. This in mind, Admiral Putyatin ([Yevfimy Vasilyevich Putyatin](#), 1803-1883) opted for his usual stand, that of courtesy, flexibility and firmness, either in trivial or grand matters. For it was by trivia that the Japanese were expected to pass their judgment of us as much as we were to suggest the right tone to reign the further course of the talks.” (Goncharov 1986).

As the question of whether to take off your footwear or not to, and whether to sit on the floor or not to sit on the floor reached Shakespearian proportions, the Russians carefully considered the underlying rationale of the Japanese side: first, a Japanese home was not furnished with chairs or anything; and second, both the hosts and the visitors always went barefoot, so it would be impolite to act otherwise. A compromise to satisfy both parties was finally found. The Russian party arrived for the reception to the sound of a military orchestra, carrying their own stools and wearing hastily-tailored canvas footwear over their boots, which were part of their naval uniform, leaving it in the anteroom.

Yet, another challenge was still to come as “the servants served the tea with a solemn low bow putting the teacups straight on the floor for there was no furniture whatsoever. It was a terrible feeling trying to reach for your cup in our uniforms. It was only after several tries with this hand and the other hand that I finally succeeded. Once again came in the servants, each carrying a lacquered wooden tray with a smoking pipe, a bowlful of tobacco, a small clay grill with red charcoals in, and an ashtray, which they put in front of us in the above-mentioned order. These were much harder to handle. By far easier it was for the Japanese, sitting on the floor in their loose robes: stuffing the pipes, lighting them from the coals, and tossing off the ash, but how were we to do with our high seats?” (Goncharov 1986).

The writer arrives at the following explanation of differences in behavioral patterns, “...back in Europe it is not hot, we seek light and build houses with large windows, and if we need to sit down, we subconsciously go for an elevated place to feel closer to the source of light, hence we need chairs and tables. Conversely, in Asia they seek shade, which may account for almost no windows. So why should they devise any contrivances to climb on for sitting in the perpetual twilight of their homes, if nature itself allows for taking a seat where you are standing? And then, if you have to sit, to eat, to socialize, or do chores on the same ground where you set foot, you will naturally wish that all around keep their feet clean. That is why in the East you always leave your shoes or sandals outside as you enter a home.” (Goncharov 1986).

The European experience of Japan was given a new lease of life with the alleviation of trade barriers, in 1854, the event commonly associated with the arrival of an American fleet under the

command of the Commodore of the U.S. Navy, Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858), who compelled the re-opening of Japan to the West with the Convention of Kanagawa, which envisaged a Peace and Cooperation Treaty between the US and Japan, and the establishment of diplomatic relations. The following five years witnessed similar treaties with France, Great Britain and Russia.

An interest in Japanese raiment in the West was aroused when a Japanese embassy of 80 officials visited the American continent in 1860. Clad in loose *hakama* trousers, *haori* jackets, and armed with samurai swords, the ambassadors created an overnight sensation. However, the Japanese festive clothing looked too 'wild' for the American liking, to say the least. In their turn, the ambassadors, who could observe Europeans and the way they dressed in much detail, were also far from delighted. What made a particularly negative impression on the visitors was the 'classless' nature of European clothing, which greatly diminished such important aspects of social interaction as senior/junior by age or rank. The flared skirts, suggestive cuts and bare shoulders of women, which was a contemporary fashion, were equally inadmissible to the Japanese.

An entirely different outlook of Japanese costume came to dominate Europe after the Paris World Fair in 1864 as Europe's artistic circles came to appreciate the idiom of *ukiyo-e* etchings with their laconic landscapes and enigmatic languid beauties in exquisite drapery. The second prize in the "Best Textile" nomination at the 1873 Vienna World Fair only added to the fast-growing kimono craze in Europe. Indeed, as artists and art appreciators take over from doctors and navigators as judges of the kimono's merits, it was not before long that they brought it a worldwide recognition. Significantly, paying tribute to Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806), Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896) made a point of acknowledging the artist's skill in conveying the ornamental patterns of his models' clothing. Interestingly, the kimono ornament served as a source of inspiration or sort of testing ground not only for artists alone, but also textile manufacturers, for whom it was an important selling point which 'married' what was deemed as design proper and the production line. Noteworthy in this respect was the publication, in 1880, of the *Grammar of Japanese Ornament* by T. Cutler (1880).

Eventually, the kimono not only paved its way into Europe, but also became a fashion in artistic circles, with such artists as Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), Hans Makart (1840-1884), James Tissot (1836-1902), and William Merritt Chase (1834-1916) known to have purchased one for homewear. As an artistic object, however, Japanese raiment received a different treatment in European painting. French artists were mostly attracted to the silhouette and decor of the kimono at the expense of its cultural value, of which they had little or no knowledge. This accounts for an excessive theatrical effect, conspicuous artificiality and gratuitous inclusions of the kimono in their compositions. Thus, Claude Monet (1840-1926) presented *Madame Monet en Costume Japonais* (1875), now on display at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which featured the artist's wife as wearing a Japanese *uchikake*, which presupposed a kimono underneath, so the artist had to make up for the missing elements of the ensemble by an unusual back view perspective.

A similar approach is distinguished in Carl Rudolph Sohn's (1845-1908) work *At the Masquerade*, picturing a woman sitting in a workshop, with a kimono loosely descending from her shoulders, holding a fan in her hand, against a background of floral tapestry and a Japanese style still life arrangement in the forefront.

A common motif in the European painting of the period was a model clad in a kimono bound with a soft ribbon, which produced a 'slightly oriental' colouring, but set the kimono in a foreign cultural context. Thus, Jules Joseph Lefebvre's (1836-1911) *The Language of the Fan* featured a young coquette wearing a Japanese kimono with Japanese accessories, yet her posture and silhouette, imposed by the wrongly-bound sash, as well as the gesture with which she holds the fan, emphasize her *spanishness*. Similar 'Spanish' allusions emerge in Roberto Fontana's (1844-1907) *Young Girl with a Fan*.

The choice of the kimono to drape a model in the works by Aime Nicolas Morot (1850-1913), William Merit Chase (1849-1916), and Hans Makart (1840-1884) can be explained by the qualities of silk material itself, which easily slips off the model's shoulder and/or provides a tender background for female semi-nudity. Typically, A. N. Morot made use of a la Japanese settings for his "fresh" version of the seductive odalisque – the image well-known to European art history.

The choice of Japanese attributes in William Merit Chase's *Spring Flowers* accounts for the artistic message, namely that of a consonance of the fresh-looking blooming peony embroidered on the silk kimono and those glistening in golden thread patterns on the upholstery. In his compositions, such as *Blue and Yellow*, or *Girl in Blue Kimono*, the American artist Robert Lewis Reid (1862-1929) treats the kimono as the key medium for his palette diversity, playing on the nuances of the blue, violet, pink, and emerald.

It is worth mentioning, that the image of a fairy-like Orient was eagerly supported by the entrepreneurial Japanese themselves. Apart from traditional foundries and carving workshops furnishing objects of art for the inner market, mushrooming were also export-oriented companies specializing in mass production of items for a European-style interior with a marked slant for European tastes. Today, numerous variations of a bronze-cast samurai in glittering battle array, statuettes of legendary and mythical characters, in sculpturally-advantageous postures, can only puzzle a careful viewer with an eclectic combination of Chinese and Japanese elements, thus sacrificing realia to décor and imagination. By far the most successful of the Japanese ventures thriving on the European obsession with Orientalism was the Tokyo-and-Yokogama-based *Miyao Company*.

It would be erroneous to believe, though, that Japanese raiment found its applications in European visual arts exclusively in the capacity of a background or ornamental element with a strong appeal of its own but no claim for a truly Japanese imagery. Masters of genre-painting tackled their Japanese-clad models with all attention to detail; a scarcity of such works in contemporary European arts could be explained through lack of expert consultancy, and poor availability of authentic garmentry.

One of the recognized artistic landmarks of Japonism at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries was *Japanese* (1908) by Józef Pankiewicz (1866-1940). Similarly to C. Monet, the artist pictured his wife clad in Japanese raiment from the perspective characteristic of Japanese prints. However, while Monet's painting was no more than a tribute to the contemporary fashion, Pankiewicz's work is a convincing attempt at conveying what can be called Japanese spirit by a harmonious palette and a carefully arranged setting. The artist's daughter reminisced of her father borrowing 'a kimono, a screen, a lacquered chest, and other charming Japanese bagatelles of Japanese life from a renowned collector', Feliks Jasienski (1861-1929) (Krol 2010: 61-62).

The mentioned butterfly-patterned kimono also features in paintings by Wojciech Weiss (1875-1950) and Stanislaw Debicki (1866-1924), and even its owner, Feliks Jasienski, 'immortalized' it, as he had himself photographed wearing a samurai helmet and the very same female kimono either on a whim or out of wish to look truly Japanese. Not every kimono to be found in Europe at the time could 'boast' of such versatility, serving as both a tangible asset of Japanese culture and a symbol of Polish commitment to the ideas of Japonism.

It should be noted, however, that in the works of other Polish artists, as well as in the Feliks Jasienski photo the given kimono was treated just as a generalized Japanese background, whereas with Pankiewicz it is an important constituent of Japanese imagery, which he deliberately builds up by carefully selecting and arranging authentic objects without imposing 'foreign' meanings on them. He artfully conveys the texture and graphics of the raiment, the gamut of the colours, and the constructive peculiarities of the design, focusing on the long sleeves, padded hemline, and a festive, multiple-folded obi.

Similar trends can be traced in other European countries as mere thirst for exotics gave way to what can be described as ethnographic interest in the early XX century. Driven by wanderlust, many an artist set off for remote places they had previously only imagined or judged about by separate artifacts. A common feature with these artists was gravitating towards a 'photographic' realism in capturing the everydayness in all its complexity, often at the expense of artistic entity. One of such works was *Japanese (Japanese girl with a flower arrangement)* by **Vasily Vereshchagin** (1842-1904), now on display at Sevastopol Museum of Fine Arts. This canvas was painted in 1903 during the artist's stay in Japan on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. The artist portrays a young Japanese woman wearing a bright motley-patterned kimono against a background of a shoji and potted chrysanthemums in blossom in the foreground. A certain 'scatterness' and misbalance in the graphics and the colour scheme can be explained through the artist's desire to convey all details of the costume with its floral pattern echoing that of the shoji and the live flowers in the pot. On the other hand, **Vereshchagin** masterfully conveys such details as the kimono train padded with red silk and the drum-knotted obi.

During his short stay in Japan V.V. **Vereshchagin** painted a series of genre sketches, which testify for his sincere interest in and attention to the country's everyday life, capturing all minute details of clothing, which, in Japan, carries a meaningful idiom of its own. His work was interrupted on February 28th, 1904, with the declaration of the Russo-Japanese War, upon which he had to arrive at the active army and was killed in action, on March 31 (April 13, new style), at the battle of Port Arthur, on board the *Petropavlovsk* navy flagman, together with **Vice Admiral Stepan Makarov** (1848—1904).

With its history also traced back to the battle of Port Arthur, there is an interesting item on display at the State Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg, Russia, which is a netsuke, part and parcel of traditional Japanese clothing for over three centuries. Typical of the Masatomo school of carving, the monkey figurine made by the carver Koya Masatami might never have attracted any special attention if it had not been for the inscription on the surface saying "*Haidamak, 1896*". Incidentally, the *Haidamak* was one of the Russian mining cruisers that were sunken on the night of December 20th 1905 after the Port Arthur surrender. Now it is anybody's guess: what 'immaterial relations' was that ornate piece of ivory 'material token' of, to quote I. O. Goncharov?

Still, however multifaceted was the image of Japan as presented by artists, the general public had its own ways of acquainting itself with what was hailed as exotic, i.e. photographic prints. Indeed, photographic prints were widely used in postcards and illustrated guidebooks of Japan. Even though the Japanese came to know photography as far back as 1840, when the Dutch sailors introduced daguerreotype technology to the Country of the Rising Sun, for many years to come photography remained an exclusively European domain in Japan. The first known daguerreotype prints of Japan were made by Eliphalet Brown (1816 - 1886), who was an official photographer of the Commodore M. C. Perry (1794-1858) expedition. Upon his return to the United States, the photographer had some of his daguerreotype prints reproduced into lithography, which entered « A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan 1853 –1854» published in 1856.

Eventually, some European masters of photography opened their own salons in Japan, including Felice Beato (1832 –1909) and Adolfo Farsari (1841—1898), both working in Yokohama and specializing in genre and setup photography mostly featuring Japanese craftsmen in their natural environment. It was mostly through photography that the rest of the world could perceive the vanishing traditional culture of Japan with the details of makeup, silk manufacturing or old corner shops, as it was being ousted by the advent of rapid urbanization.

Paradoxically, for their photographic sessions European women persevered in dressing themselves up in a kimono thus trying to induce an image of a Geisha-like erotic and seductive love priestess. Yet, the general public's deluded perception of Japan as a country of languishing beauties clad in 'silk dressing gowns', was to fall into oblivion together with the *Belle Epoque*, giving way to a more realistic view of an emerging industrialized Japan. Japan's victories over China and Russia, as well as her resounding success at the Janapo-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, established a worldwide view of Japan as a developed country with rich history and time-honored traditions. The 1920s still saw some separate pictures of kimono-clad Japanese women but those never laid claims for fame other than genre sketches.

True as it is, a beauty clad in silk as if borrowed from coloured ukiyo-e prints was anything but a common sight to see for a foreign traveler. It seems the very much-mythologized image of an ukiyo-e print girl prevented an undistorted view of reality. Thus, an acclaimed Russian futurist David Burlyuk (1882 – 1967), who visited Japan in 1920-1922, gladly painted portraits of Japanese women without going into too much detail as far their clothing was concerned whereas his brother in arts, Victor Palmov (1888-1929), went even further by painting 'geisha pictures' from his imagination without even leaving his cheap hotel room.

With Japan taking a military line in foreign policies in the 1930s, European Oriental Studies seem to have fallen into decline, to revive only after WWII in the form of scientific and cultural research, including the studies of the traditional costume as a significant element in preserving cultural heritage. Still, prevailing in the studies on Japanese raiment is an aesthetic approach, whereas such aspects as the role of the costume as a means of national identification or as embodiment of the bodily or as a quintessence of various aesthetic practices remain a subject for further studies.

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FROM SLAVERY TO SALARY

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Topics: globalisation, socio-economic cybernetics

The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of several overlapping, semi-transparent arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a sense of motion or a globe.

FROM SLAVERY TO SALARY

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INTRODUCTION

Salary is the main means of organising labour in modern affluent societies and is contrasted to slavery as part of a free society. An examination of instances of slavery, transitions to salary and cases of contact between modern salaried cultures and traditional cultures reveals a more complex situation and raises the question to what extent are modern salary earners free?

All cultures have trade, politics, technology and information systems. Money typically catalyses the expansion of trade, political power, technology, wealth and information. As money replaces barter systems, its portability and permanence foster expansion in trade and wider ranging trade¹. This increases information and wealth, which enables states to expand or aggregate. Exchange of information and access to commodities and wealth make technological advances possible. All these aspects work together in mutually reinforcing feedback loops and transform daily activities.

Money is a form of information, a signalling system, and its success depends on our belief in it. It is an economic principle that the degree of success of money is proportional to the degree to which its inherent value is less than its representational value.² Because it is abstracted from any particular thing of value, it is easier to convert one kind of good or service into another. Money operates across space and time: it is possible to store wealth to invest later at more advantageous times and to transport it further afield.

While trade, technological and political expansion is enabled by and generates more information, there is a corresponding diminishing of information – as we become increasingly specialised and dependent on chains of increasingly distant events in the ever expanding network, we tend only to receive and act on information within a localised sphere of activity. Despite the speed of travel and messages, despite wide ranging causal interactions, the sources of commodities, technology and control are obscured by distance and layers of semantic abstraction. By examining differing cultural systems and contact between them, we can better understand our global connections and problems.

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT ROME

In ancient Rome slaves were prohibited from military service. Roman soldiers were rewarded for service with their own plot of land from which they could be self sufficient. This suited the Roman ideal of toughness and self reliance, to which was opposed the status of slaves and low wage earners. The contrast was not between slavery and freedom but between self reliance and servility which included wage earners.

¹ Jevons, W Stanley *Money And The Mechanism Of Exchange* D Appleton & Co. New York, 1896

² p191 *ibid*

Slaves comprised about 33-40 percent of the population on the Italian peninsula and most slaves were involved in agriculture."³ While some surplus was traded, Roman rural life was primarily aimed at self sufficiency, not farming commodity crops for profit.

Where there is little need for money there is little need for wages. Similarly, serfdom, where peasants are virtually if not literally the property of a landlord, exists where the necessities of life are sourced locally, and trade, travel and exotic goods are a rare adjunct. Slavery (and serfdom) can be understood as the way labour is organised in situations where money is non-essential. A rural slave's ordinary daily activities then would be governed by these records of their role, master's commands, by almanacs, traditions and seasonal events. Daily life and the motivation to work for wage earners in cities was governed by accounts and rates of pay and exchange ie: how much money one has, owes and can expect to obtain.

From the Roman point of view slaves and low salary earners were both servile, useful and specialised and both could aspire to improve their position through hard work, skill or ingratiating themselves with the right people. A well promoted city slave could be higher in status than a free wage earner on low pay. Being a free wage earner was regarded as servile and low wage earners often worked alongside slaves.⁴

The types of employment undertaken by slaves were highly specialised. Slaves were employed as clerks, trusted business agents, doorkeepers, masseurs, sex workers, child minders, companions, tutors, tree pruners, grape pickers, goatherds, oil pressers, smiths and so on. In some cases slaves were accepted as members of the family, and freed in order to be more on a par with the brothers and sisters of that family. For intelligent and skilled slaves there was a career path that could lead to important business or government positions.

While slaves were specialised, masters were not. Specialisation makes a person useful for a particular purpose that a master can put them to as needed. They acted as agents, or extensions of the masters will, who had a broader view of how everything worked as a whole (the operations of the estate, the workings of their political and economic position in town etc.).

SLAVERY IN THE CONGO FREE STATE

In 1638 a manual for merchants was published - *The Marchant's Map of Commerce*⁵. This text book states early on a view of international trade as a moral good that is echoed in introductory economics text books today⁶:

³ p30 Bradley, Keith *Slavery And Society At Rome* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994

⁴ p1 *ibid*.

⁵ Roberts, Lewis *The Marchants Map of Commerce (sic)* London, 1638 facsimile published by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd. 0.2. Voorburgwal 85, Amsterdam, 1974.

⁶ "While Kylie's island has a lot of fertile grain growing land and a small sheep population, Jason's island has little fertile grain-growing land and

"Merchandizing (truly considered in it self, and rightly practised) may well be said to be an *art* or *science* invented by *ingenious mankind*, for the public good, commoditie and welfare of all *Commonwealths*; for thereby some *places* and *kingdomes* are supplied and furnished with those necessary things, wherof Nature her selfe hath proved deficient in, and which in some other *places* or *Kingdomes* hath abounded, tending either to the need, ornament, or commodity of humane life, and is performed by exporting the superfluties, that are found in the one, to furnish the defects and wants that are found in the other..."⁷

This principle of common wealth through international trade is not always the case, particularly when the commodity traded is people as was the case in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, or where people are enslaved to harvest a traded commodity.

One day in the mid 19th century in Britain, a boy rode one of the newly invented 'boneshaker' bicycles. He complained of headaches to his father, Dunlop, who then invented the pneumatic tire. The increased comfort made cycling highly popular, leading to a massive increase in demand for rubber up to and around the turn of the century.

In the 19th century Belgium was a new nation, surrounded on all sides by European colonial superpowers: the Netherlands, France, Britain and Germany. King Leopold II recognised that if the new nation was to survive it must, like it's powerful neighbours, exploit a colony and engaged the famous adventurer Henry Morton Stanley, also funded by newspapers, to explore the Congo river.

King Leopold II claimed possession of the Congo and began harvesting rubber to supply the bicycle craze. Under his rule, in one of the worst atrocities in history, the population was halved, by around 10 million in 40 years between 1880 and 1920⁸. Whole villages were massacred at a time. People were chained, subjected to relentless forced labour, brutally punished, shot at for sport, mutilated, tortured, starved and murdered.

Most Europeans and Americans enjoying their bicycles were unaware of the atrocities in the Congo, believing propaganda that King Leopold II was bringing the benefits of civilisation to the Congo. While increased information enabled King Leopold II to expand political and economic power into the Congo consumers were isolated from information about the source of bicycle tires.

A young clerk, Edmund Dene Morel, was employed to work on the books related to shipping between the Congo and Belgium. He noticed a discrepancy between imports and exports, "Of the imports going into the Congo something like 80% consisted of articles which were remote from trade purposes. Yet, the Congo was exporting increasing quantities of rubber and ivory

plenty of sheep... The gains from trade are represented by the increase in consumption of both goods that each obtains."pp54-55 McTaggart, Douglas et al *Economics* Addison-Wesley Publishers Ltd, Sydney, 1992.

7 p12 (chap II) Roberts, Lewis *The Marchants Map of Commerce (sic)* London, 1638 facsimile published by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd. 0.2. Voorburgwal 85, Amsterdam, 1974.

8 p233 Hochschild, Adam *King Leopold's Ghost* Mariner Books, Boston, 1999

for which, on the face of the import statistics, the natives were getting nothing or next to nothing. How, then, was this rubber and ivory being acquired? Certainly not by commercial dealing. Nothing was going in to pay for what was coming out."⁹

Morel had experience as a journalist, and initiated a mass public awareness campaign that brought King Leopold II's crime to the attention of the world and ended his 'ownership' of the Congo. Nobody wanted to ride bicycles at such a cost.

Almost everything we do in modern society is dependent on tires – driving to work, trucking our food to supermarkets, almost everything that is traded. The design of our cities is because of vehicles that use rubber tires. This is an important part of the history of how we came to be as we are today, yet many are still unaware of what happened in the Congo, and so unaware of the history of what controls us every day. As Walter Benjamin noted, the effortlessness or comfort that technology builds into products (eg: the comfort of pneumatic tires) further avoids us considering them or even noticing they exist¹⁰ (until they go flat). The comfort of technology and loss of information through the chain of supply and production isolates individuals from the sources and consequences of, and the history of their daily activity. This isolation can be overcome but it requires active investigation and a campaign of broadcasting.

A MISSION IN AUSTRALIA

The diaries of missionaries at the Wellington valley mission (1832-1844)¹¹ provide a valuable insight into the early history of British colonisation in Australia and the Wiradjuri people.

The missionaries' diaries show a long and protracted struggle to change the daily habits and beliefs of the aboriginal people to convert them to Christianity and to working for salary. The traditional daily activities of Wiradjuri people observed by the missionaries included getting food whenever it was needed (eg: 'opossum', 'native cabbage' and grubs), stripping bark for bedding, initiation ceremonies, marriages and corroborees.

Over many years the missionaries offered gifts of food and blankets and little by little expecting work in return. They progressed to refusing to offer gifts until work had been done. Some people lodged at the mission and dormitory rooms were established for boys and girls. Conflicts often arose when children at the mission came of age and they ran away or were rescued by older aboriginal people for initiation ceremonies or marriage.

By the end of the 19th century British colonisation and immigration had expanded throughout the Australian continent. The Queensland settlement of Cherbourg provides a concentrated example typifying historical accounts. Aboriginal people were moved from traditional lands to the settlement at Cherbourg. Speaking different languages younger aboriginal people spoke

9 p180 *ibid*

10 p176 Benjamin, Walter *Illuminations* Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1968

11 Carey, Hilary & Roberts David A. (eds) *Wellington Valley Project*, <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/wvp/> (accessed 2010)

English as a common language and traditional thought became less relevant away from the land it pertained to and because of the new structure of daily life.

The following story from the Djabugay people from North Queensland is an example of the sort of knowledge that would be lost at Cherbourg: Gudju-Gudju rose from the sea covered in nautilus shells and, stopping at specific places on the way, went up Barron Gorge to exchange the shells for dilly bags. He was attacked by greedy bird men and parts of his body strewn across the land which became the hills and other features of the landscape.¹² This story records trading practices and in its relation to the landscape, the trade routes to be followed. Stories like this, as part of a social system work as a sort of algorithm, triggering activities in daily life – ie: when to take nautilus shells up the river to trade and where. As Taussig puts it "The telling of the story is a sort of necessary mediation between concept and practice that ensures the reproduction of the everyday world."¹³ The aboriginal people's 'story' was being forcibly replaced with the British 'story' of money, salary, specialised employment and so on.

At Cherbourg people were trained to be domestic servants and labourers and work began at an early age. "Initially, boys as young as twelve were recruited and girls at thirteen. By the 1920's when an extra year of schooling was regarded as useful, male inmates started to work at thirteen and females at fourteen."¹⁴ It would have been around this age at the Wellington Valley mission that aboriginal people would reclaim their children for initiation and marriage. When a governor visited the settlement and noted that many of the children were white "... he was informed that the problem was a result sending girls out to work, 95 per cent of whom returned either about to have a child or who have had a child, the father of which [was] a white man."¹⁵ In short, traditional initiation ceremonies and marriage were replaced by commencing salaried employment and rape.

People employed through Cherbourg were paid wages but, 'for their own protection', these wages were administered by the government and the settlement's bureaucracy. The work they did and the places they were allowed to live were closely governed - what skills they would learn, what food they ate and what clothes they wore. Uncooperative behaviour would be met with punishment ranging from withholding supply of goods to being sent to the notorious prison island, Palm Island.

In this transition there was a concerted and consistent effort across the span of more than a century to erase traditional beliefs and customs and replace them with a specialised servile work for salary with the ostensible justification that this was the only way people could survive in the modern world.

PEONAGE IN THE AMAZON

12 p5-6 Bottoms, Timothy *Djabugay Country, An Aboriginal History Of Tropical North Queensland* Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999

13 p107 Taussig, Michael *Shamanism, A Study in Colonialism, and Terror and the Wild Man Healing* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987

14 p129 Blake, Thom *A Dumping Ground A History Of The Cherbourg Settlement* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2001

15 133 *ibid*

The process of coercion into slavery, or wage slavery, by commencing with gift giving and later demanding payment and ultimately labour, is a feature of colonial contact that also occurred in the Americas. Atrocities committed in the Amazon in the harvesting of rubber were similar to those in the Congo. After slavery was outlawed in Brazil and Peru a system of debt known as 'péonage' was used to enslave indigenous people and immigrants hoping to make money out of the rubber trade.

A British accountant Joseph Woodroffe, hoping to profit from the late 19th century rubber boom took on a position in the upper Amazon, but when he arrived his employer went bust. Through a series of misfortunes he himself became a péon - a rubber harvesting slave. Woodroffe explained the péonage system:

"In the beginning the Indians received payments of food, clothes, sewing machines, firearms, ammunition, and even musical instruments, of which due note was taken, for this needless extravagance was often encouraged in order that their value could run up huge bills, comparatively speaking, to be paid for in rubber by the unfortunate Indians later on. This they were unable to do and were thus reduced to a state of péonage as a result."¹⁶

"For these and other reasons, generally due to waste and needless expenditure, nearly the whole of the Amazon seringals [wild rubber tapping areas] are mortgaged to commercial houses in Manáos, Pará, and the smaller towns, the proprietor relying upon the mortgages for his merchandise and, as a rule, binding them down to deliver to him alone..."¹⁷

Woodroffe fails to recognise that it is not just individual workers who are sucked into harvesting rubber to pay off debts. His recommendations on economic policy show how everyone, from the poorest péon to the largest empire in the world, can be sucked into the spiral of commodity exploitation to pay off debts:

"...estimated the annual cost of the War [WWI] to the six leading nations engaged in it as being about £9,147,000,000, made up of £4,870,900,000 for Great Britain and her Allies, and £4,277,000,000 for Germany and Austria, as follows:-... For these reasons it would, therefore, be as foolish for this country and her Allies, especially France, to let such a chance pass them by as Brazil will offer directly the War is over..."¹⁸

The case of péonage demonstrates clearly that being paid salary does not necessarily liberate people from slavery. In some cases it is simply a linguistic pretence. It enables us to ask – how free, as salary earners, are we? Debt drives businesses and nations and constrains individuals to work and to obedience. Power and freedom are always situated and relative - if a person acknowledges debt they are not in a good strategic position, they are constrained to

16 p28 Woodroffe, Joseph Froude *The Upper Reaches of the Amazon* London: Methuen, 1914.

www.archive.org/details/rsupperreachesof00wooduoft (accessed 2010)

17 p49 ibid

18 ppxix-xx ibid

make normative choices and be merely useful. Most salary earners are in owe debts as mortgages or rent and while they are free to quit or change jobs, they must remain employable or risk losing their family's home, the ability to feed them and the respect of the community.

Rather than owing our labour directly to an owner or 'employer' our obligations to work are abstracted through a debt system. The amount we work, what sort of work we do, decisions about where we live, what car we drive, the necessity of driving a car, what skills we attain, what sort of education our children get, whether we go out on the weekend or treat ourselves to an iceblock today are all governed by the question, 'Will I have enough money?' ie: the debt system.

In *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism* in South America Taussig provides an account of the negotiation of traditional mythology and capitalist mythology among Bolivian tin miners. He notes that, "The working class has not as yet acquired the tradition or education that looks upon capitalism as a self-evident law of nature."¹⁹ Although they work in the mine as a consequence of commodity trade and global demand for metal, the daily lives of the miners are steeped in rituals and mythology that seem fantastic to people from fully modernised societies, such as making offerings of blood and chants to the spirit of the mines to avoid death.²⁰ "Moreover, the miners are very far from decreeing their state as a natural one: instead, they see it as totally abnormal. 'Every entry into the mines,' says the miner Juan Rojas, 'is like a burial. And every leaving into fresh air is like a rebirth.'"²¹ Taussig suggests this is a way of regaining control over a situation they have no control over. It is also a way of claiming independence by controlling the interpretation of events that have been imposed upon them. "The religion of the oppressed can assuage that oppression and adapt people to it, but it can also provide resistance to that oppression."²²

For those who benefit from a belief system, who do not see its contradictions first hand, for who the anticipated moral outcomes seem a reality, that belief system is unproblematic and there is no need to call it into question, so it becomes assumed as a natural law. It makes sense that a belief system, such as those surrounding trade and salary, would be rejected when it does not deliver on its promises and is manifestly full of false prophecies. When it is clear that commodity trade does not increase the common wealth it makes sense that people would retain or develop some other interpretation and belief.

JAPANESE MODERNISATION, IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AMERICA AND THE CONQUEST OF MALAYSIA

Woodroffe hoped to bring an end to péonage through a eugenics plan of breeding acclimatised indigenous Amazonians with hard working Japanese immigrants to create the ideal work force for plantation rubber rather than wild rubber. Woodroffe hoped this would

19 p226 Taussig, Michael T. *The Devil And Commodity Fetishism In South America* The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1980

20 p255 ibid

21 p266 ibid

22 p266 ibid

have the added advantage of alleviating overpopulation in Japan which was leading to starvation – another case of international trade being of mutual benefit.

Japanese companies, subsidised by the government to cope with unemployment, did organise immigration to Brazil, Peru and other parts of South America firstly as plantation and railroad labour and later to buy farms. Between 1921 and 1933 the Japanese government made a good investment for the nation – money sent home was roughly double the amount of subsidy.²³ Contrary to Woodroffe's hopes, 1st generation Japanese communities remained relatively self contained and retained a strong sense of Japanese identity.²⁴ Ultimately, it was not British investment in Brazil and Japanese immigration that ended péonage or humanitarianism but British rubber plantations in Malaysia which outcompeted the Brazilian rubber industry.

At this time Japan was nearing the end of the rapid transition from isolationism to modernisation of the Meiji era (1868 – 1912). The story of Mitsubishi²⁵ characterises this change from isolation and tradition to Japan becoming a major economic and political superpower. Yataro Iwasaki was a peasant who purchased Samurai status. Despite his rural background he forged relationships with influential political figures in the city. During the Meiji restoration the government set up and sold model companies and Iwasaki was able to purchase a major shipping company. With government support Mitsubishi grew into a major zaibatsu controlling 80% of Japanese shipping. The other zaibatsu's dependence on shipping meant Mitsubishi grew increasingly powerful, diversifying into banking, mining, real estate, ship building and trading. The close relationship with government meant Mitsubishi won contracts to build warships and aircraft that enabled the success of Japan's colonial ambitions up to the end of World War II. Mitsubishi is now a highly diversified global corporation, a major employer of salary earners around the world and in a single month Mitsubishi motors' produces 106,225 automobiles.²⁶

23 pp461-462 Tigner, James L *Japanese Immigration into Latin America: A Survey* in *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Miami, 1981, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/165454> Accessed 2011

24 Amemiya, Kozy K *Being "Japanese" in Brazil and Okinawa* Occasional Paper No. 13: May 1998, Japan Policy Research Institute, University of San Francisco, 1998, <http://www.jpri.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op13.html> accessed 2011

25 Derdak, Thomas (ed) *International Directory of Company Histories Volume 1* St James Press, Chicago, 1988

26 pp502-504 Anon *Mitsubishi Motors Announces Production, Sales and Export Figures for January 2011* Tokyo, February 25, 2011, http://www.mitsubishi-motors.com/publish/pressrelease_en/ir/2011/news/detail0781.html accessed 2011

These changes of the Meiji era required the migration of labour from rural areas to industrialised cities. Peasants who once stayed in their ancestral homes increasingly sold land²⁷ and youths of poor families, attracted by the possibility of wealth, increasingly moved to the city to work in factories. To encourage the change the Japanese government attempted to engineer changes to customs and traditions. "In the early 1870's such traditions as nakedness, wild dances at the mid-summer *o-bon* festival, fox worship, topknots, and horse races were forbidden as part of the 'civilization and enlightenment' of the provinces. In the early 1880s custom reform was advocated by private organisations like the 'haircut clubs' formed in Tokyo to bring feminine coiffures into the Western mode... Provincial officials thus encouraged them [clocks], landlords sometimes mounted them on the gable ends of their houses to make tenants aware of the time as they worked in the fields." ²⁸

Modernisation was so rapid that old traditions were still well within living memory and the transition was hotly debated. One employment guide advocating the quest for financial success and social standing in the cities said:

"But do not worry; middle school graduates do not end up as patrolmen. They become such things as inspectors, the 'imperial princes' of the police force. Being a patrolman, however, is the first step, like going to school.... Think of it as going to school while earning a salary."²⁹

Against this, we have, "...commentators accused those who, like the Peach Boy, seemed to forget the greater good of village and empire of an unbecoming 'ordinariness' (*heibonshugi*). For 'rather than loving their nation, they think it more important to love money and their families'..."³⁰

This makes it clear that the transition to salary is not simply a pragmatic concern related to wealth and not simply a liberation from servitude but occurs in concert with a change in the customs, traditions, stories, aesthetics and morality, the whole culture, surrounding everyday life – from pursuing wealth in factories to new hairstyles. Seasonal festivals were replaced with watching clocks.

By WWII Japan's global influence was competing with the major European world powers and the United States. Military success in WWII depended on the Blitzkrieg technique – high speed strikes on strategic positions. The invention of the pneumatic bicycle tire had led to widespread use of bicycles which led to better roads, which made automobiles viable. Aeroplanes and electronics also depended on rubber. Within a few months after officially entering WWII Japan invaded Malaysia and, riding commandeered bicycles, the Japanese army very swiftly conquered the whole of Malaysia and Singapore. Again we can see both

27 p182 Gluck, Carol *Japan's Modern Myths, Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1985

28 p184 *ibid*

29 p207 *ibid*

30 p209 *ibid*

the wide ranging connections across history and the world (Congo, Britain, Japan, Malaysia etc) and a self reinforcing feedback loop of political expansion, trade and technology – to be successful in war, rubber was needed, so war was made to conquer the world's major rubber producing region.

COMMODITIES, SLAVERY AND SALARY TODAY

Around the turn of the 20th Century journalists and human rights activists reported that slave trading still continued in West Africa between Angola and the islands of Principe and Sao Thome to harvest cocoa.³¹ The chocolate manufacturer Cadbury Brothers initiated collaboration with their competitors in Europe to boycott chocolate originating from slave labour.

100 years later, around the turn of the 21st Century journalists and human rights activists reported that child slaves were being used in harvesting cocoa beans in the Ivory Coast. Cadbury announced it sought international support to end the slave labour in the chocolate industry.³²

Morel, in his expose of abuses in Africa, wrote "The chocolate manufacturers of the world bought the raw material on the open market. They had no more to do with the methods of its production than the manufacturers of rubber tires or toys, who bought Congo rubber on the open market had to do with the system under which rubber was produced in the Congo."³³

Similarly in the more recent case it, since cocoa beans were pooled and sorted according to quality standards it was difficult to trace any to their source, yet, "Given that Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) produces 43 per cent of the world's cocoa you could say there is a 43 per cent chance your favourite chocolate bar has some beans produced by child slaves..."³⁴

More recently, an article appeared in *The New Statesman*³⁵ discussing mining minerals in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Cassiterite and coltan are a rare but essential part of the manufacture of electrical components. Booms in consumer electronics, such as

31 p151 Morel, E.D. *The Black Man's Burden* Metro Books, Inc, Northbrook, Ill, 1972

32 Numerous articles appeared around this time, eg: *Cadbury seeks end to child slavery* BBC News, Tuesday, 17 April, 2001
<http://cdnedge.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/1282774.stm>

33 p151 op cit, Morel.

34 Egan, Carmel *Bitter life of chocolate's child slaves* The Age, Nov 4, 2007 <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2007/11/03/1193619205911.html>

35 Patrikarakos, David *Deliver Us From Evil* in *New Statesman*, London, Nov 29, 2010

console games³⁶, fuelled demand for this substance. One of the few places the rare mineral is found is in Democratic Republic of the Congo, bordering Uganda. The high price of the mineral has led to local factional armies, including child soldiers, to mine and extort the mineral. While this was reported in the news, again, few people are aware that child soldiers are murdering their competition to mine materials needed to produce electronic equipment that, among other things, enables children to play console shooter games.

It seems that in contrast to the ideal of a natural tendency to common wealth there is a tendency for abuses of labour, from virtual to outright slavery, to recur as part of commodity trade. But now it is hard to find a single master, such as King Leopold II to blame. Information is obscured through the supply chain from harvesting or mining, through various stages of stockpiling, grading, transporting, manufacturing and branding. It requires conscientious investigation and intervention to restore and broadcast this information. By finding a way to increase information flow along the steps of production, by telling more stories about commodity sources, this tendency could be held in check.

CONCLUSION

We are imbedded in a global cybernetic control system that governs our everyday movements and on which we are dependant for our basic sustenance and shelter. As it expands and connections of causation and information increase, information is lost along the chain and we remain ignorant of the source of the products we consume and the forces that control us. But we are not simply passive components in this system, we can investigate, gather and broadcast information, and though it might be difficult, feedback to the system and correct it.

Historically, the mutually reinforcing expansion of political power, trade, technology and information has brought people with different cultural systems into contact and the results are sometimes catastrophic. As money catalyses the system, including political power, typically money mythology replaces or fuses with traditional mythology as the governing factor of daily activity. Where the benefits of the new system are clearly not realised, traditional systems are retained and adapted as a form of resistance. The moral beliefs about the system - that trade enhances common wealth and that salary is liberating all too often turn out to be false in reality. However, belief in these morals sometimes motivates individuals to correct the system.

As with the Djabugay story governing trade in nautilus shells, so too the debt system and technological objects around us govern daily activity. Mythology does not simply encode an algorithm for coordinating human action in the incumbent system. It is a way of adapting to systemic changes and changing the system. Mythologies can be modified, old ones restored, new ones blended or discarded. Being aware of differing mythologies illuminates the assumptions of the existing mythology, usually assumed to be 'natural law', making it more easily adjustable when there are problems.

While information quantity is increased and its flow is part of the web of expansion processes, at a localised level, for the individual, it leads to information impoverishment. Individuals lose sight of where what they consume comes from, where what the produce goes, and of what it is that controls their daily behaviour. Through specialisation, distance across space and time in supply chains, homogenisation of products, ease of use of technology and the abstractions of language and money, salary earners are detached from the

36 *ibid.*

origins of everyday objects that surround them, their history, the forces that control their daily movements, and connections to land and traditions.

Do we drive the car to work, or does the car drive us to work? The cyborg of the future is not the one we imagine where human agency is extended and enhanced by connection to machines. It is a sprawling cybernetic web of mutually reinforcing information, trade, politics and technological processes within which we are components with limited localised agency and information. We have always been part of such social systems, but they have grown in complexity and extension beyond our capacity to understand from any one point within it how it functions as a whole. Yet we are not passive automatons – with effort and investigation we can restore and broadcast information, feeding back to the whole.

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The Impact of Politics in the Development of Contemporary African and Palestinian Literatures

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Topic: Cultural studies

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the influence of politics as a shaping factor on African and Palestinian literature from the 20th century onwards. Following the decolonizations in African countries and Palestine, a very rich cannon of writings were produced and are still being produced by the writers of these continents about issues such as empire, colony, genocide, oppression, tyranny, race and discrimination. Specifically in this paper, these topics are highlighted in the works of African writers such as J.M Coetzee, Ngughi wa Thiong'o and Palestinian writers like Edward W. Said and Ghassan Kanafani. In conclusion, the common points touched upon by these authors are comparatively evaluated depending on the geographical and political differences of the countries and to what extent politics became influential in the literatures of those continents.

Keywords: Politics and contemporary African and Palestinian literature, neocolonialism and African literature, colonization and dispossession in Said and Kanafani.

Introduction

Literature as defined by Chijioke Uwasomba, "is concerned with humankind and human life in its entirety. This includes everything that impinges on human life; it covers every aspect of experience and aspirations, politics inclusive." (97) As seen in this definition, in the composition of contemporary world literature, social and political influences have had a shaping role. Before examining these authors and the reflection of these political issues into literature, it is necessary to know about political developments in the world because today's literature has been composed by the recent past.

With geographical discoveries, the Americas were invaded by the Spanish, Portuguese, English, Africa by the Dutch, British and other European colonizers.¹ This process of colonization continued until the 20th century, and with the 20th century, it took a new form; neocolonialism which means the political control in an indirect way of a poorer country by a wealthier and more powerful one. In the twentieth century, the colonized began to gain their independence, and founded their own states; however neocolonialism still continued.

During the 20th century, the number of literary works involving politics was extremely high because this century witnessed two world wars and the decolonizations of many African and Asian states. Therefore, writers, mainly coming from these parts of the world, chose a way of

¹ Philips, Wolny. *Colonialism: A Primary History Sources Analyses*. (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2005) 7-14.

expressing the political events and social structures and changes in their countries. Although African countries gained their independence, the discussions about the rule and applications of the colonizer did not end, and the colonization of Palestine is still continuing. The writers of these colonial countries began to make their countries' and their people's voice and thoughts more laudable through writing. These intellectuals turned to evaluate and discuss what was done to their country and people by the colonizers, and they sought ways of deconstructing the images in the colonizers' and the world's eye. This would be realized by their writings. For these reasons, there are lots of African, Asian and American writers, novelists and playwrights who reevaluate and rethink the colonial policies of the past and present so they are to some extent, a part of political events and developments, and their interpreters.

This paper particularly concentrates on contemporary African and Asian writers who have produced famous and awarded books that involve political and social issues. Particularly for contemporary African literature, Amuta Chidi says that "... writers and their works are implicated in the larger struggles which define political life in wider society." (58) Lastly, the impacts of politics and politics-literature relations in the works of these authors are comparatively evaluated depending on the geographical and political differences of the countries.

1.1 The Impact of South African Politics on J. M. Coetzee

Coetzee is a novelist who has been critical of the policies pursued by the colonizers in the twentieth century. Many of his novels take their theme from the political events in the history of South Africa. He is especially interested in apartheid and unacceptable British and Dutch colonial policies in the region such as displacing the natives and torturing them.

The apartheid policy of the South African government especially disturbed Coetzee and many other South African writers. In many of his novels such as *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Life and Times of Michael K*. Coetzee criticized the great racial discrimination policy.

Waiting for the Barbarians is a novel that centers around the situations and difficulties of the African people although in the novel Coetzee does never directly mentions the names of the place and community. Yet in an indirect way, he criticizes the South African government for serving the aims of previous colonizing forces such as the British and Dutch and other European colonizers. The natives are racially degraded and called "barbarians" and they were subjected to severe racial discrimination by the South African government itself as it was done by the European colonizers in their colonies.

This racial discrimination in South Africa is severely criticized because for Coetzee it is very oppressive and pitiless. Since Coetzee is aware that this policy belongs to the former colonizers and not to the Africans themselves, Coetzee chooses his characters among the ruling officials of previous colonizers, like colonels and magistrates and soldiers. The representatives of the Empire like Colonel Joll and his henchman Mandel are quite merciless towards the native people of South Africa. The houses of these people are pillaged and their wives are raped as the objective observer of the book, the Magistrate narrates in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. (Coetzee 99) Colonel and his soldiers put those native people in prison without questioning whether they were criminal or not. And once Joll and his soldiers brought lots of people living by the river, believing that they were plotting against the Empire. Throughout the novel, the Empire tried to find its enemies and to obliterate them. Coetzee knows Western Empires' tyrannies and pitiless rule so he wants to make his reader aware of these developments.

There is a great game in the region played by the white Europeans, this great game is being realized by the apartheid policy, which denies the South Africans rights and denies them the ability to be equal with their white masters and bans them to wander on the land of the whites except from being a hired worker. (Prior 74) Thus the colonial power secures its place in the region and is free to exploit both the natural and human sources of the region. While applying this policy the indigenous people of the land are exploited, abused, tortured, and killed. After apartheid, South Africans were left unemployed and poorer and in a miserable situation (Prior 78) while the whites in the area became wealthier.

In his another novel, *Life and Times of Michael K*. Coetzee again criticizes the political rule at the time of apartheid in South Africa. The setting of the novel is, South Africa because this time Coetzee behaves more courageously and gives the name of the place which is burned by apartheid. This novel raises the issues of compartmentalization of the society. Everywhere there are camps, and African people have to live in one of these camps; they cannot go out from these camps and they have to work in the places where they are sent. For instance, the protagonist character, Michael K and many others have to work on railway line that was ruined, but K refuses and the camps officials tell him that he has to work or he can't eat. K still doesn't want to work, yet he is forced to. Here Coetzee reveals how the people of South Africa are imprisoned in camps. The novel tells about what happened in the region and how the Africans were influenced. Their freedom was taken away and the country was like a big slave.

In brief, these two novels of Coetzee take their topic from political and historical events, and Coetzee employs them in a cunning way to criticize wrongdoings of the colonizer and its representative. These two novels both focus on and criticize political events and political actors of these events in a setting where those problems were lived.

1.2 Ngugi and Kenyan Politics

Ngugi, one of the most famous writers of contemporary Kenyan and world literature, includes political issues and themes in his works. He is a persistent critic of colonialism and neocolonialism, so most of his inspiration comes from the colonial past of his country. As James Ogude observes

Ngugi has been most poignant in his engagement with other disciplines and the discursive practices emanating from the West. Narrative, particularly novel, has tended to provide Ngugi with the space to imagine Africa's history which he believes had been repressed by colonialism. Ngugi has insisted, correctly, that his writing is very much part of Kenya's (and by implication Africa's) historiography and the theorising of its political economy.(2)

Since he is familiar with the colonial history of his country, he knows the origins of the problems Kenya had in the near past and it has today. Ngugi's answer to a question about his themes clarifies why he writes about political issues. In a conversation made by Venkat Rao D., Venkat asks Ngugi why he incessantly "deal with the same or similar themes which are concerned with education, religion, political system and etc." Ngugi answers:

The themes are created by historical situation in Africa- colonialism and resistance against colonialism are persistent themes; in the present neocolonialisms- they are constant themes, part of history against which I am writing. (163)

His own experiences also play a great part in his political writing style. For instance, after the publication of his *Devil on the Cross*, the Moi dictatorship in Kenya sent him to exile to England and then USA for twenty years. Because of his next novel, *Matigari* published in 1986, Ngugi was about to be arrested but then the dictatorship decided to arrest this nook instead of

Ngugi. All of its copies were collected and it was forbidden for ten years.² The Kenyan government attempted to assassinate him several times. He and his wife were subjected to attacks by the existing regime. (Gikandi165) In spite of all of these pressures, Ngugi incessantly wrote about the negativities in his country and in its government. He wrote many books and is still writing about political and social issues without succumbing to the pressures.

In his early works he wrote more about the salvation of Kenya, for instance in *Weep Not Child*, *The River Between* and *The Grain of Wheat*, later he tended to focus more on the neocolonial situation of his country where the dictator leaders coming after the British colonizer, abused their authority and power for their own and the former colonizer's interests though they were supposed to work for the welfare of their people and the provision of justice in the country. In almost all of his works, Ngugi writes about political events as if he were the country's political historian. For instance, in his *Weep Not Child*, he goes back to the recent colonial history of Kenya. He focuses on the detrimental effects of colonialism and imperialism by also referring to the Mao Mao uprisings.

In his *The River Between*, Ngugi tells story of the separation of two villages in Kenya the coming of the beginning of separation between the Kenyans is illustrated. So Ngugi warns the Kenyans against the civil dangers coming from the white men. One of his major characters, Chege father to Waiyaki, who has the mission of political rehabilitation of his land, advises his son:

Now, listen my son. Listen carefully, for this is the ancient prophecy...I could not do more. When the white man came and fixed himself in Siriana, I warned all the people. But they laughed at me. Maybe I was hasty. Perhaps I was not the one. Mugo often said you could not cut the butterflies with a panga. You could not spear them until you learnt and knew their ways and movement. Then you could trap, you could fight back. Before he died he whispered to his son the prophecy, the ancient prophecy: "Salvation shall come from the hills. From the blood that flows in me, I say from the same tree, a son shall rise. And his duty shall be to lead and save the people!" (20)

Ngugi in these words, criticizes both his own people who are not alert to the white danger and the colonization. But in the following lines, he shows his hope for the future believing that his land will be cleared of the colonizer by the natives and the peasants. Towards the end of the book Ngugi explicitly gives his message of uniting against the common enemy through shedding light on the movements and action in the hills. His protagonist and savior, Waiyaki makes plans to unify the people. He comes up with remedies like "education, unity and political freedom." (Ngugi wa Thiongo 143) Thus, Ngugi shows how to get rid of colonization and become a free unified country, which can all be put under political writing style.

After these books, his books became more political, and critical of the Kenyan government such as *Devil on the Cross*, *Petals of Blood* and one of his latests novels *Wizard of the Crow* come. (Gikandi 167) In these novels as he did in the previous ones, Ngugi makes use of metaphors for his country and its leaders and the colonizers.

Petals of Blood deals with neo-colonialism, exploitation of the country's sources and people and social injustice resulting from dictatorial rule and oppression. So, this book as Eustace Palmer articulates, "probes the history of the heroic struggles of the people of Kenya, from pre-colonial times to the present day, within a comprehensive cultural perspective which embraces

² "Ngugi Wa Thiongo: A Profile of a Literary and Social Activist." 26 Dec. 2010.

<<http://www.ngugiwathiongo.com/bio/bio-home.htm>>.

the political, religious, economic and social life of Kenya.” (Uwasomba 99) Again in this book, Ngugi criticizes the dictatorial rule and its representatives because they have turned Ilmorg, a village in the novel into a place where famine is common. For the first time in the novel, there occurs a drought in Ilmorg, and the authority sent by the central government, Nderi seeks only his own interest instead of helping people recover this trouble. In this book, as Uwasomba claims “Ngugi uses his art to challenge the *status quo*.” (Uwasomba 101) Therefore, similar to Ngugi’s other novels, this is a highly political and critical novel.

Unlike *Petals of Blood*, *Devil on the Cross* is also a very political and provocative novel that handles the struggles between the peasants, workers and the bourgeoisie, which proves that Ngugi comes closer to socialism. Throughout the novel there are many examples of this political and provocative approach. For instance, there are many stanzas that call people for action in the novel, the words of the provocative song are as such:

Come one and all,
And behold the wonderful sight
Of us chasing away the Devil
And all his disciples!
Come one and all! (Ngugi wa Thiongo 93)

Here the narrator wants to unite people (peasants, workers) against the common enemy, the Devil which represents the merciless bourgeoisie and unfair rule. In another place, as he does in his many other novels, Ngugi mentions socialism, “the true African socialism”, which he supports. (86) According to Uwasomba, each character represents a class. For him, “Muturi, Wangari, and Gaturiri represent the peasants and workers”, on the other hand, “Gitutu Wa Gataaguru, Kihahuu and Muirevi stand for the bourgeoisie.” (104)

Wizard of the Crow is one of Ngugi’s recent novels in which he handles political issues in a sly and humorous way. This time Kenya and the Kenyans do not suffer from the colonizer directly, but from their own leaders and their policies which afflict the Kenyans. Although Kenya is an independent country, the rule of it is still in the indirect control of the colonizer through the dictators. Ngugi is quite disturbed by this situation and he uses his pen to reveal the political corruption of the leaders of his country. While doing so, he particularly uses metaphors since there is still pressure on the writers and intellectuals in Kenya, and he sets his novel in an unnamed African country, which is a similar characteristic to Coetzee whose *Waiting for the Barbarians* is set in an unnamed place. This pressure is expressed in the words a minister in an imaginary land, Abruria, Sikiokuu who says “No one is ever convicted for asking questions.” (Ngugi wa Thiongo 409) After he says this, the mirror in the hand of the protagonist, Kamiti who uses it as a means to read the inner thoughts and civic policies of people, is sharply shaken, which means that Sikiokuu tells a big lie. Ngugi ironically makes the mirror at Kamiti’s hand be shaken. In fact, he means that there is a great oppression on anybody who questions the existing political system and rulers of the country. The novels direct its arrows of criticism to Kenyan leaders and dictators. As Simon Gikandi states “this leader is notorious for his suppression of free speech.” (159) The novel is about the long-lasting struggle between the wizard and the his associates and sets in an imaginary “Free Republic of Abruria” and it is ruled by one man named “ruler” which are all symbolic. Ngugi, by Abruria means Kenya; he both criticizes the dictatorship in Kenya and desires a Kenya totally independent, and by the “ruler” he means that the present government which is acting as dictatorially. Under all circumstances, Kenya has not been recovered from its old illnesses and new ones have been added to them. His aim is to let the country free of its shackles from dictators and neo-imperialists and thus liberate Kenya and its people. He also

expresses his expectation from the future political leaders by writing on what is corrupted and how it can be healed. Simon's comment on this book is notable. He claims that

Ngugi's novel engages with the nasty politics of this period using irony and satire to deconstruct the demon of power that ranged from its native land, winking to some of his readers- the insiders- as he unites the cords of power and unpeels the poison apple of politics. (Gikandi 165)

Therefore if the reader goes beyond the surface meaning of the text he can view the imprint of Kenyan politics and history.

1.3 Palestinian Issues in Ghassan Kanafani and E. Said

The literature of the Middle East is one of the most contemporary and vivid example that demonstrate the impact of politics on contemporary literature. There are lots of contemporary authors in this part of the world who tackled political issues in their works. Ghassan Kanafani, a Palestinian writer and activist, and Edward Said, a Palestinian literary theorist and advocate for Palestine rights are two of them. Both of them closely interested with the political developments and issues in Palestine and they advocated Palestinian cause in the region. In different ways, they expressed their views and support for Palestine and the Palestinians who began to suffer more and more after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Kanafani was personally involved in this political struggle between the Palestine and Israel. He was forced to leave where he was born with his family in 1948 to Lebanon and then to Syria. His niece was killed in a car bomb explosion.³ These are all what influenced his writing, so he wrote about the Palestinian cause and how Palestine can be saved from massacre and invasion. Besides, he worked as an editor-in chief of Al-Muharrir between 1963-1967, the Narresist daily and he was one of the founders of a political organization named Popular Front for Liberation of Palesine, PDLF. (Kilpatrick 15)

Almost all of Kanafani's works relate to the issue of Palestine and Palestinians. As Hilary Kilpartick states, Kanafani was committed to Palestinian cause and he used his art for this cause. (17) Particularly *Men in the Sun and Other Palestinian Stories*, Kanafani criticizes both the Jewish government and its siege, oppression, torture and killing, and the Palestinians who do not struggle enough against the Jews according to him. In *Men in the Sun* Kanafani articulates the impotence of three Palestinians who struggle to survive in their homeland. The major characters, the oldest Abu Qais, the middle aged Assad and the youngest Marwan try to go to Kuwait to earn and feed their families but they can't do it because they die on the way since they travel in a water tank under the burning sun. Seeing his customers dead, the smuggler asks "Why didn't you knock on the sides of the tank?, Why didn't you say anything? Why?" (Kanafani 74) Kanafani questions the political relations between Palestine and Israel by making use of metaphors. He discusses the issues of oppression and invasion by the Israeli government. The Palestinians are under a strict siege and they can't act freely, this is why these men travel in a water tank. With the questions above Kanafani criticizes the policies of Israel because Israel kills lots of people if there comes a little resistance from the Palestinians. So the Palestinians are confined between living under very heavy conditions under Israel siege and escaping from the country to somewhere else to bring food to their home. If they stay in their country, they can't care for their families but if they want to go to a neighbouring or another country to work they can't pass

³ [Kanafani Home page](http://www.ghassankanafani.com/indexen.html) 26 Dec. 2010. <<http://www.ghassankanafani.com/indexen.html>>.

borders because of the Israelite occupation. Yet in each condition the Palestinians lose as it is seen in the novel.

His other book, *All That's Left to You* touches on the invasion of Palestine and dispossession of the Palestinians. It begins after the 1948 when the Israeli military occupied Jaffa, where the protagonist character, Hamid and his family live. Hamid's family is dispersed by this invasion because his father is killed by the Israeli soldiers and Hamid and his sister Maryam flee to Gaza leaving their mother back as she can't get on the boat. Later he always wants to find and see his mother and he sets out to find her. According to Ahmad Harb, Dean of Arts at Bir Zeit University, Palestine, Hamid is a "defeated, saddened and helpless" character. (68) It seems that these characteristics of him represent the whole Palestinians who look for their mother land, Palestine.

It does not seem that politics will counteract its impact on the literature of the Palestine because the Palestinian writers or writers from any nation in the world that is under occupation and oppression will most possibly write about the political issues and developments. What Kanafani did was this, and the case with Edward Said is similar to him.

Edward W. Said always focused on the political situation and developments in Palestine. His studying comparative literature provided him more chance to see the connection between culture, literature and politics or political history. In his *Culture and Imperialism*, he brings examples from many western literary classics to demonstrate the literary justification of imperial and colonial policies. Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* is one of them. For Said, in this novel, British colonial policies in the Caribbeans are supported and shown as something normal and necessary for trade. Thus as Said emphasizes, "Jane Austen affirms and repeats the geographical process of expansion involving trade, production and consumption that...guarantees the morality." (93) In the same novel, Said also shows the justification of outer control for somebody who is in need. Austen's major female character, Fanny is described weak and she "requires direction, patronage and outside authority that her own impoverished experience cannot provide." (85) In a bigger scope, this means a powerful European country can rule and mandate a weak country and its people. The colonization and rule of Palestine and other Middle Eastern countries, Africa and America set a meaningful example for the justification of this outer control.

Said was personally involved in a political action, and was a member of Palestine National Council. (Ascroft, Ahluwalia 38) Especially in *The Question of Palestine*, he shows the history of Arabs in Palestine, the conflicts between Arabs and Jews, how the Zionists invaded Palestine, how they justified their demand on Palestinian land and whom the land belonged in the history. What Said critically approaches is that while the boundaries of Israel was being determined, the indigenous people of the land were not taken into consideration. They were seen as barbarian, indolent and temporary settlers by the Zionists, which is a common characteristic and standpoint of almost all colonial and imperial policies. Since the state of Israel was established, they have fought against the Palestinians and Arabs to secure their place and still they are fighting only against the Palestinians who lack proper guns to reply. In brief, these political developments have drawn the attention of both the Palestinian and world writers. E. Said could not remain silent toward what was being done to his people and country. As Bill Ascroft and his colleague, Ahluwaila emphasize, "Edward Said throughout his life was committed to demanding permission to narrate the Palestinian story, a narration habitually undertaken by Israel and the United States."(133) In his *The Question of Palestine*, Said claims that, "the Arabs were always represented, never able to speak for themselves." (Said 25) Therefore, he undertook this mission to narrate Arabs, Palestinians and the Palestinian political life and past. He furthered his

thesis and puts forward that “Our presence on the political stage, as poets, writers, intellectuals, militants, has invigorated the entire Arab and Third World as none of its political ideologies has.” (234)

In his *Representations of the Intellectual*, Said mentions the importance of writing against power and imperialism. He asks “How does one speak truth? What truth? From whom and where?” (65) For him, the ability of author in resistance against power and imperialism is highly considerable and the author should speak out against injustice. (67) He does so in this and other books of him. He writes against power in his *Orientalism*, *Question of Palestine* and *Culture and Imperialism* as well. He constantly criticizes the imperial powers and the policies they followed in Asia and Africa. In essence, Said analyzed political occurrences in the history and their connection with literary works, and then he reflected what he thought about these matters.

Conclusion

Since the 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the most devastating political occurrences, conflicts, disagreements and wars, they played a crucial role in the development of contemporary world literature. All of these events have found reaction in the minds and works of intellectuals and writers especially in those of postcolonial writers. They wanted, and still want to maintain the words of their ancestors’ words and thoughts as Assia Djébar says in her *Algerian White* in which some intellectuals of a country are killed but their thoughts and views are told by the latter ones. (34) What South Africa and its indigenous people were subjected to by the European colonizers were not forgotten and ignored by latter generations. Coetzee and many other writers like Nadine Gordimer reflected on the history and political events and then wrote about them and today they are continuing on writing about them. Ngugi has been struggling for a completely independent and culturally rebuilt Kenya by writing about Kenyan politics and culture. He has followed the way of reconstructing African national culture and identity as well as political order and unjust rule through using his pen. Finally, Kanafani and E. Said made great efforts to liberate their country from the control of Israel although they could not do. Among these authors, Coetzee has a distinctive place because he does not originally come from a colonized country. He is white but the people he writes about his two books mentioned are black Africans. On the other hand, Ngugi is originally from Kenya, Kanafani from Palestine, Said from Palestine.

In essence, it can’t be said that all of these authors wrote completely political works, but one can argue that all of them, by benefitting from the expression power of literature, have tried to draw attention to the political and social problems in their countries and in the world directly or by implication as well as addressing politicians, political governments, and their rule. This paper has attempted to demonstrate how African and Palestinian literatures interwoven with culture and politics were composed as a result of political developments.

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Comparative studies on the collective learning processes involved in the establishment and operation of local museums in Thailand

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Comparative studies on the collective learning processes involved in the establishment and operation of local museums in Thailand

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ABSTRACT

The collective learning process for the establishment and operation of a local museum offered an effective mechanism for maintaining a community's cultural heritage. This case studies research examined and compared the variation and extent of three learning styles among the two types of the local museums operation; the community-dominant versus the external supporters-dominant. Three prominent learning styles commonly used by the community members in both types of museum establishment and operation process were 1) solitary learning, 2) social learning, and 3) logical learning.

The information was collected by using focused interviews and direct observation from four well-known local museums of Central Thai provinces namely Samut Songkram, Rachaburi, Suphanburi, and Saraburi.

The finding revealed that procedure of establishing and operating the local museum entailed two major task types, which were resources management and re-construction of cultural knowledge. However, it was found that in the external supporters-dominant type museum, the community members did not have an opportunity to engage in a collective process especially in the re-construction of cultural knowledge tasks. This was, unfortunately, due to the highly technical nature of the exhibitions contents that caused the community members to relinquish the control in the decision-making process to the external supporters. Consequently, the community members lost an opportunity to engage in the collective learning process as well. Further study may entail action research on the participatory process that encourages a collective learning and involvement of the community members in the re-construction of cultural knowledge of a highly technical exhibition contents

Introduction

The kingdom of Thailand is a country of diverse cultures as well as a country belonging to a group of developing countries. The development of Thailand as modernized and industrialized state has led to many challenges regarding the culture as such. In recent years, the development has created a great deal in the context of culture, most notably: a migration of rural population in to the larger cities, an adoption of a modern foreign culture as a mainstream culture and a collapse of the family system in rural societies. Moreover, country's development program has had a significant impact on many other aspects of Thailand's overcharging societies, merely, growth of literacy, development of infrastructure (i.e. transportation system, communication system etc.). The change prompted by the development program has affected the local communities in the physical sense as it is evident from the governmental report that they are either declining or disappearing completely. Their cultural changes in the context of Thailand's society of large, have led to the collapse of local culture which is cridest from the issues such are the disappearance of local dialects, history and traditions. To counteract the negative effects of cultural change the government has made a plan for the revival of local cultures through agencies both national and local level. Through the provision of our Constitution, this is initiative has been manifested by granting rural communities right to maintain their local cultural character. This is further manifested by inclusion of their right into the local school curricula and the establishment of local museum who are given the role of care and preservation of the local cultures.

The building of local museum has started in 1957. Prior to 1957, most national museums were focused on art exhibition under the supervision of The Fine Art Department. Science the initiative to protect local culture until today Thailand has built around 1,100 local

museum. (Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Center, 2010: 45). The effectiveness of local museum varies and the examples range from those that do not operate effectively and are unable to continue operations, to those that are successful and have effectively managed to preserve the local heritage. Factors leading to success or failure of local museum in Thailand are numerous including, but not limited to management of local governing authorities of on operation funds. In order to establish a local museum that may operate continuously and well enough to preserve the local heritage, one must organize its establishment under the principle of a collective learning process. This concept is developed to create an impact on a local community and eventually empower them. The collective learning process in the local museum will be applicable through process such as local community research and local participation. Various techniques are used based on 3 principles: 1) The participation of stakeholders 2) The flexibility of stakeholders regarding learning and their activities to adjust depending on situation 3) The empowerment of the local community. Thus, it can be inferred that the implementation of collective learning as a learning tool in the local museums around Thailand is aimed at the development of understanding at local stakeholders. This understanding should be multifaceted and adjustable to the need of the local community.

Research objective

This research have objective to compare on role of stakeholder, learning style and learning method in the collective learning process of establishment and operation in local museums.

Research scope

1. A museum that features the collective learning process, with involvement both from the people within the community itself and also from people outside the community, providing external support.

2. A local museum ran by local people that have the ability to achieve the goal of preserving local cultural heritage or valuable antiques. These museums are not representative of other local museums in Thailand.

Research methodology

In this research is based on case study of two groups of local museums.

- 1) The external supporters-dominant type museum which are: Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum, Samutsongkram province and Muang Temple Folklore Museum, Rachaburi province.
- 2) the community-dominant type museum which are Kun Chamnong Cheenarak's House Museum Samchuk Life Museum, Suphanburi and Tai-Yuan Cultural Center, Saraburi

The research methodology used by the form of applied qualitative research methods using the data quality that is similar to stories from the memories, opinions, facts from private partnerships, including physical environment that appear on museum for analysis and explain of the phenomenon of cultural heritage preservation in case study local-communities where the local museum are locate. Examining the validity of data validation techniques was examined by triangulation technique. The reliability of data validation was examined during the study on data in each case arising from the interview and validation through observation to counter-check the reliability of the information. Data collection was interviewed key informants that consist of people in the community who participate in the establishment and operation of the local museum and external supporter from outside community.

Roles of people involved in the collective learning process of establishment and operation in local museums.

The learning process for the working group who are responsible for establishment and operation in local museums are very important because the goal is to bring what we learn into action. In societies where people officially group up to work together, the operation would be based on duties in this collective learning process of the working group. However, the organization structure is informal and is a type of grouping that is done loosely. It is based on a mechanism of trust and the idea that everyone in the group has come together to achieve a common goal: to complete the museum establishment and make the operation sustainable. As a result, the roles of people in the working group are assigned by nature and not through duties. In comparison to local museums with greater external support, the research found that people's roles are different, as shown in Table 1

Table 1 Shows a comparison of the roles of people involved in the collective learning process of establishment and operation in local museums.

Activities in the process	Status	The external supporters-dominant type museum		the community-dominant type museum	
		Muang Temple Folklore Museum	Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum	Kun Chamnong Cheenarak's House Museum	Tai-Yuan Cultural Center
Activities in finding and seeking out resources.	Community member.	Role in decision-making in the exchange of knowledge and role in organizing.	Role in decision-making in the exchange of knowledge and role in organizing.	Role in decision making through knowledge exchange and role in finding information to create options.	Role in decision making through knowledge exchange and role in finding information to create options.
	External supporter	Role in decision-making through the process of knowledge exchange.	Role in decision making through exchanging knowledge.	Role in facilitating and easing the learning process.	Role in facilitating and easing the learning process.
Activities in seeking out knowledge to use in sharing	Community member.	Role in creating knowledge, role in organizing knowledge, and role in facilitating the search of knowledge.	Role in creating knowledge, role in organizing knowledge, and role in facilitating the process of learning.	Role in creating knowledge .Role in organizing knowledge.	Role in creating knowledge.
	External supporter	Role in creating knowledge and role in making decisions through exchanging knowledge.	Role in creating knowledge to create options and role in making decisions by exchanging knowledge.	Role in facilitating and easing the learning process.	Role in organizing knowledge.

The analysis of the roles involved in the learning process is done by separating activities in finding and managing resources like is fundraising, finding buildings, and other resources of establishment and operation in a local museum. These activities require that the working group have a certain learning process. The role of the external supporter in local museums with a larger roles, including roles in making operational decisions by using information and knowledge from the exchange of learning in the working group and local people but for museums with greater community

involvement, the external supporter will play a role of a facilitator in the learning process. The reason why the roles of the external supporter vary includes various reasons:

- **Entitlement to founded resources.** In the case of Muang Temple Folklore Museum, for example the funding for a building came from outside sponsors. The decision-making authority therefore rests on the external support but the decision-making process must involve a process of sharing and learning, and also participation from the community members. In the case of the Tai-Yuan Cultural Center where various cultural objects and various properties belonging to various individuals are involved, it is up to the individual owners to decide what they want to do with their property. The external supporters merely help by the way of giving advice on the matters such as finding funds for supporting the museum etc.

- **Determining roles for the external support.** This is a good way to change role assignments that have been structured based on an experience where people do same jobs. This view states that making decisions for the community is inappropriate because it causes them not to be self-reliant. For example, with the Thai community foundation, the committee serves as a mentor to marketing knowledge in order to restore market and create a local museum. This external support role was assigned from the beginning. With fundraising activities, the two kinds of museums are similar activity-wise in that the community plays a role in decision-making through the exchange of information with external support as well among community members themselves.

Although the two kinds of museums have different levels of community involvement and external support involvement, the task of finding and managing resources, particularly with cultural heritage objects, are done by the community members. Therefore, the decision to act or not act is one that community members must participate in. This decision is based on the foundation of the learning process, for example, in the case of Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum. Here, the decision to raise money by selling entrance tickets after a trying out the system and exchanging opinions. The ticket fees were cancelled and the management tried to find capital from other sources.

An activity of the group that seeking to present certain knowledge of the artifacts or local history involve organized and through local research. The role of the external support in this learning process and the establishment of museum for the type of museum with greater external support is one built on knowledge creation, finding knowledge to determine which alternatives are available, and making decisions by exchanging information. This is different in museums with greater community involvement, where the external support will act merely as a facilitator in the learning process. For museums with greater external support, one of the reasons why sponsors play a role in the pursuit of knowledge is to find content that can be applied in creating exhibitions. On a superficial level, the contents are similar in that they concern "antique objects" or "stories of events that happened in the past." Yet as for the details, museums with greater external support in two case studies with Muang temple Folklore Museum and Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum requires certain things for content learning. These involve the use of knowledge that requires technical expertise, including archaeological excavation, making up antiques, research and historical interpretation. Community members cannot perform these tasks themselves. Therefore, this is a major reason leading to knowledge creation of external support. For museums with greater community involvement, the knowledge created and founded by the community is knowledge that can be used by community members themselves. The external support would merely facilitate by providing funds to support research or teaching the methods of finding knowledge, etc.

Learning style

In the learning process of establishment and operation in a local museum, the working group must use various models of learning in order to access the content they want. Consequently, the learning style and contents are all interconnected. At the same time, the learning style is correlated with the way in which people receive information, including seeing, hearing, feeling, learning through language, learning through self study, learning through social interaction, and learning through analytical reasoning. Table 2 and 3 show the comparative analysis of the learning style that the working group used of establishment and operation of a local museum in the case studies both by community members and by the external supporter.

For learning patterns that the working group used in the collective learning process to find content, it is found that there are three forms of learning. First is analytical thinking, in which the learner uses trial and error. Second is learning through interaction with others. Third is the reflective learning process. The model of learning based on vision, hearing, and language are forms of learning that are based on the individual. If looking at in terms of group operations, we will find that the working groups in both kinds of museums use all three of the following forms that are were 1) solitary learning, 2) social learning, and 3) logical learning.

Table 2 Shows an analysis of the activities involving the working group and the learning style employed by community members who are involved in the establishment and operation of local museums in the case studies.

Activities done by community members.	The external supporters-dominant type museum		the community-dominant type museum	
	Muang Temple Folklore Museum	Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum	Kun Chamnong Cheenarak's House Museum	Tai-Yuan Cultural Center
Activities in accumulating cultural objects.	+ ☒	+ ☒	+	☒ ☒
Activities in seeking knowledge and local research.			+ ☒ ☒	☒ ☒
Activities in making decisions regarding the operations.	☒ ☒	☒ ☒	+ ☒ ☒	+ ☒ ☒
Activities in finding resources to create exhibitions.	☒ ☒	☒ ☒	+ ☒	+ ☒
Activities in designing, creating, and improving the museum buildings.			+ ☒	
Activities in determining the structure of the exhibitions.			+ ☒ ☒	
Activities in designing the exhibitions in order present information / knowledge.			+ ☒ ☒	+ ☒ ☒
Activities in maintaining and operating after the museum have been opened.	+ ☒	+ ☒	+ ☒	+ ☒ ☒

Table 3 Shows an analysis of the activities involving the working group and the learning style employed by external supporter who are involved in the establishment and operation of local museums in the case studies.

Activities done by community members.	The external supporters-dominant type museum		the community-dominant type museum	
	Muang Temple Folklore Museum	Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum	Kun Chamnong Cheenarak's House	Tai-Yuan Cultural Center
Activities of people who are involved in the establishment and operation of local museums.				

	Museum						
Activities in accumulating cultural objects.	+	☒	+	☒	+	☒	☒
Activities in seeking knowledge and local research.					+	☒	☒
Activities on the local information.	☒	☒	☒	☒	+	☒	☒
Activities in dissection making for operation	☒	☒	☒	☒	+	☒	+
Activities in finding resources					+	☒	
Activities in the design.					+	☒	☒
Establishment / Renovation museum							
Activities in the plot of the exhibition.					+	☒	☒
Activities in the design exhibition to present knowledge.	+	☒	+	☒	+	☒	☒
Maintenance activities after the museum open and operating.							

Note: The learning style in the collective learning process in the establishment and operation of museums.

- ✚ The learning style used in analyzing, and self trial-and-error.
- ☒ The learning style involves interaction with other people.
- ☒ The learning style involves analytical reasoning.

Types of activates in the establishment and operation of local museums.

	Activities to obtain and manage resources		Activities to find knowledge to lead to the presentation of knowledge
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Table 2 and 3 show the comparison models of learning styles of community members in the collective learning process in the establishment and operation of local museums. The learning style that involves interacting with others is the learning style most often used by community members to seek knowledge. Between the two kinds of museums, the latter employs all three forms of learning. Local museums with greater external support, community members mainly learn about finding resources and managing those resources. Knowledge creation and knowledge finding used in creating the exhibition are gathered by external support. The result of this is that people in the community must carry on operations of the activities themselves, leading to the existence of a variety of content knowledge. Hence, the three forms of learning are used in almost every activity, particularly learning through interaction with others.

For local museums with greater community involvement, it can be found that the learning style used to access knowledge is one that involves interaction with others. This is because content that the external support seeks out is about giving support to community members, and finding resources for the museum. Because of this, the learning style that engages interaction is effective in making people understand concepts about context and relevant conditions. The external support is then able to give advice and proper guidelines to help the community.

In addition, the learning style through analytical reasoning and self-study is another one often used to access knowledge. This is particularly true for people working in museums with greater

community involvement. The content wanted by both community members and external support is” Finding proper guidelines” for such activities. Practicing and learning from actual results would help the two groups would help both types of local museums find the appropriate practice.

Learning method

The learning method in the collective learning process of establishment and operation in a local museum in the case studies has been comparatively analyzed as shown in Table 4

For both the museums with greater external support and the museums with greater community involvement, the learning takes place in the phase of museum establishment because this is during this phase, museum workers have to seek out information to be used in setting up the museum.

The learning methods most often used by both types of museums to acquire and manage resources are: organizing information/making registrations; meeting to exchange ideas; and taking action. These patterns relate to learning styles that involve interaction with others, analytical reasoning and self-study. The reason why museums choose these two learning styles is because they aim to establish a system of organizing information and making decisions that are founded upon all parties’ acceptance, in order to achieve trust from both people in the community and the external support people. Even though the external support group consists of expert, the decisions to implement any actions must be based on conditions set by community members, while the community context is essential. This often led to trial practices where the experiences gained are later used to improve subsequent operations.



Table 4 Shows the learning methods that the working group employs in the process of establishment and operation in local museums in the case studies, separated into different phases of operation.

Method of learning for the people involved in the process of establishment and operation in local museums.	The external supporters-dominant type museum			the community-dominant type museum		
	Period prior to the establishment nt.	Period during the establishment nt.	Period during the operation.	Period prior to the establishment nt.	Period during the establishment nt.	Period during the operation.
Individual knowledge that comes from experience.	○◆	◆	◆	☒◆	○◆	◆
Finding information from documents.				✓◆	✓☒ ○◆	◆
Asking questions to experts and people who understand the		◆		✓◆	✓☒ ○◆	◆

subject matter.						
Organizing a system and making registrations.		✓□ ○			✓☒○	
Archeological excavations.					☒	
Meeting to exchange opinions.		✓☒ ○◆	✓☒ ○◆		✓☒ ○	✓☒ ○
Application.	◆	✓☒ ○◆	✓☒ ○◆	◆	✓☒ ○◆	✓☒ ○◆
Field studies, learning how to do things.	☒	☒○			○	

Note : ✓ Muang Temple Folklore Museum

○ Kun Chamnong Cheenarak's House Museum

☒ Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum

◆ Tai-Yuan Cultural Center

For activities aimed at attaining knowledge that are to be used in presenting knowledge, the methods used by local museums was meeting to exchange views, taking action, asking questions to people involved and experts, and finding information from documents. This is because the working groups in both types of museums want to learn about the history of lifestyles (how it came about) and the information pertaining to cultural objects. Such knowledge comes in various forms: knowledge that explicit knowledge and tacit knowledge. Explicit knowledge that is obtained through finding documents, such as research or various literatures is easier. However, local knowledge has not yet been organized and written down. For example, with the subjects of community history and community cultures and traditions, using a learning method that involves meeting and exchanging opinions and asking questions to people and experts is a more useful method. Such is the case of Ban Kao Yee-san Folklore Museum, where information on the history rarely appears in documents and literature. The history of Samchuk community is the same, it appears only in one literature—the famous writer and poet, Soonthomphu's piece. "Nilas Supan" (to leave for a distant land to Suphanburi province)

There is no clear difference seen in the two types of local museums but there are significant influences that lead to the differences in learning content and the complex structures of the content. For example, in the case of the Ban Yee-san community where people want to learn about the community's origins, and used evidence found in the community, including tile fragments. The learning method here is digging up archaeological facts, which is later the method used to access knowledge on that matter.

Discussion

From the local museums in the case studies, it can be found that there are certain issues of interest in the collective learning process are studied in the following manners:

1) The roles of external support in museums that receive greater external support. Supporters are involved in making decisions about operations that pertain to activities, which aim at obtaining the offering knowledge. These operations are done by using information and knowledge obtained from the exchange of learning between the working group and the local people.

An important factor that leads to the external supporter playing a role in making decisions about the operation is that the method of learning requires certain expertise. Because of this, the external support who are scholars and experts in using advanced techniques need to play a role in operating. These include: knowledge creation; interpretation of knowledge; history and archeology; and summarizing knowledge for displaying it in the museum but for local museums where there is greater community involvement, the learning method does not involve

sophisticated techniques. Therefore, it enables the local community members to operate the museum themselves while employing the external support as a facilitator.

2) Case study that involve external support being present in local museums. External support comes in many forms:

- Local community members acting as the liaison like in the case of Ban Yee-san Folklore Museum.

- A source of cultural interest is well-known among scholars, and is old capital. For example, in the case of Muang Temple Folklore Museum, there is a social improvement program that supports these cultural programs. It seeks out communities with features that fit the requirements of the project.

3) The method of learning involved in the collective learning process of establishment and operation in local museums are case studies that involves a combination of things. The acquisition of knowledge is a process that involves many groups of people. Each person has a variety of styles in seeking knowledge but the interesting part of this phenomenon is that the combination of learning methods of people who have come together to create knowledge that include the support of social and cultural factors involve:

- A shared culture, which comes from having a common ancestor or a shared history. These factors are found in all of the case studies. The cooperation is part of the force that brings together community members and creates knowledge. People seek out information in order to find out their "History and story."

- Having a culture that focuses on "cooperation and avoiding conflict." Having this kind of culture encourages continuity in the process of knowledge creation, and can lead to the construction of a local museum.

Conclusion

The reconstruction of cultural heritage of local community by established local museum through collective learning process in case studies, when compare between the external supporters-dominant type museum and the community-dominant type museum finding revealed that procedure of establishing and operating the local museum entailed two major task types, which were resources management and re-construction of cultural knowledge. The external supporters-dominant type museum, role of external supporter have a role as knowledge acquire that different role of external supporter in the community-dominant type museum, external supporter have a role as facilitator. Different role of external supporter deferent that depend on content of knowledge which to seek for local museum. The highly technical nature of the exhibitions contents caused the community members to relinquish the control in the decision-making process to the external supporters. The method of learning to re-construction cultural heritage is that the combination of learning methods that depend on community context. Context to support learning method for collective learning process for operate local museum that are shared culture, which comes from having a common ancestor or a shared history and community norm that are cooperation and avoiding conflict. Content of learning for re-construct cultural heritage is content that involves finding knowledge about the emergence of the community, including the history of culture and lifestyles of community members. The contents of knowledge for re-construct cultural heritage in both types of museums involve two styles that are similar that involved desire to know how to find ways to operate and know how to operate the museum. The similarity contents of knowledge in two groups were influenced by the lack of practical knowledge of community people on operation in museum.

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COVER PAGE

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**THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE TRANSFORMATION IN THE
TRADITIONAL DWELLING OF CENTRAL THAILAND**

Submission Topic: Transformations of self and place

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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE TRANSFORMATION IN THE TRADITIONAL DWELLING OF CENTRAL THAILAND

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Introduction

The built environment is an abstract concept used to describe any product of human building activity (Baker, 2002). Still, we know little about how the design of a building is influenced by the physical and socio-cultural needs of its occupants. This is because the traditions of architectural studies of vernacular architecture have privileged the search for the meaning of the built setting, and perceived it as an 'end' product, over the processes that produce it in the first place.

Vernacular architecture adapts to best suit changes in the geographical and socio-cultural environment. This observation alone invalidates theories that view the form and features of the vernacular house as a static construct. Across time, one might expect to observe the retention and replication of efficient features, while less suitable features would be discarded.

Patterns of change, for the modification of traditional dwellings, can be described and explained by studying design transformations alongside socio-cultural change. In so doing, we may identify how specific social-cultural factors influence vernacular house design. We can borrow the ideas that survive and avoid mistakes, and finally use this information to improve the design of contemporary housing in ways that fit both the physical needs and the socio-cultural needs of built environments.

The farmhouse of Central Thailand is an example of vernacular architecture that has experienced a long evolution. The research presented in this study seeks to understand how people and

ABSTRACT

The traditional farmhouse of Central Thailand is a distinct form of vernacular architecture. This design evolved to meet the needs of families in an agrarian society. In recent decades, Thailand's farming communities have seen increased agricultural productivity, increased wealth, and smaller families. This study investigates the impact of this social transition upon traditional design in terms of Place Experience domains: 1) conceptual meaning, 2) activities, and 3) physical attributes. The study design is a single-case study with mixed methods including survey of temple murals and archival records, floor plan reconstructions for historic homes, interview of house occupants and builders, Space Syntax analysis, artifactual documentation for contemporary homes, and direct observation of occupants' behavior. Results show a changing Place Experience: 1) the use of multi-level platforms had symbolic meaning in historic house design, but contemporary designs adopt a more practical single level platform; 2) interviewees reported increased leisure time; and 3) building shells have become more enclosed with permanent walls and roofs to protect valuable hardwood and increase security. Results suggest dichotomies of transition as: hierarchal/integrative, dynamic/flexible, collective/individual, and outward/inward. This research shows how this form of vernacular architecture reflects the changing needs of families where the home has severed its links to agrarian society becoming a "sanctuary"; provides suggestions for design implementation; and may be used in education as an evolving dynamic model of vernacular architecture.

communities in Central Thailand utilize traditional technologies to alter their immediate environment to make it their own, and how the farmhouse evolved in response to economic, social and environmental changes.

Theoretical Frameworks

In structuralism, the house is a projection of the symbolic relations for the occupants' daily lives and rituals. Thus, the record of transformation for house design can provide insight into the spatial and social organization of the occupants. Three major theoretical frameworks emanate from a structuralism point of view, namely 'Place Experience Model,' 'Space Syntax,' and 'Semiology,' have been used as interpretive lenses for understanding the transformation of Place Experience in the traditional houses of Central Thailand.

The Place Model

To support a holistic interpretation of the domestic life of the Central Thai farmer, the 'Place Model' (Canter, 1977) provides an overarching framework and influences the research design for this study. This model supports exploration of the three constituents that make up the place experience; the activities, the meaning, and the physical attributes of the home. The model also emanate from the Structuralist school of thought as it seeks to understand the underlying pattern.

Groat (2009) observes that the overall sense of place results from the interplay between these inseparable domains; the physical locale, the activities linked to this locale, and the subject's conceptual meaning linked to this locale. Alteration in a single domain may have caused the changes in the overall quality of the experience of a place. The Place Model recognizes the importance of the dynamic between all three domains as it constantly reminds the researcher that the place does not exist as an isolate entity, but in the multiple connections between the built setting and people it contains.

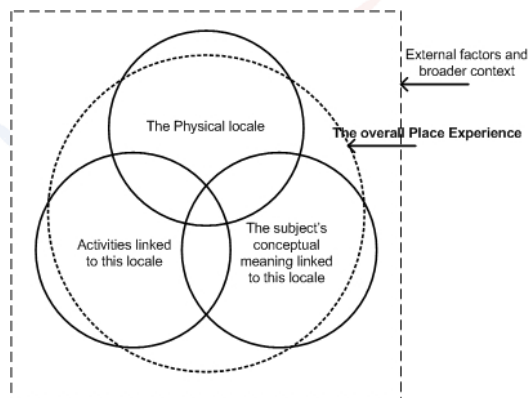


Figure 1: A Modified from diagram of Canter's "Place Model"

Space Syntax

Similar to the Place Model (Canter, 1997), Space Syntax, also rooted in the Structuralist approach, is one of the tools to describe the characteristics and relationships of spatial organization of an architectural setting. Place Model places equal emphasis on the three constituents, whereas Space Syntax singles out activities and physical attributes (Groat, 2009).

Space Syntax assumes that the social aspect of space can be described mathematically (Hillier and Hanson, 1984). Space Syntax theory posits that when perceived space as composed of

discrete entities, the social structure of the inhabitants is dependent on how these discrete entities are connected, and related to the overall system.

The study of space syntax, along with other approaches such architectural semiology have been applied to study socio-cultural dimensions of the house, complex buildings, and city planning (Lara, 2001; Guney, 2005; Hillier, 1986; Bafna, 2001; Hanson, 1998). Space syntax analysis reveals the underlying social control mechanisms inherent in spatial arrangement (genotype) which can apparently be quite different from the appearance or style of the actual house (phenotype). For example, Lara (2001) finds in the design of Brazilian houses evidence of traditional spatial control to regulate access to the daughter's bedroom in houses having a Modern façade.

The space syntax analytical techniques emphasize quantitative modeling to uncover the sociological and behavioral aspects of formal characteristics as well as spatial arrangement of the built setting. Pearson and Colin (1997) criticize that the unit of analysis in space syntax analysis are often viewed solely in two dimensions. To counteract the limitations of space syntax analysis, the study of syntax and semantics should be pursued jointly so that it encompasses information on the meaning and use of specific spaces.

Semiology

Semiology, or the study of signs and symbols within society, sought to transcend the limitation of the individual subjective interpretation of phenomenology by grounding analysis in universal systems that describe the underlying relationships among components of the structure (Leach, 1997). Accordingly, Pearson and Richards (1997) suggest that architecture can be conceptualized as a symbolic technology. The symbol system inherent in the built form, like other aspects of culture, is used for transmitting various forms of information (Rapoport, 2000).

Aside from the built setting itself, semiology can be used to analyze archival information and other nonverbal material to serve as evaluative or corroborating evidence in the cultural study. Other nonverbal materials suitable for semiotic analysis may include photographs, icons, magazines advertisements, mural paintings and so forth. The flexible application of semiology allows several researchers (Jumsai, 1975; Karnchanaporn, 2003-2004; Sparkes, 2005; Thippthathat, 2002; Wyatt, 2004; Brereton, 2006) to effectively interpret signs or symbols that represent the cultural ideas that are projected in the Thai architectural artifacts.

Research Inquiries

This study addresses questions aimed at scholarly research particularly on the role of the vernacular house design in relation to changing lifestyles in a social context. It will lead to insight into how the vernacular building is designed to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of life of the cultures that produce them. Thus, the research question directing this inquiry is: **“How has place experience including the physical characteristics of the traditional houses in the region of Central Thailand been transformed in response to a changing socio-cultural environment?”**

The sub-questions to be investigated explore whether there have been any changes in each of the intersecting realms of “Place Experience” (Canter, 1997) which include the physical locale, the activities which occur in each locale, and the conceptual meaning of people in that particular locale. Based on this framework, the subsets of the overarching inquiry to be investigated in this study entail:

How have the farmer's spatial behavior and activities with the house been transformed in the past 50 years?

How have the family and cultural values and experienced meaning of the farmers been transformed in the past 50 years?

How might the physical characteristics of the house been transformed in response to such a changing environment?

Methods

Scope of the study

Comparison of the architectural characteristics of '*historic*' and '*modified*' homes provides a means toward understanding how the overall quality of place experience in the traditional Thai house has transformed in response to changes in the social environment. For this analysis, the term '*historic*' denotes the older traditional Thai home, with the age ranges from 68 to over 130 years, of the Central Thai farmers, whereas '*modified*' refers to those houses that have been adapted from their original '*historic*' form.

A single-case study design with mixed methods

This study explores the cultural dimension of the traditional home of Central Thailand. Of special interest is the interplay between social change and the experiential quality of the home. It aims to use the three constituents of Place Model as a framework for understanding the place experience in the traditional Thai house, and to explore how have the experience been transformed over time. The following table shows the particular issues to be investigated within each domain.

Table1: Framework for a research design on the transformation of place experience in the traditional Thai house

Domains	Issues
Activities	Explore the transformation in the farmer's spatial behavior and activities within the house.
Conceptual meaning	Explore the transformation of the cultural value and experienced meaning of the farmers.
Physical characteristics	Explore the transformation of the overall attributes (the exterior) as well as the spatial organization (the interior), and the architectural details of the houses.

Given the interrelated complexity of the multiple phenomena touched on by the research question, the use of a mixed method approach enables a thorough investigation even with the single-case design.

Criteria for site selection and sampling technique

This study adopts a combination of convenience sampling, snowball sampling, and theoretical sampling techniques (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

Sample selection was initially determined by an informant provided that the sample must meet the criteria given by the researcher. Referrals of samples were then further supplied by many interview participants who were typically proud of their heritage. During the data collection process, the content of information collected started to become repetitive after completing half of

the overall sample. However, the researcher decided to continue to collect information until 15 family houses were reached to be certain not to overlook any crucial information.

The case context: Baan Krang

This 'Baan Krang' community was selected for data collection after comparing with two other farming communities in Suphan Buri and the nearby province of Ayutthaya. The Baan Krang community proved preferable for conducting this study because of (1) the high concentration of traditional Thai houses and the availability of family members for survey and interview, (2) the uniformity of its demographical characteristics such as ethnic group and occupations, and (3) most importantly, the availability of an informant who is regarded as a respectable member of the community that served as liaison and champion for gaining participation.

Baan Krang subdistrict (tambol) is located in Si Prachan district (amphoe), the eastern part of 'Suphanburi' province (changwad) of the Central Thailand. It is comprised of six villages and has a total area of 2,280 hectare, which consists of 1,896 hectares of irrigated farm holdings operated by 1,086 families (Department of Agriculture, 2008). In 2008, the population density of Baan Krang was 4.93 persons per hectare. Baan Krang is a part of the Chao Phraya Basin, and is approximately a 2.5 hour drive or about 125 kilometers away from Bangkok. The community is accessible by via two means. The first and almost obsolete means is by boats on the Tha-chin River. However, today's choice favors more efficient access through the major highway network that was built less than ten years ago.

Methods

This study employs a combination of data analysis methods and interpretative lenses, to minimize the problems that result from use of a single approach, and permits a broader perspective for the phenomenon of interest. In addition, each of the multiple methods in the analysis of the same empirical event will serve to add another layer of detail.

The four major sources of qualitative data for the study of the Central Thai farmers' houses include (1) semi-structured interview of its occupants, (2) semi-structured interview with master builders, (3) artifactual documentation, and (4) direct observation of both the structure and the lifestyle of its occupants.

For the artefactual documentation of the house both the current floor plan, and the historic floor plan of the house were collected. The annotated floor plan, of the current dwellings, documents details about the activity area and household items that represent the contemporary lifestyle of the family members. When the sketch of a current floor plan was ready, the researcher asked the family members to explain and compare it with the original house that they experienced in the past, and then produce the historic version of the house's annotated floor plan to be used for the comparison in both qualitative and Space Syntax analysis.

The information used for understanding the historical domestic lifestyle of the Thai farmers includes the mural paintings from five temples in the Central region. The information derived from the preliminary analysis of the mural paintings also served to provide a platform for constructing the questions used in the semi-structured interview with the house occupants.

Data Analyses

Content Analysis

Content analyses were performed on 1) transcripts from interviews of house occupants, 2) interviews with master builders, 3) photographs of mural paintings, 4) and the farmer's house were performed using the qualitative analysis software NVIVO 8.

Space Syntax Analysis of the Floor Plans

The annotated floor plans obtained from the previous phase were used for space syntax analyses. Space syntax measures such as 'relative asymmetry' (RA), and 'integration value' (I) were calculated, from the justified graphs derived from the aforementioned floor plan, to quantitatively describe quality of the domestic space.

Finally, the data derived from the temple murals survey, qualitative analysis of the interviews, and space syntax analyses are integrated, reconstructed and compared for the changing place experience in the historic and modified homes of Central Thai farmers.

Findings

Historical Homes

The common characteristics of *historic* homes of farmers in Central Thailand, Baan Krang community, could essentially be described as having (1) hierarchal Spaces, (2) dynamic flexible construction, (3) outward focus, and (4) collective oriented.

The structure of *historic* dwelling was quite flexible. The house could be easily reconfigured to accommodate varying family sizes or relocation as required. The significance of 'seniority,' as an influencing factor within the Thai family structure, was reflected in the form of vertical hierarchy of space within the dwelling. Kinship relations and community activities, indispensable supports to the historical rice farming community, were also presented in the construction of housing compounds that were made up of multiple dwellings as well as house designs that facilitated easy interaction between the residents in the dwelling and other community members in the communal spaces nearby.

The results indicate that the spatial organization of the *historic* home displayed a character of a utilitarian dwelling where work and domestic life were intertwined. The orientation of the dwellings and the spatial categories within were less likely to be imposed by religious cosmology, but rather by the need for social contact and optimum utilization. The spaces within the *historic* home can be used for diverse purposes. The interior-interior or interior-exterior visual privacy was not of primary concern. 'Visual permeability' was part of an important feature that enables interaction between the occupants and the neighbors in the community where the barter system and labor exchange were still prevalent. However, farmers used a single dwelling access design as a means for security and control.

Modified Homes

The shared characteristics of the contemporary farmer houses are (1) integrated space, (2) static and permanent construction (3) inward focus, and (4) individual oriented.

Structure of the contemporary dwelling has become less adaptable as increasing use of permanent, heavy weight, and rigid materials were observable in the modification of the houses. The spatial quality of the house has become more integrated in both the horizontal and vertical

dimension. Vertical hierarchy of space along with cosmological symbolisms that represent labor division, gender roles, and the importance of seniority have been diminishing in the contemporary home.

The common spatial characteristics of the *modified* dwelling are somewhat different from the *historic* one for today's rice farmers work is relatively severed from domestic life and community life. The analysis of spatial organization shows that the total interior space of the home has been increased when compared to the older homes. The occupants maximize the interior spaces by augmenting the walls and roof around the terrace and the verandah space that used to be exposed to the elements. Some modern conveniences such as washroom and indoor plumbing, as well as household furniture, have been added to the dwelling for comfort.

The increasing amount of time at home for modern day farmers may lead to a need for more privacy at home, which is indicated by the higher degree of 'interior-to-interior insulation.' , Evidence shows the stronger degree of barrier within the house, especially the use of household furniture to create boundaries between the individual and family spaces.

Comparison of Spatial Characteristics

This section examines the transformational pattern of the spatial organization in the traditional Thai home as a means to 1) determine if there are common patterns for the spatial organization of traditional Thai dwellings, 2) to examine whether there has been any change in the spatial organization of the original and the modified dwellings. Table 2 summarizes the commonalities and differences of spatial patterns found in both the historic and modified homes.

Table 2: Comparison between spatial characteristics of the historic and modified dwellings

	Spatial Characteristics	Historic Homes	Modified Homes
Differences	Spatial Differentiation	Homogenous and more flexible spatial utilization Fewer spatial categories	More elaborated and increasingly specific spatial types Increasing number of spatial categories
	Sequencing	Highly lineal sequencing Uses of buffer spaces to indicate transition area	Clustered toward the center—the multipurpose hall
	Insulation	Low level of insulation. Less visual privacy as trade off for community connection	Higher level of insulation both exterior-exterior, and interior-interior insulation Higher isolation from the surrounding environment
Commonalities	Relative Position	Oriented toward the community's main transportation route	Similar to that of the historic dwellings
	Integration	The terrace and the verandah are the most integrated spaces Exterior and the inner rooms are the most isolated area in the houses	Relatively similar to that of the historic home—the multipurpose hall, which is converted from the terrace and the verandah, is the most integrated space

Modified versus Historic Homes

Space in the *modified* farmer's houses has become more egalitarian when compared to the *historical* ones. Multiple dwelling compounds have been replaced with the construction of individual dwellings throughout the community, as family members were neither compelled to live near the river nor dependent on a system of labor exchange. Consequently, the residents feel the need to increase their sense of home security by creating an enclosure that easily controls access to the house. Thus, the modified houses are different from that of the historical ones in the aspect of 1) dwelling structure, 2) spatial and 3) settlement characteristics.

In terms of space syntax analysis, the increased 'integration' value in the *modified* home also resulted in reduced 'sequential' arrangement of interior spaces. There are the differences between the highly linear spatial sequencing in the *historic* home when compared to the *modified* homes. Some commonalities and differences in the spatial qualities among the *historic* and *modified* homes are generally present throughout the samples.

The common spatial characteristics among the *historic* and *modified* homes are the 'Relative Position' of the interior of the home to the outside world and the overall spatial 'Integration' of the spaces within the dwellings. In terms of the 'Relative Position,' the *historic* dwellings were oriented toward the major water way, and the *modified* dwellings are oriented toward the road, but both types of the dwellings have a single access to the outside world that is oriented toward the community's major transportation route. The single entry design has been used as a means to control access to the dwelling, but the desire to separate the interior of the house from its surrounding environment seems to be stronger in the *modified* home. This may be a consequence of increased concern for household security as a result of living in an increasingly isolated homestead type of settlements.

When compared to a *historic* home with a relatively homogenous spatial type where most spaces except the kitchen are empty of furniture and can be converted to fit diverse uses, the spatial categories of the *modified* home have become more specific, and less conducive to alteration due to the conscious utilization of new furnishings as obstructions.

In short, the dissimilarities between the *historic* home and the *modified* home may be greater when perceived at the level of the *phenotype* or overall appearance. However, when considering the *genotype* or the spatial organization, several spatial features in the historic home have persisted into the *modified* home. The pattern of space in both home types still encourages family activities although the need for visual privacy seems to be increasing in the modified home as the occupants spend longer hours together.

Discussions

This section addresses the findings in relation to the research purposes and questions while underscoring the dialectical relationship between social factors and the transformation of vernacular architecture.

Impact of Social Changes on the Rural Life of Baan Kraang's Residents

The morphology of the Central Thai house along with its usage has been shaped by technological, social and economic forces. Following World War II, the demographic transition from subsistence farming to rapid urbanization has been the key agent of change in Thai society. In regions where rice farming has become increasingly productive, such as that of Baan Kraang, the livelihood and quality of life of farmers has substantially improved by the Thai government's

progressive “Land Consolidation” program of 1974. With massive improvement on land and water resource infrastructures, facilitated by this program, the Baan Krang farmers have been able to increase their income. With improved access to water for rice growing and everyday use, farming families began to move away from overcrowded riverside settlements to establish homesteads on newly developed farmland. The new farming settlements have spread further apart trading the security of being amongst a tight-knit community of kin for a more isolated environment.

By the 1980s, when the frontier of arable land had been fully utilized, the introduction of non-seasonal rice varieties, agricultural machinery and intensive rice production practices were employed to their fullest capacity to maximize crop yields. The younger generations of farm laborers have become free to migrate to urban areas to seek better jobs, and the smaller family sizes have become the demographic makeup of this community. A picture of the rural village with several clusters of large extended stem families has been replaced with small nuclear families scattered throughout the area.

Despite all of the changes, several of the belief systems of the Baan Krang farmers remain intact. The practice of both Buddhism and Spirit Religion are commonplace in the community. However, neither of the belief systems has been found to provide guiding principles for housing design or for the conduct of domestic life like those found in other regions of Thailand.

This study reveals how the domestic experience and the physical attributes of the house in Baan Krang have been transformed by socio-cultural change. The traditional house, of the traditional Central region design, has been modified to fit the needs of its occupants as the social environment evolves. The once open airy design of the traditional house has in the modified home become enclosed and sealed off from the elements. Construction of roofs and walls enclose the now scarce and valuable hardwood of the terraces for protection from weathering. When compared to the historic home, the ratio of exterior to interior of the modified house, on the living platform, has plummeted from 3:2 to 0:1. The distinctive features of hierarchical arrangement of flooring levels, which metaphorically reflects the fundamental cosmos of the residence, in the historic house has also been replaced by designs with a single roof plane and a single floor plane. The sacred, the profane areas, and their transition have been united and combined into one large multipurpose hall under an extended roof.

Transformation of Place Experience in the Traditional Houses of Central Thailand

House construction is viewed as an ongoing process that is never completed. Most farmers, with sufficient funds, will continue to engage in piecemeal home improvement projects without the aid of a professional designer. The need for modification entails both the desire for presenting symbolic status, and the need to create a highly stable and permanent living environment. The primary purpose of the renovation and improvement is the ‘permanence’ of the ancestral home (permanence of descendant line) rather than the expression of style or aesthetic concerns. Physically and spiritually, the Thai house persists as a container of ancestral memory in which parts of the structure can be shared among the descendants as a means to carry on and preserve the collective consciousness.

Some distinctions can be made between the ‘Place Experience’ in the ‘*historic*’ and ‘*modified*’ house. Historically, the house was a center of social organization for a production-oriented group organized around agriculture. The house was also seen as an ‘animate’ and delicate being

and associated with the nurturing female spirit, where in the ‘*modified house*,’ the contemporary dwelling is perceived as sanctuary, refuge, a place for relaxation, but increasingly so as a physical structure where security and display of status are of primary concern. The *modified dwelling* now houses a much smaller number of occupants, but has a significantly larger area and more elaborated spatial types than the historic home.

Canter’s (1979) ‘Place Model’ can be used to summarize the impact of these social changes on the domestic lives and house forms of the Baan Krang community.

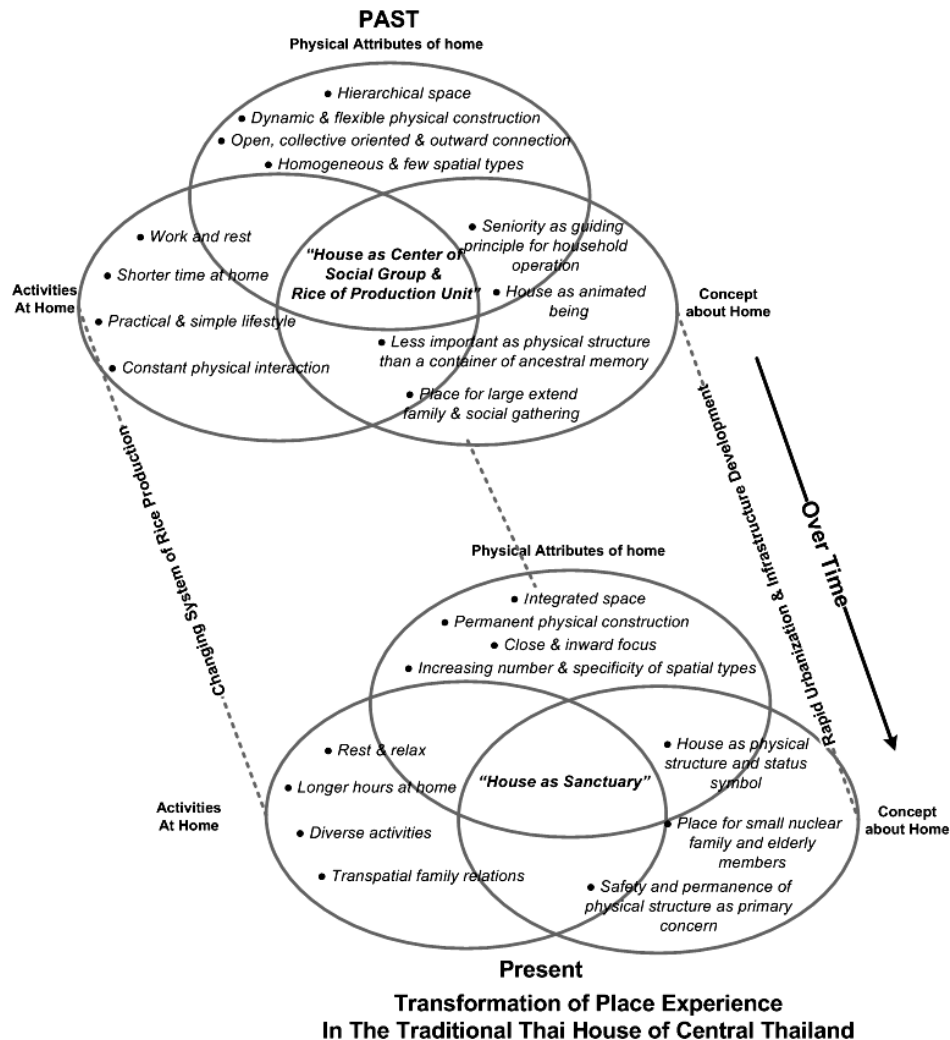


Figure 2: Transformation of “Place Experience” in the traditional Thai house

Conclusions

The multiple methods used in this study make possible an understanding of the built environment as an integral part of the dynamic and lived world. The combined research design takes its primary elements from the investigation of house form (plan, aesthetic quality, materials, methods, and orientation to the landscape), settlement patterns (spatial distribution of rural and urban houses), and the ways in which space is used (formally and informally, in public and in private). These elements are discussed as they interact with family and social organization, and with changes in social, political, and economic relations. The interpretation of findings uses a structuralist interpretive framework which theorizes that individual phenomena have meaning by

virtue of their relation to other phenomena as elements within a systematic structure. It takes a holistic approach that searches for constraining patterns, or structures centered on human culture.

The investigation of the transformation of house form underlies the evolving process that continuously reshapes vernacular buildings. This process is propelled by the external factors, socio-cultural forces, the specific needs of the inhabitant, and geographical limitation. This study challenges the existing perception that the form and detail of vernacular architecture in Thailand is static. The meanings that constitute the form of the built environment are continually modified as the actions that constitute that environment have changed. The vernacular house is not simply a representation of a static local culture, but is a product of an ever-changing relationship between peoples' lives and ideas.

The comparison of spatial characteristics between the *historic* and *modified* homes of the Central Thai farmers enable us to learn how its occupants have adapted their older home to best suit current social or physical needs. The spatial features retained, such as the organization pattern of space implies the surviving spatial pattern reflects the nature of interaction among family members, suggests that the spatial organization in the traditional Thai dwelling has continued to serve as a basis for a highly cohesive family where the spatial pattern encourages encounter and interaction between occupants in the home.

Limitations of this study

As Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) note, "houses, like bodies, are complex, multifaceted entities, particular aspects of which are given meaning by different people, in particular cultures, contexts, and historical conditions." These meanings constantly shift within cultures, and they have no inherent cross-cultural validity. However, the process by which the vernacular design has been generated and evolved, as informed by this study may be applicable to some degree in similar cultural and geographical contexts.

Resources and time constraints limited the sample size of houses in this study. However, the sample size was deemed sufficient given that the aim for this study was to generate a theoretical understanding rather than to generalize to the population. A focused group approach would have been ideal to stimulate the interview while helping to cross check the accuracy of the data. However, it proved difficult to organize a focus group interview among primary interview respondents, as most of them were elderly. The task of stimulating and validating the accuracy of the interview account was left to other family members also present at the interview. This study is also limited by the fact that the data derived from interview accounts are self-reported. The family members describe their attitude, and domestic lives, as elicited by the interviewer. Consequently, attitude and behavior reported may differ and not correspond to real life.

The raw material used for Space Syntax analysis is based on the data collected through the field survey of the actual farmers' houses. The floor plan layouts of the *modified* (contemporary) houses have been measured, photographed, and videotaped by the researcher. The credibility of the data used in constructing the floor plan layouts for the modified dwellings is enhanced through the use of a multiple cross-referencing of the relevant data. In addition, to ensure the accuracy and reliability of data collected the researcher has rechecked the drawings produced against the actual dwellings during subsequent visits. However, the reconstruction of the 14 *historic* dwellings' layouts was based on the recollection of the informants. There may be error or bias in their memory since many occupants had to trace back to childhood memories. However, the researcher has used the drawings of the existing homes of the occupants to

communicate, and use as a tool to construct the floor plan layout of the original home of the informants. In some families with more than one informant, the cross checking of information among interviewees proved useful for increasing the accuracy of data regarding their original home. Nevertheless, when compared with the existing home, the level of detail and accuracy of the data on the usage and categorical differentiation of interior spaces within the historic dwellings while less than ideal was considered of sufficient quality.

Implications for future research

Findings from this study suggest several opportunities for additional research into social-cultural influences upon home design in Thailand. Both literal and theoretical replications of this study are required to increase the applicability of the results and the value of the study's design implementation.

Findings from this study might also influence research into the evolution of contemporary housing and apartments. For instance, how is contemporary housing design influenced by variations in lifestyle including the residual effects of the original Thai lifestyle? How do commonalities and differences between rural and city dwellers influence contemporary house design?

Additionally, this research suggests that study of the folklore and collective consciousness such as urban legends may influence perceptions of the house. Does the increasing tendency to enclose the structure of the modified house result solely from security concerns or is there a deeper cultural meaning? Finally, what recommendations can be made to create a house design that is more socially connected? Techniques used in this study, can be useful in investigating existing housing projects to gain a better understanding of the perceptions of their inhabitants, and to study the pattern of alteration to find out how they want to create their living environment.

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The poor and the media in Turkey: Looking at each other

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Abstract

The data presented in this study comes from a large-scale field project that looks at the relationship between the media and the poor in Turkey. It does so via two intertwined perspectives: The representation of the poor on media and media in everyday life of the poor. The first is revealed via textual/thematic analysis of the news items from the four highest selling dailies. The latter by ethnographic methodologies, including participant observations in households and semi-structured in-depth interviews of the poor.

The rate of inequality of income distribution and of poverty in Turkey is dramatically higher than it is in all other EU member and candidate states. 70% of Turkish society defines poverty as the most critical problem among other social and economic problems. A significant portion of the society suffers from poverty, while 2% faces food poverty and survives under the hunger threshold.

Findings reveal that the poor people, isolated in the social-cultural sphere, are stigmatized and demonized as the source of problems, including violence and crime, by the mainstream media. Our analysis of news stories shows four categories of (mis)representations: 1) Phobic representations, 2) Pathetic representations, 3) Pseudo-objective representations, and finally 4) Symbolic annihilation. By contrast, our ethnographic data collected from 15 families demonstrate that while the poor people are able to develop subverted/resistant readings of such (mis)representations, they re-produce similar otherizing discourses in identifying themselves.

Keywords: *Media and poor; audience ethnography; representation of the poor; mainstream media in Turkey*

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1. Introduction

There are two main questions at the center of this paper: 1) How do the mainstream dailies represent the poor and poverty in Turkey, and 2) how does the poor perceive and interpret the representations of poverty/poor on the mainstream media? In the first part, we focus on the dominant ways/discourses in which the mainstream press represents the poor and poverty in Turkey. We analyze how the poor people who have been marginalized in the socio-cultural and political system are othered and/or excluded by the mainstream dailies. To do this, we look at the news stories concerning the poor people appeared on four top highest circulation dailies, representing almost the half of the total newspaper circulation in Turkey. How the poor perceive and interpret the representations of poverty by the mainstream media is the central question of the second part of the paper. To answer such question, we gather and interpret ethnographic data collected from the poor households via participant observations conducted between 2008 and 2010 in the city of Eskişehir (Middle-Anatolia) in Turkey.

Before we proceed, some background information about the level of poverty in Turkey might be useful. The poverty is considered as the most crucial problem of Turkey by the 70% of Turkish public. Poor people are considered as problematic segment of the society, basically trapped and sacrificed by the socioeconomic factors, severe sexual/denominational/ethnical discrimination, political "otherization", social exclusion, (un)domestic violence, lack of proper educational, medical and cultural circumstances.

Despite the fact that the rate of inequality of income distribution and of poverty in Turkey is dramatically higher than it is in all other EU member and candidate states, the poor people cannot find enough room in the news media unless their names -as frequently happen- appear in the stories associated with crime, trouble or accident. A significant portion of the country (% 18, approx. 12 million people) suffers from poverty in terms of household income while % 2 try to survive below the food poverty or hunger level. Qualitative research found numerous cases of households which were poorer than the official "poorest" households (Özcan & Özcan, 2001:1) That is, the figure goes up to 26%. While % 30 of the whole population do not have any health insurance (Buğra, 2008: 2), % 55 of the working population is not registered with any social security institution in Turkey (DIE, 2001) (Buğra & Keyder, 2003: 17). The level of unemployment by February 2008 exceeds 11.6 %, which was 6.5% in 2000! The unemployment rate for the 15-24 age group is as high as 21.2 %... (Radikal- May 16, 2008). What is more striking is the fact that Turkey has a very high incidence of working poor. The risk-of-poverty rate among

those who are employed is at the level of 23% (which is threefold of the EU27 average) (Adaman & Keyder, 2006: 15-16).

How the poor, as the individuals who are at the lowest layer of socio-economic structure, shape their attitudes towards media and news media and interpret the representations presented by the media is extremely important. What has inspired us to conduct a further study to deal with how the poor and poverty are represented in industrial media is the absence of tangible studies specifically focusing on this issue (Gökalp *et.al.* forthcoming) As Ahıska and Yenil (2006) argue in their work on the cultural representations in 1990s in Turkey, the sociological dimensions of poverty have been disguised from actual visibility by the mass media, decontextualized and distanced from its concrete conditions and reproduced in a form of media spectacle. Therefore; it has been inevitable to search for an answer to the question “How does mainstream media represent poverty?” since media plays an important role in the internalization and naturalization of poverty.

2. Misrepresentation of the poor or the “poor” representations on the press

Several studies have identified stereotypical representations of poverty on media (Golding & Middleton 1982; Gans 1995 & Parisi, 1998). The poor is often linked with pathological behavior and the media often describe the poor in behavioral terms as criminals, alcoholics or drug addicts. For instance, Parisi’s (1998) in-depth analysis of a *Washington Post* series on poverty demonstrated that the media perpetuate stereotypes of the poor as lazy, sexually irresponsible, and criminally deviant (Clawson & Trice (2000). Needless to say, as Kensicki (2004) pointed out, the media coverage did not discuss any likelihood that poverty could be resolved and did not report any calls for reader action.

In parallel with the studies carried out in the Western world regarding the representation of the poor and poverty in media, our study also concluded that the poor are alienated and marginalized in mainstream news media.

There are four dailies included in our analysis: *Posta* (with circulation of 650.000), the highest selling daily in Turkey, is a tabloid newspaper. *Zaman* (with circulation of 600.000), the second best selling newspaper and the highest selling Islamist daily, is considered moderate Islamist. *Hurriyet* (with circulation of 520.000), one of the leading newspapers of the past 50 years, is a centre-populist daily. *Sabah* (with circulation of 400.000), considered liberal-right, is a popular daily. The news items analyzed in this study was gathered via the particular software enabling us to access digitally all the issues of four dailies published within January 1,

2007 and December 31, 2007. Our analysis of the news stories demonstrated that four categories of representation prevail: 1) Phobic representation, 2) pathetic representation, 3) pseudo-objective representation, and 4) symbolic annihilation.

2.1. ***Phobic representation (PH)***

PH includes stories criminalizing the poor people as an object of fear and a source of crime. The data indicates that the news stories covered under this category was dominated by two key actors, *glue sniffers* and *squatters*. The age indicators in the news stories show that the subjects called “glue sniffers” are usually children or youngsters most of whom can also be classified as members of so-called “street children” (instead of, for instance, “children forced to live or left on the streets”) community. However, the information offered in the news stories does not tell us whether they are permanently (i.e. lost their contacts with family members long time ago) or occasionally living on the streets, nor it clues us about the reasons forcing them to leave their families. The data demonstrates that the criminalizing approach was applied more often in the headlines: in many cases, the “glue sniffer” in the headline, for instance, either disappeared throughout the texts or replaced by other definitions such as “drug-addict”, “street kid” or “alleged glue sniffer”.

Almost all of the actors covered in this category were represented as leading figures of crime-stories, intentionally committed to illegal activities or violent conflicts. The sentimental and demonizing language was identifying the news subjects/actors as the active figures of horror/terror, inhumane behavior, or barbarity. A few titles might be helpful to understand what we mean by “demonizing language”: “Horror of glue sniffers in Beyoglu square” (Zaman), “Terror of glue sniffers” (Sabah), “Brutal glue sniffers in Istanbul” (Posta), “Glue sniffers with choppers attack school” (Hurriyet) “The drug dealers are nourished by squatters”, and “We (officers) are not able to control them (glue sniffers) even in the police station”. The last headline implies what McMormic pointed out in his book titled *Constructing Danger* almost a decade ago: “[I]f they (audiences/readers) get a distorted view that crime is out of control, their fear of media might not reflect their actual possibility of victimization” (1995: 138). One of the quotations from a witness of such violent behavior, defining glue sniffers as stain or dirt that must be removed, refers to the similar argument: “The authorities are unable to clear them away of the streets.” (Zaman) The data enables us to argue that, the crime-centered language of the phobic representations was employed by all the dailies –irrespective of their ideological preferences and journalistic strategies.

2.2. ***Pathetic Representations (PR)***

PR refers to the language used in the news text, particularly exaggerating and dramatizing the tragic patterns of the story; such as suicide, frenzy, domestic homicide, misery of poor people and extra-ordinary facts in squatter- in such a way as to sentimentalize the news discourse. *Zaman*, the Islamist newspaper, at the first sight, appears to be putting more emphasis on the poor people among other liberal and populist newspapers covered in this study. Although the economic, political and social aspects of poverty was often reduced into personal matters, one can argue that *Zaman's* approach to the poverty and the poor via PR was relatively more sensitive than the other three dailies.

The subjects of news stories have similar features, such as their *tone* in all newspapers. Each news story more or less highlights the actual conditions of the poor people by utilizing a highly sensational and emotional tone: For instance, “mysterious murder in squatter”, “poisoned couple went to death hand to hand”, “Family devastated by poverty losses one more child”, “Three shanty houses were entirely burned away” “Green card¹ arrived two hours after the suicide”. The news stories classified under this category focused on the poor’s sorrowful stories, instead of the socio-economic background of the poverty. We believe that sometimes what is left unsaid can be more important than what is said, and that in the cases mentioned above, critical views upon the government’s macro strategies addressing poverty is more important than the explicit dimensions or dramatic results.

2.3. ***Pseudo-objective representation (POR)***

POR does not refer to the particular people but to the group of poor people, basically reducing people into statistical figures and numbers -which is a good example of reification of poverty in the press. We found that there are many statistics appeared on the dailies, statistically portraying the poverty in society in details. What we see in the news stories, it is mainly politicians and officials who have privilege to access to the newspapers, offering information about the description of poverty through the numbers or percentages. In terms of journalistic practices, what is significantly important is the lack of double check of the information offered or critical questioning of the numbers obtained from primary sources. This means that the primary sources/definers determine the news discourse.

It can be easily observed that the social responsibility campaigns are dominant in covering the poverty. This type of coverage has at least two

¹ Green card is granted to the poorest who cannot pay for the health care by the government.

dimensions: on the one hand, although poverty is a socio-economic issue which cannot be solved through such social aid campaigns, all the texts highlight the temporary financial aids instead of permanent and profound solutions to the poverty. On the other hand, the news stories about the social responsibility campaigns were usually constructed via infomercial format which offers advantages to the companies and organizations, organizing the campaigns.

2.4. ***Symbolic annihilation (SA)***

Borrowing the term from Tuchman (1978), this category refers to the dailies, ignoring or condemning the poor, and symbolically erasing poverty from public consciousness. We believe that, in a country with high percentage of poverty like Turkey, the total number of stories directly referring to poverty and the poor published on four highest selling dailies in a year (only 88) is already clarifying -and dramatic- enough to explain what we mean by symbolic annihilation. One another example of SA could be the stories about routine traffic “accidents” that the seasonal agricultural who are obliged to travel illegally on back of a truck suffer from every year.

Let’s have a quick look at the headlines: “The truck tips over: 9 died, 35 injured” (*Hürriyet*), “Workers packed like sardines die in accident” (*Sabah*), “Seasonal disaster” (*Posta*), “ ‘Cheap’ journey of seasonal workers’ ends tragically: 9 death” (*Zaman*). The headlines are carefully crafted to strike potential readers and are decorated with large, tragic photographs explicitly used together with the accidents stories. The main “villains” -or scapegoats- in most of the stories are drivers, weather and road conditions or the workers themselves who were aware of the danger. What is categorically missing from the news texts covering “seasonal accidents”, on the other hand, are the poor prevention measures, lack of life safety measures, number of irresponsible actors, including employers, official inspectors, traffic controllers, and almost chronic working conditions that the seasonal workers suffer face regularly.

As the above mentioned data reveals, economic and political dimension of poverty are ignored or, in fact, even masked. Controlled and owned by tycoon business, mass media fails to consider poverty as an economic-politic problem and even decontextualizes this phenomenon by demoting it into personal stories. In other words, the political and economic factors / dynamics that reveal and reproduce poverty are ignored and the poor themselves are depicted as those who are responsible for this poverty, though indirectly. According to the related literature, this representation is consistent with “poverty culture” hypotheses claiming that poverty is the result of the preferences made by the poor themselves, that is poverty is the fault and the problem of those suffering from poverty.

3. The poor looking at the media representation of the poor

The fact that the texts produced and mediated through mass media can be interpreted multi-dimensionally depending on those who read them is one of the important conclusions of the recent critical media studies and more importantly those of the school of cultural studies. Such a point of view emphasizes that the texts do not have single interpretations and they are, in fact, interpreted differently by different viewers. Therefore; the poor do not have to approve the representations regarding such a poverty reproduced by mass media to a great extent. However; the argument that media texts can be interpreted differently by different viewers has also led to the emergence of another argument suggested by some theorists such as Fiske (1987), who claim that each viewer freely creates his own interpretation.

In fact, the poor are both the material for and the consumers of media production system, which also help them improve their own culture. In other words, such a category called “innocent viewer”, who is not conditioned with their personal previous experiences, is not a category available anymore. Although some theorists such as van Dijk, Fairclough and Fowler suggest that different viewers can interpret the same text in different ways and media viewers are independent and active to certain extent, they highlight that most of the viewers / readers are not educated as critical readers for media texts (van Dijk, 1993: 242-243, Fairclough, 1995: 15-16; Fowler, 1991: 11; van Dijk, 1991). In this respect, it should be kept in mind that readers interpret the texts according to their background and they form a framework for news media interpretation regarding social and political events, so this framework functions as a main source enabling them to acquire information.

3.1. The Poor: “We are not Poor”

The dominant argument in news media regarding the phenomenon “poverty” suggests that poverty is created by the poor themselves. In this regard, we should find answers to the following questions: “To what extent do the poor agree with this dominant argument?” and “To what extent do these people, who are deprived of both economic and cultural capital, accept or reject the suggestions defining their dominant / ideological positions with regards to their own realities?” Considering above mentioned arguments, in our qualitative study conducted mainly through participant observation method, we tried to explore how the poor perceive and interpret their own poverty and to what extent their own perceptions and interpretations are consistent with the dominant argument(s) introduced by the media related to poverty. The observations were carried out in 15 households living in two districts, *Yeşiltepe* and *Gültepe*, where

dwellers suffer from severe poverty. To ensure triangulation, further data was collected from the members of these 15 families through in-depth interviews.

The question for which we are trying to find an answer is how the poor perceive poverty. However, we encountered a situation which surprised us in the first phases of our study. Although the subjects of our study, who we are trying to explore how they perceive and interpret poverty, are labeled as “poor” objectively as mentioned above – not subjectively by us – for the purposes of this current study, the members of those poor families do not consider themselves as “poor”. In short, this situation might be due to a particular point of view that might be defined with the following phrases “being aware of the presence of those living in worse conditions” and “being grateful for the present situation”. The followings are some replies to the indirect or naturally emerging questions asked regarding this situation during the interviews.

- *I am a member of middle class. At the present, I am still in the middle class but I don't know what might happen in the future (father: unemployed, his wife does not work, either. Only the son is working)*
- *We are not rich something. We are not poor something, either. We are middle something. Because I am not a citizen with high income, I am not poor, either. Just the middle, you know. (The mother; the father unemployed. The son is employed, the rent 225 TL)*
- *Well, I cannot label myself as poor; there are people who cannot afford even to buy a loaf of bread. Thanks God, we have got everything we need (The elder son is the only employed member of the family)*
- *We are a middle-class family. We do not have a good financial status. We are neither needy nor homeless. Just the middle (Mother)*
- *Thanks God. We have relatively better conditions. There are more needy ones. It is too hard. May God help them all!*

As the sentences uttered reveal, poor people state that they are not poor and they belong to the middle class. This belief is, of course, highly affected by their awareness of those who suffer from “extreme poverty”. The critical difference between the objective conceptualization of poverty and subjective perception of it is quite obvious accordingly. “Poverty” is defined and conceptualized according to various measurement

instruments available in social sciences literature, so poverty is defined under the following categories: relative poverty, absolute poverty, extreme poverty, poverty according to humanistic criteria, and poverty at hunger threshold. Such a differentiation is due to how poverty is defined according to available criteria.

What we would like to emphasize here is that, although, from a phenomenological point of view, poverty can be defined objectively and concretely, it is also strongly related to the perceptions, interpretations and experiences of the subjects. Therefore; regardless of the approaches and criteria used for evaluation, the question that why individuals and families who are indisputably and clearly labeled as “poor” do not consider themselves “poor” is quite important from a theoretical point of view. In this respect, the important point is the mechanisms which hinder individuals from admitting their poverty and how these mechanisms work.

At this point, the effect of dominant representations reproduced through mainstream media regarding the poor and poverty can be primarily the focus. What trigger such a point of view are the dramatized pathetic representations of the stories of “the new poor” in the media who live at “hunger threshold level”. In his study titled “Framing Class”, in which the role of the media in the establishment of class reality in USA is dealt with, Kendall (2005: 4) states: “The way media frames the class phenomena affects individuals’ opinions about “class” and inequality. To illustrate with, American society is not in fact a middle-class society, which is statistically impossible. However, when we examine the middle-class definitions suggested by media, we can assume that we belong to that class”. Therefore; the way mass media frames “class” phenomena and determines the framework of “class” is highly effective in viewers’ forming their class positions, that is, in their definitions regarding their own class positions.

Although not directly stated or may not be possible to state, the reason why they do not consider themselves as “poor” might also be the fact that the poor perceive poverty as a situation causing shame. The sentences uttered by a mother “If you have money, you have lots of friends. If not, you are nothing. If you have money, you exist, if not, you don’t” clearly show that poverty is the same as “being nothing”, so it is something very hard to accept and face. On the other hand, the tendency to perceive themselves as “relatively well-off” by comparing themselves with those living at hunger threshold is reflected in the words of a mother: “There are those living in worse conditions. I am grateful to God for mine”.

3.2. “Thanks God”

The way “tycoon industrial media” frame class phenomena considerably affects how viewers form their class positions and whether they label themselves as “poor” or not. However; some of the definitions by the poor regarding their own positions involve certain religious components as well. At this point, it shouldn’t be ignored that fatalism, being content with what one has and belief in a supreme divine power are among the common socio-economic values and attitudes in Turkey (Ergüder *et.al.* 1991). The following statements clearly reflect this situation:

- *I am given free coal by the Governor’s office. There is a unit called “Social Assistance”. They send us coal and food supplies. God bless them (Father owns “green card”- a special card given to poor families in Turkey to receive free health and other services necessary for survival - and sells mussels*
- *(shows the food supplies given during Ramadan month). There are those who do not receive these. May God help everybody. We are thankful for the present situation. (In a house receiving food supplies during Ramadan month, The mother)*
- *Poverty is not something we should be ashamed of. No one would like to be poor forever, but it is our fate, I believe (A Young girl)*

As Çiğdem (2007: 247) emphasized, there is a relationship between poverty and spirituality which is based on the function of religion in soothing and tolerating the problems, difficulties and conflicts resulting from poverty itself. However, this relationship cannot be considered a well-defined and theodesic relationship.

“If the relationship between spirituality and poverty is established positively, in other words, if religion is thought to be effective in reproducing, internalizing and soothing poverty, this means that religion has a combination of political and economic institutions and values that are likely to determine social stratification. If this relationship is formed negatively, in other words, if the relationships between these two concepts are determined by the other social factors mediating them rather than bringing them together, explaining these concepts within themselves won’t be functional anymore. In Turkey case, it is clear that both dimensions discussed in this study are problematic and we need a different point of view (Çiğdem, 2007: 212).

At this point, we might conclude that there is not a one-way and fixed relationship between spirituality and poverty. At the same time, religious

sects and political identity are not a determining factor of “being grateful to God”. In other words, the people with Sünni and Alevi origin (sects of Islam), conservatives and leftist people all have a similar tendency to “being grateful to God”. Despite the presence of an analytical difference, this situation shows that identities are a determining variable in this context. The words uttered by a father reflect another dimension of the issue: “What I want to cry out is the inequality between the rich and the poor. If Allah exists, He also does not treat people equally. Those following the devil are well off, but honest people face a lot of problems and things generally go wrong for them.

3.3. The perception of poverty by the poor

We already mentioned about the importance of analyzing poverty in poverty studies from an outer point of view as well as from the inside. Now we will talk about how poor individuals perceive poverty in general and their own poverty situations. How do the individuals who consider themselves as poor perceive poverty? Who do they blame for their own poverty? Do they assume responsibility for poverty in general and for their own poverty or do they blame other actors and institutions for this situation? How do the poor interpret social classification schemas which define and classify them? How do they perceive social hierarchies they are involved in? Is there a hegemonic (therefore involving the poor) meaning regarding poverty? (Erdoğan, 2007: 34-35)

As can be seen in the statements below, some subjects in our study associate poverty with the “laziness” of (poor) individuals. In other words, some participants blame the poor for poverty by suggesting their laziness as the reason of poverty:

- “Poverty is due to laziness. Nothing else. If a person tries hard, anything is possible” says a mother.
- A father: “poverty is due to the laziness and negligence of our people”
- “Poverty occurs when people do not work; they simply do not work. There are many lazy people, and I heard that they quit their jobs to receive unemployment benefit. It is simply laziness. They give up working on their own will, why do they do so?” says a mother.
- “They are very young. They should work. Let them earn money. But what do they do? They simply do not work” says a father.

Above mentioned statements clearly shows that the opinions stated during

participant observations regarding poverty imply that the poor themselves are responsible for poverty. The tendency to explain poverty according to individuals' characteristics and to blame the poor for the presence of poverty has been prevalent till today despite cultural and historical differences (Buğra, 2008: 11). In factz, the main reasons of poverty are unemployment, working conditions and low wages. The reason why the poor do not work is not their laziness and reluctance to work but rather the fact that they do not have earn enough money while working for informal sectors and they lose their jobs due to economic crisis and become unemployed for long periods of time (Gül & Gül, 2008: 82). As Edelman emphasized: "Assuming that the poor is responsible for their own poverty means acquiting economic and politic institutions responsible for this poverty and legalizing the attempts of authorities to change the behaviors of the poor (Edelman, 1988: 134 cited by Marston, 2008: 364). It is not fair "to see poverty as the result of a series of cultural characteristics derived from the poor themselves". Although the poor talk "a borrowed discourse" (Bourdieu, 1999: 51), it does not mean that poverty is completely and ideologically absorbed by integrating the poor into "dominant ideology" (Erdoğan, 2007: 33).

The observations shared here so far and the further analysis carried out do not necessarily imply that poor individuals have adopted the prevailing political / cultural representations which involves them or are imposed to them and are internalized by them completely. During the participant observations and interviews conducted, we witnessed that poor individuals question and criticize prevailing inequalities and ruling power.

"Everybody is starving, starving!!!" cried a mother. "But they do not publish or broadcast it. Why don't the poor in Turkey receive any aids?" This is neither an exceptional outcry nor a single example case. In contrast, as mentioned above, during our participant observations and interviews conducted, we witnessed considerable criticism towards dominant / hegemonic discourse that rebuilds social / class inequality and hierarchy.

Finally; we also observed that the subjects in our study do not categorically approve prevailing representations reproduced through media, and also that these prevailing representations and media, which mediated such representations, are questioned. If we consider some examples at symbolic level:

- *"Media has never served to the poor. Nowadays, media serves to the leading political party, not for someone else. Not for the citizens, very rarely, though"* says another father.

- Another mother says: *“They produce programmes for the rich. Why do they focus on the rich? To me, media should address to the poor from now on”.*
- Still another father says: *“We have a regular open air market in our neighbourhood. In the evening, you see poor people picking up the remaining fruits and vegetables from the ground. Let the media come here and film them. Even they collect pieces of bread from the rubbish. Let the media film them here. Let them film the homeless people sleeping outside at nights. Media is hunting for high rating. The media merely films the lives of celebrities”*
- *“To be frank, media do not reflect the poor very well and satisfy their needs. This situation weakens my trust in media”* says a father.
- Finally a mother says: *“Our life and the life presented in media are quite different from each other. They have never reflected the poor and I do not think they will. They stick to the policies of the rich. Let me tell frankly. The rich is the rich, the poor is the poor”*

As shown above, there are some opinions suggesting that media broadcasts and publishes in parallel with the political-economic context it operates in, capitalist dynamics and economic benefits emerging as a result of its relationship with the ruling government. In addition, the participants have articulated that the televised reality continuously constructed and reproduced by media, in general, and television in particular, differs from the reality they live in.

Broadly speaking, most of the family members who are exposed to “critical reading” training mentioned above in detail are more likely to be interested in politics and have “left wing” or “social democrat” political identity or have a Kurdish and Alevi origin. In this regard, we can conclude that political, ethnic and religious sect identities determine, to a great extent, the fact that the media texts about dominant representations in general and unemployment and poverty in specific are interpreted based on a contrast. Therefore; poverty as a common fate does not lead to homogenous interpretations. However; the contrast here does not mean “exact opposites like” black and white” phenomenology. To put in other words, there are also people with Kurdish and Alevi origin and with left-wing political views who do not make critical interpretations of media texts just like the presence of those who make such interpretations.

4. Conclusions

There are two overlapping, highly intertwined pictures we tried to analyze in this paper: The representation of the poor on media, on one hand, and media in everyday life of the poor, on the other. What we encountered again and again throughout the news stories on the first part of this paper is the fact that the common language utilized by the newspapers to represent the poor does not only leave the poor people with their own problems, but more significantly, uses the dramatic patterns of the stories for their own pseudo-journalistic/commercial purposes -which might be called "journalistic abuse of poverty" and also the poor.

Our ethnographic data presented and elaborated in the second part, on the other hand, demonstrate that while the poor people are able to develop subverted/resistant readings of such (mis)representations, they re-produce similar otherizing discourses in identifying themselves. Put shortly, the observations warn us that poverty cannot be limited to how statistical indicators define it; how the poor define themselves and perceive, define and experience poverty is as much important as objective criteria picturing poverty. In this sense, religious and spiritual values, notion of gratefulness or being aware of and surrounded by people living in worse conditions appear as crucial elements in tolerating and bearing the dramatic conditions and burning problems poverty causes. However, we should keep in mind that the tycoon media's stereotypical misrepresentations of the poor should also be considered as critical frame of reference through which the audiences -poor family members- label themselves as poor or not.

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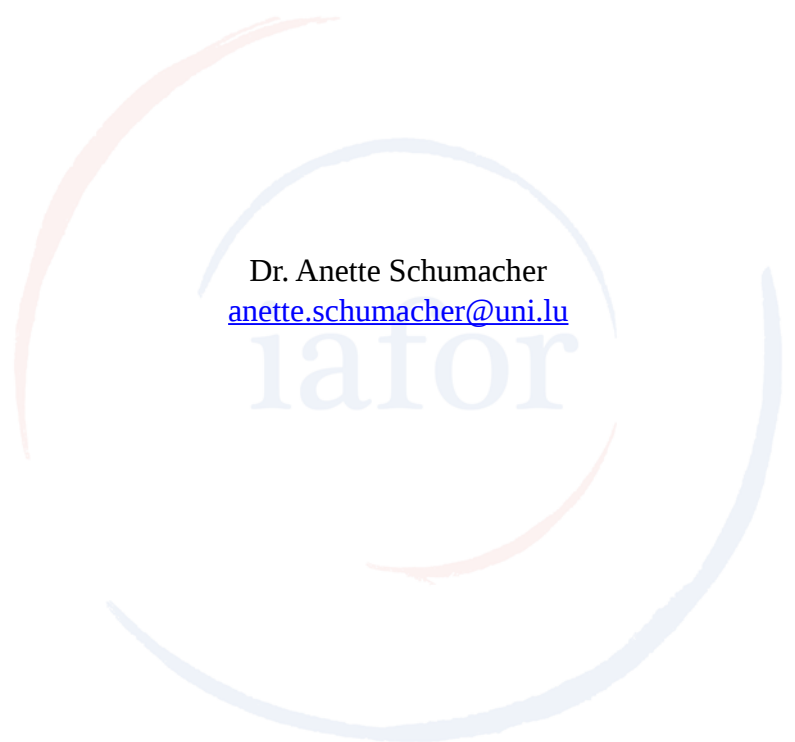
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“We share the work but not the roles”



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"We share the work but not the roles"

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Abstract

In 2005 a new concept of institutional childcare called "Maison Relais pour Enfants" (MRE) was established in Luxembourg. That can be considered as a flexible answer to an increasingly complex society. The MRE aims to facilitate the reconciliation of work and private life, especially for parents with children aged between 3 and 48 months. This study accompanies the establishment of MRE for members of the University of Luxembourg and the neighborhood around the MRE. As a first step, we interviewed 45 persons (parents, staff and politicians) driven by the need to understand their expectations of the varied functions of the new MRE. The special situation in Luxembourg, a small European country with a highly developed economy, a trilingual education system and one of the ten highest net migration rates in the world, results in many different social environments.

First results indicate that there are different ideas about the role of the MRE for giving satisfaction to the children and their parents. Results also show that mothers and fathers handle their Work-Life-Balance depending on their (cross) cultural background; parents often feel "guilty" and they are confronted with a whole range of conflicting thoughts and ideologies of their social environments and related party.

Introduction

Today the "working family" is the politically preferred option in many countries according to the global economic competition. Countries with policies facilitating female employment are interestingly those states with the highest fertility rates (OECD, 2008 in Majerus, 2009). According to Seyda, "the international comparison shows that the degree of compatibility between work and family responsibilities plays a key role in combining employment rates with high fertility rates. All countries which are successful in this respect show a high level of compatibility" (Seyda, S. 2003, p. 19). The **Lisbon Agenda** sets a target of a 60% employment rate among **women in Europe (Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften)**. **The employment rate among women in Luxembourg is 56.1%**. This suggests that the labour market of Luxembourg needs an increase in the number of working women, or that is to say the parents. In particular, it should be easier for the under-represented gender to pursue a **professional activity**.

This development needs to be accompanied by a change in political interventions. One option to encourage female work is achieved, for example, by offering public support for childcare for 0-to 3-years-olds. Surveys in many European countries confirm that most of young parents want to have more than two children. They declare that a major obstacle to achieving their objective was the difficulty of accessing educational childcare facilities. As a first step towards increasing the number of women at work, or rather parental employment rate, Luxembourg invested considerable sums in building new childcare infrastructure ((Our Children: Our present and our future). This was followed by the introduction of childcare-service-vouchers for families with children. These vouchers are designed to enable families to purchase a certain number of hours in day nurseries and childcare centres. By introducing the

childcare-service voucher scheme in 2009, decision-makers hope to help parents to combine family life with professional duties, and at the same time promote integration among children within a multicultural community.

One year ago, the University of Luxemburg started a research project accompanying the foundation of the Maison Relais pour Enfants (MRE) named Rue Willmar. Since its inception in 2005, the Maison Relais pour Enfants (MRE) is intended as a new type of childcare centre in Luxembourg.

Normally the MRE's take care of children aged between 0 and 18 years. **A new feature of this institution is**, among other things, that services can be paid **for on a fee-per-hour basis**. This means that parents can set up schedules of different care periods for each day of the week. The MRE expanded operating times and flexible childcare hours for helping parents to combine careers with family life.

Our research interest focuses on a particular MRE named Rue Willmar. The inauguration of MRE took place in October 2009, and was initiated by the City of Luxembourg, the Ministry of Family and Integration, the asbl Inter-Actions as well as by the University of Luxembourg. What's special about this project is that the MRE Rue Willmar welcomes children of students' and staffs' as well as the children of the neighborhood of "Limpertsberg" (at a ratio of 2 to1), where the MRE is located. This MRE has the capacity to receive 30 to 35 children aged between 3 month and 4 years. To date, there are 46 children registered at the centre, while some come only a few hours a week. About 19 different nationalities are represented, and among the total of 46 children (20 girls and 26 boys) 11 retain Luxembourgish nationality. The children are split into two groups giving them the chance to learn from each other and to benefit from cultural differences.

A research group from the University of Luxembourg accompanies the development process of this MRE posing the following question: What role does the MRE play for the reconciliation of work and private life?

Specifically, we were interested in the two following main topics:

1. What does the MRE contribute to satisfy parents with a better reconciliation of work and private life?
2. To what extent can labor conditions of the MREs' be used to develop a professional image/identity, and hence achieve pedagogical staff satisfaction?

To gain a coherent understanding of the expectations and wishes of parents and staff articulated in relation to the MRE Rue Willmar, a qualitative research was conducted. Upon completion of this study, all data and information was gathered and used to create a model illustrating the ideas of satisfaction of the interviewed persons. The results of this qualitative study should serve as basis for follow-up quantitative research that will be **put into use nation-wide**.

Research Method

In this study, the method of “problem-centered interviews”, (Witzel, 1996; 2000; Kruse, 2009) was used. The main focus of this method considers perceptions, experiences, evaluations and opinions of the interview partners according to a specific topic. Analyses of the interviews are done in accordance with grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and some elements of qualitative content analyses as described by Mayring (2007). As a preparation the interviewer adheres to a minimum guideline that can provide further stimuli. Seven researchers were trained in interview skills to enable them to participate in the planned interviews. They are carefully chosen on the basis of their intercultural competences and their foreign language skills. There must be a fitting in language between the interviewed person and the interviewer. An excellent balance was found by the including of a large number of interviewers. However, at the same time differences across interviewing styles were difficult to avoid.

Participants in the study

Interviews were conducted with parents, staff, politicians, members of the university board, the umbrella organization (Inter-Actions) and the responsible bodies (University, Ministry, etc.). There were only seventeen interviews with parents because at that time that the MRE “Rue Willmar” had opened, it wasn’t full yet. There were ten interviews with staff and eighteen interviews with members of different organizations. Depending on the interview group, the guideline of the interview script was respectively and marginally changed. A total of 45 interviews were conducted, transcribed, and evaluated.

Performing/Procedure

All interviewees received the same information before beginning the interview: the interviewer introduced himself and the project. Then the interviewees received the offer to be informed later about the results and were asked to declare their consent to the recording of the interview, and that the data would be collected and processed anonymously solely for the purpose of research. Furthermore, the interviewee was told that it was possible to answer without time-pressure.

After the talk, the interviewer produced a memo containing the following: contact method, interview duration, atmosphere, sitting, disturbances, interruptions and non verbal-reactions.

The interviews with parents (and that is the part of the study I will present) start with a broad opening question to avoid response restrictions: How do you manage the reconciliation of work and private life? Can you tell us something about your life situation? These were followed by supplementary question that addressed the role of the MRE, the role of the parents, the role of the staff, as well as their perceptions of staff-parents-cooperation, public discourse on the MRE, and the meaning of satisfaction.

Results and discussion

We gathered a lot of useful information in these interviews. The research results were presented to the parents during a parents’ meeting which provided a platform for discussion after the presentation. The contributions of this discussion were also integrated in the current research process and used towards the development of the questionnaire, as the following picture shows.

The material shows just a small sample of the results, and refers to the research question of the reconciliation of work and private life and the sources of satisfaction for the parents.

The findings indicate inter alia that there could be a relationship between parents' satisfaction concerning the reconciliation of work and private life and the following factors:

- **Legitimacy/motivations for institutional childcare**
- **MRE Childcare quality**
- **Extent of multiple burdens for woman and men**
- **Absence of social networks**
- **Attitudes of closely related persons to institutional childcare**
- **Reasons for professional activity**
- **Satisfaction of the children and the partner**
- **Cultural influences**

Legitimacy/motivation for institutional childcare

Questions were raised about whether care for a very young child is only legitimated by the professional life of parents or by leisure activities. One question was brought up by both parents and staff was what can be called the „Legitimacy discourse of childcare“. Is it okay to bring a child to the MRE and then go for sports, shopping, or something else? Or is the professional life the only legitimate reason to make use of institutional care? This implies a certain idea of institutional care, in which it is viewed as a compromise, and not something beneficial to the child. (This prompted the question: Would you bring your child to this institution if you were not working?)

Mostly, it seemed to depend on estimations of the suitability of the childcare center. If people were convinced that institutional care was not as good as parental care, parents had difficulties giving their baby to institutional care during leisure time.

However, if institutional child care is seen as a high professional activity, where children are promoted and encouraged, instead of just being looked after, one can work more effectively or spend leisure time without feeling guilty about enjoying this. It seems essential to look at assessments of the quality by the parents and child care staff. This means, that motivation for the institutional childcare and the quality of the childcare institution, (here the MRE), are to be considered as two essential elements in the development of the questionnaire in further research.

The MRE childcare quality

This topic was frequently mentioned in discussions with the parents. The quality of the institution seems to be one of the most important prerequisites towards satisfaction. Parents want to make sure their child is well taken care off. This has a positive impact on the parents' well-being and work performance. One of the most important aspects for parents is the well-being of their children. Many parents see this as an indicator for their own well-being. If the children are happy, the parents will not automatically be happy, but it is a necessary pre-condition for their satisfaction. It is a "sine qua non" that means that the well-being of the child is necessary but not sufficient for the well-being of the parents and their personal satisfaction. **However, in Luxembourg MREs were shooting up like mushrooms because of the urgent need for institutional child care and because of the financial support in the form of the "chèques service accueil" (child care voucher; government subsidies) by the government of Luxembourg. For that reason, many Luxembourgish residents were concerned about the quality of MRE's, fearing that quantity took priority over quality. Therefore, we need a national survey to examine the opinions of childcare staff and parents in order to ascertain the quality of childcare Luxembourg-wide. The interviewed parents expressed their expectations of the MRE's role, concerning: the children; the parents and the pedagogical staff.**

Parents felt that child care centre should offer their children a place:

- to acquire social skills and competences (They mentioned items like integration capacity, tolerance, role taking, substitute for their extended family)
- to develop their self-determination
- that fosters the individual development of the children
- where staff develop individual relationships with the children
- where children can learn rules
- offering complete safety for the children
- to create optimal learning conditions
- of well-being of the children
- to do more than only engaging children

Parents felt that child care facilities should help them:

- reconcile work and private life
- find time for themselves and their partners
- building parent groups for experience exchange
- to establish a Parents board
- offer flexible opening hours
- on site availability of expert consultation

And finally parents felt the expectations that staff members:

should be likeable, should love his/her work, and children, and that there shouldn't be a change in the reference person.

Further, staff should not act on impulse but professionally. He should be well-trained in child development and specialized in the individual needs of young children.

Close proximity to home, a communication book, a good pedagogical concept, a familiarization concept as well as a reference person concept are also considered important.

Multiple burdens

Balancing work and family responsibilities is a challenge faced by many working parents. The interviews show that most women continue juggling both household and family responsibilities, while they are at the same time working and trying to maintain personal interests. This can be perceived either as a challenge or as a threat. Most times, the multiple burdens are a big problem for women who are working full time. Some of the interviewed women also talked about feeling overwhelmed because they are often **burdened by multiple roles**: they have a job, bring up children and manage the household. This statement is very popular and often described and repeated in the literature (Margola & Rosnati, 2003; Kupsch, 2006; Reeb, 2009; Barette, 2009). Consequently, multiple burdens are often reported as a typical female problem.

In our qualitative study, interestingly men also reported a double burden and the feeling of being overwhelmed. Thus, the professional life of parents has not only an impact of women's gender role but there is also a change in the role and the tasks of men. Thus, we can see a certain approximation of gender roles. However, one interviewed woman argued in the discussion. "We share the work but not the roles". It remains to be investigated to what extent the allocation of responsibilities between women and men contribute toward raising the satisfaction with the reconciliation of work and private life in Luxembourg, and to what extent the combination of work and private life is influenced by the shaping of a gender role by a parent.

Absence of social network

We have a special population and family structure in Luxembourg, such that many of the interviewees did not have developed and reliable social networks at their disposal in the form of grandparents, or aunts and uncles etc., because these family members are not living in Luxembourg. This lack of extended family structure impedes the reconciliation of work and private life, because there is no help in the case of illness or support to bring the children to – and pick up the children from the care centre. The MRE "rue Willmar" take care of about 46 children. There are 11 Luxembourgish children and 35 children with 19 different nationalities. This explains the lack of extended family of the parents. While the absence of family members can have some disadvantages, the attendance of family members can also complicate family life as you can see below.

Attitude of closely related persons to institutional childcare

Interestingly, a spatial proximity, for example to the grand-parents, does not lead automatically to an improvement of the situation. If the grand-parents have negative preconceptions about institutional child care, this provides additional stress for the parents. This is also the case if the parents evaluate the quality of the childcare center excellent. Some parents reported suffering from criticism of family, friends or colleagues

regarding their decision to take children into care outside the family. These people did not approve of the daily juggling between work and family life. They preferred if one of the parents stayed home to take care of the child because they believed it beneficial to the child.

Being confronted with such attitudes complicates parents' situation, and can bring about additional stress. **Thus, the interesting question arises as to what extent the attitude of other persons will have an influence on the satisfaction of parents. Especially, while parents are already subjected to pressures of wider social changes such as changing women roles and involvement in professional life, and the rise in demand for institutional child-care. Therefore the questionnaire to develop for the parents should pick up this topic.**

Reason for professional activity

The reasons for professional activity of both parents are not the same. There are different reasons to work in a fulltime job. **This is particularly evident in the female population** that decided to continue to work while having kids. **Some of the women chose to work for intrinsic reasons, this could be self realization, enjoyment of work, or just to avoid being a stay-at-home mother. Others worked primarily with extrinsic motivation such as financial reasons, or the fear to find of unemployment or damage to their career. It could be suggested that women who work with intrinsic motivation are coming under increasing pressure to justify themselves. Cognitive dissonance could come into being which is difficult to manage. Professional activity for financial reasons seems to be easier to justify, because people consider this to be a predicament. They can think: I am really not responsible for it, it is an external attribution (Rheinberg, 2002).**

As a consequence the questionnaire should focus on the reasons for parents' professional activity if both parents work and leave very young children in childcare. Is there an inter-relationship between the reason for professional life and the satisfaction with the reconciliation of work and private life? The question is, therefore: Might different reasons produce different levels of satisfaction with the work-life-balance?

Satisfaction of the children and the partner

Many interviewees emphasized that their own satisfaction can only be regarded as related to the satisfaction of their partner and of the child/ children. One of the most important aspects for parents was the well-being of their children and that of the spouse. Therefore, the questionnaire should always address the perceived satisfaction of the partner and the child. Satisfaction of the child will be researched by asking the parents. Sure, it would be better to make a standardized observation of some situation taking place in the MRE, such as "the delivery of the child", but this takes a lot of time and is rather labor-intensive. For this reason, this cannot be carried out in the national survey, but perhaps in the special situation of the accompanying research of the MRE "Rue Willmar".

Family origins/cultural influences

The last point to mention is the meaning of the cultural influences. Special importance is awarded to this issue because of the discussion with the parents. There was a large debate on the imprinting of parental role and their attitude towards work by the own origin family. The topic "paternity" was touched and in particular the meaning of taking paternity leave for the self- image (self-perception) of men. The opinions of the employer, colleagues, family and

friends could not be ignored by those affected. Decisions taken by fathers are strongly influenced by family beliefs, the cultural setting and the own cultural identity.

The reconciliation of work and private life is no longer a typical women's issue. Active fatherhood belongs to the men's self-perception today, but economic and social constraints often deny realizing that role.

Similarly, women have tackled the reconciliation of their role as workers and as mothers. An important aspect here is also the cultural influences of their family. One mother described her situation and reported to hear her mother's voice commenting on nearly everything she is doing, although her mother lives hundreds of miles away. This remark of a female participant in our current research shows clearly the complexity of reconciliation of work and family of employed parents depending on their (trans) cultural environment and gender role in Luxembourg.

Further works

All these very shortly described topics showing only some of the results are to be considered as important issues to be integrated in the next questionnaire.

We are hoping that the following quantitative research, starting in March, 2011, allows us to test some hypotheses, which are derived from these results of the qualitative research. We want to undertake a national survey of the childcare center "Maisons Relais pour Enfants" for children under the age of four, and include the following themes in the parental questionnaire:

Satisfaction with...

- **Child-care worker- child relationship**
- **Pedagogical staff**
- **Communication**
- **Staff – Parent cooperation**
- **Definition of parental role/ influence of the cultural environment**
- **Childcare facility MRE**
- **Personal satisfaction, satisfaction of the partner and satisfaction of the child**
- **Pedagogical concept, the way the MRE works**
- **Spatial conditions**
- **Encouragement of children**
- **Reconciliation of work and private life (including family-work conflict and facilitation and work-family conflict and facilitation, multiple burden etc.)**
- **Family and life model**

The questionnaire was recently completed and will be currently translated into several languages. The questionnaire will be used throughout Luxembourg in March 2011. First results will be available in summer 2011.



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Feminist Aesthetics and the ‘Art’ of Cosmetic Surgery

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Feminist Aesthetics and the 'Art' of Cosmetic Surgery

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Abstract

According to the US literary and cultural historian Sander Gilman, the term 'aesthetic surgery' is most commonly used today to describe elective surgical procedures that alter the surface and shape of the face/body. In this paper, I argue that the concept of 'aesthetic surgery' is problematic for Asian women because 'aesthetics' is a product of gendered and raced ideas. To explore this argument, this paper will, firstly, define key terms such as 'Enlightenment aesthetics' and 'aesthetic surgery'; secondly, this paper will interrogate the Enlightenment notion of aesthetics, according to which women are usually positioned as the 'beautiful' subject of the male artist/viewer's gaze; thirdly, this paper will offer a brief history of the ways in which women's bodies have been visually represented in Western art as aesthetic objects. Finally, this paper will examine the ways in which Enlightenment aesthetics influences aesthetic surgical ideals of feminine beauty. The results will show that definitions of women's beauty are deeply influenced by Enlightenment aesthetic theory. This is especially problematic for Asian women, who represent an increasing number of global cosmetic surgery statistics, because concepts that underpin Asian beauty are also implicated in Western notions of the aesthetic.

What is Enlightenment aesthetics?

For the purposes of this paper, Enlightenment aesthetics, or simply 'aesthetics,' refers to the branch of philosophy concerning the nature of beauty and art, which developed during the European Enlightenment.ⁱ Its proponents include eighteenth century philosophers Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), William Hogarth (1697-1764), David Hume (1711-1776), Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), Johann Joachim Winkelmann (1717-1768), and Edmund Burke (1729-1797), who dealt with aesthetic issues by raising new questions about beauty and art, such as 'What is the relationship between beauty and artistic representation?' 'Are some people better at producing works of art than others?' 'How do we come to make good or bad judgements about art and beauty?' And 'are there universal standards of taste?''ⁱⁱ

Aesthetics emerged during the Enlightenment because this was a period in which reason (rather than divine law) was advocated as the principle source of truth: when men and women looked toward empirical theories of human nature, to replace those that were grounded in religious myth. For example, in 1790, the renowned German philosopher Immanuel Kant argued that human beings are compelled by nature to seek meaning and purpose in what they observe in the material world. Such observations, however, depended on the theological principle that the natural world – despite its apparent chaos – is organised by universal laws. In his influential work, *The Critique of Judgment*, Kant argues: 'The harmony of nature with our cognitive power is presupposed a priori by judgment, as an aid in its reflection on nature in terms of empirical laws' (24).

Like science, the philosophy of aesthetics was concerned with discovering such laws. For example, in 1741, the Scottish philosopher David Hume suggested that the function aesthetic theory is to determine general principles of beauty, so that 'true' and 'false' judgements of taste could be distinguished from one another; furthermore, Hume agreed with Kant when he wrote, 'It is natural for us to seek a *Standard of Taste*; a rule by which the various sentiments of men may be reconciled; at least a decision afforded confirming one sentiment, and condemning another' (*Essays and Treatises* 136).

Subsequently, Baumgarten, in his treatise, *Aesthetica* (published in 1971) defined aesthetics as the 'science of understanding' (Bindman 19). Thus aesthetics symbolised man's capacity for reasoning and self-determination; it became an important sign of a nation's progress toward civilisation and moral freedom. Clive Cazeux, in the *Continental Aesthetics Reader*, asserts that the understanding of aesthetics as a 'philosophy of beauty' coincides with the 'subjective freedom' of the new bourgeoisie who instituted beauty and fine arts as expressions of their wealth, and class identity (xv). A civilised society, according to Hume, is therefore characterised by 'systems of profound theology,' scientific advancement, and beautiful art (275).

Enlightenment aesthetics must be distinguished from Classical aesthetics,ⁱⁱⁱ which – as in the work of the Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle – did not concern itself with the notion of 'art' that we are familiar with today. For instance, the Greeks did not always regard beauty and art as synonymous, and this is evident in Plato's *Republic*, which argues that art is *mimetic* (an inferior copy of the real) (601b). In fact, in his introduction to *Aesthetics*, Cooper reminds us that the Greeks had no term that was remotely equivalent to our 'art'; the nearest is *techne* meaning 'skill,' and this was applied not only to decorative objects, but also to crafts and trades such as pottery, carpentry, and horsemanship (9).

Cooper contends that although Plato and Aristotle were interested in the value of beauty in human life, they were not similarly challenged by the status of judgements of aesthetic value; for example, difficult questions pertaining to the 'subjectivity versus objectivity of aesthetic judgement' could only have occurred *after* the burgeoning of science and 'modern' philosophy inspired by Descartes and Galileo (76). By this time, objective truths, such as those discovered by natural scientists, were privileged over 'subjective' realities that were implied by Classical aesthetics.

Judgements of beauty are universal

Although the Enlightenment philosophers did not discuss aesthetic issues in identical ways, there was a general consensus, firstly, that Greek sculpture was important; and secondly, that judgments of beauty are universal. For example, in *The Critique of Judgement*, Kant famously proposed that judgements of beauty are based on feelings of disinterested pleasure: that is, feelings of pleasure that are not linked to a desire to possess a 'beautiful' object, or even an interest in the existence of the object in question. Because such an interest would influence a 'pure' judgement of beauty, Kant argued that a judgement that is based on disinterested pleasure – because it has no ulterior motivation – would be the same for everyone.

There are a few of reasons why Enlightenment philosophers were interested in Greek art. The first has to do with the way men and women were represented in the past: early Christianity emerged from a thoroughly Hellenised Pagan civilization that was rich in Greek/Roman visual representations of men and women: statues, ornaments, household items, jewellery, paintings, mosaics, murals, and plays normally depicted the ancient Greek/Roman gods and goddesses nude, or partly nude, and often engaged in sexual acts. In addition, common portrayals of women in Pagan culture emphasised their uncontrollable sexuality, sacred virginity, and motherhood. As a result, Christianity and ancient Greek religion overlap on the view that women's bodies are objects of sexual desire, that women's virginity is sacred, and that women are 'natural' mothers (particularly mothers of sons).

The eighteenth century was also a period in which Europe was experiencing a Classical revival in art. The word Renaissance (or *Rinascimento* in Italian) literally means 'rebirth,' and the era is best known for the renewed interest in the culture of Classical antiquity. This 'birth' of interest in

the Classical Greco-Latin world culminated in an artistic revolution, which was characterised by considerable growth in European painting, drawing, and sculpture. The Greeks, after all, were considered superior in almost all aspects of life, including intellect and warfare; according to the German art historian and archeologist Johann Joachim Winkelmann, the Greeks were ‘a thinking people,’ who exerted their reasoning faculties for two decades or more, before any other civilization began to discuss similar philosophical questions about the world. Thus Winkelmann argues that the art of Egyptians, Etruscans, and other nations may ‘enlarge our ideas; and lead to correctness of judgement [of art],’ but only an understanding of *Greek* art reveals the ‘one and true’ principles for artistic practice (4).

Importantly, the Classical revival enabled Enlightenment aestheticians to use *what they believed* were Classical examples of human beauty (embodied in ancient Greek sculptures and paintings of athletes, gods, and goddesses) to establish a theory and history of art: that is to say, the philosophy of aesthetics invented the very notion of art, and not the other way around. It goes without saying that aesthetics (hence art) has come to incorporate other eighteenth century values, such as the idea that art and morality are linked; that European men were appropriate theorists and creators of art (hence beauty); and that European women were the embodiment of beauty.

Feminist Aesthetics

In order to acknowledge the ways in which aesthetic surgery is problematic for Asian women, we must first examine how aesthetics represents women’s bodies. This paper understands aesthetics to be a problem for feminists because the notion of women as the embodiment of beauty is embedded in aesthetic theory, and because Enlightenment aestheticians have tended to eroticise feminine beauty. For example, in 1773, the renowned artist and art theorist William Hogarth argued that beauty is expressed by the S-shaped or ‘serpent’ line, that is characteristic of Classical representations of women’s bodies. Hogarth describes this ‘line of beauty’ as ‘[...] flowing, gliding outlines [...] which are in waves,’ giving ‘not only a grace to the part but to the whole body [...]’ (*The Analysis of Beauty* 227).

We can see the Hogarthian line of beauty on Classical sculptures such as *The Capuan Venus* and the *Venus de Milos* (Appendix A) standing on one leg, while the other is bent, causing the hip and shoulders to tilt; with the head slightly turned, back arched, and one arm is raised: this is known as *Contrapposto*, or the ‘counterpoise,’ which was developed by the Greeks to represent freedom of movement in the human figure. Likewise, *The Source*, by the French Neo-Classical painter Jean Auguste-Dominique Ingres (Appendix B), depicts a young girl with her right arm raised and right leg slightly bent, causing the weight to shifted to one side of the body, portraying a relaxed stance which does not compromise the figure’s symmetry. The viewer’s eye is drawn along the lovely ‘S’ shape of the girl’s body, beginning from the raised arm, then down along the right leg. The same pose can be found in the *The Three Graces*, by Antonio Canova, who was a student of Ingres, and the *Venus Kallipygos*, which exists in many variations (Appendix C).

In *The Philosophical Enquiry*, the English political theorist and philosopher Edmund Burke similarly describes:

[...] that part of a woman where she is perhaps the most beautiful, about the neck and breasts; the smoothness, the softness; the easy and insensible swell; the variety of the surface, which is never for the smallest space the same; the deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye glides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whether it is carried.
(216)

Not only does Burke refer specifically to women’s beauty in this passage; he is describing a sexually available woman, whose ‘beauty’ is both desirable and intoxicating (this is despite the fact that beauty is supposed to be an objective).^{iv} Burke also values fair skin, when he writes that:

‘the colors of beautiful bodies must not be dusky, or muddy, but clean and fair’ (220); and ‘gracefulness,’ which is characterised by soft angles such as those on the *Venus de Medicis* (226).

For two leading contemporary feminist theorists of aesthetics, Carolyn Korsmeyer and Peggy Zeglin-Brand, the duality of sublime/beautiful has deep implications for notions of art and the ‘artist.’ For example, the characteristics of beauty listed by Burke – ‘smoothness,’ ‘softness,’ and ‘smallness’ – not to mention ‘easy,’ ‘insensible,’ ‘deceitful,’ and ‘giddy’ – are commonly associated with femininity. In contrast, masculinity is associated with the sublime, and described by Burke as strong, heavy, jagged, vast, rough, and loud: characteristics that are commonly associated with masculinity.

Consequently, it was often implied that women were incapable of producing art, for they lacked imagination and the capacity to make aesthetic judgements. For example, in *Observations on the Feeling of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Kant, asserts that ‘[t]he fair sex has just as much understanding as the male, but it is a beautiful understanding, whereas ours should be a deep understanding, an expression which signifies identity with the sublime’ (78);^v thus ‘[woman’s] philosophy is not to reason, but to sense’ (79).

Similarly, Hume reasons that the capacity to make pure aesthetic judgments is an indication of moral superiority, and only (an educated, elite, class of) ‘civilised men’ were capable of doing so; and, although such ‘men of delicate taste be rare, they are easily to be distinguished in society by the soundness of their understanding, and the superiority of their faculties above the rest of mankind’ (274): in other words, it is only a civilised, European man who can make ‘pure’ judgements about the feminine aesthetic.

Women were, however, considered appropriate subjects of art: Hume, for instance, ranks ‘the fair sex’ alongside ‘music, good cheer, or anything, that naturally ought to be agreeable’ when he discusses the conversion of pleasure into pain through repetition (*Treatise of Human Nature* 303); Consequently, Pollock writes, in *Vision and Difference*, that evolving notions of the (male) artist and social definitions of women have historically followed contradictory paths: ‘[c]reativity has been appropriated as an ideological component of masculinity while femininity has been constructed as man’s and, therefore, the artist’s negative’ (*Vision and Difference* 21).

Ways of Seeing

In his ground-breaking 1972 study, *Ways of Seeing*, Berger argues that the notion of aesthetics is inherently gendered, and this is most obvious if we take, as an example, the female nude in Western art. By defining the difference between being ‘naked’ and being ‘nude,’ for example, Berger argues that women are constantly being surveyed, not only by men but by other women, and by themselves. Berger notoriously contends that ‘To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognised for oneself. A nude has to be seen as an object in order to be a nude.’ (*Ways of Seeing*).

Using Tintoretto’s oil painting of *Susanna and the Elders* as an example (Appendix D), Berger demonstrates that the voyeuristic male gaze is assumed by representations of the female body, which is intended to entice men. Berger argues that male artists since the sixteenth century have exploited the parable of Susanna and the Elders to legitimise voyeurism; neither highlighting the evil of the two Elders nor the distress of their victim, but Susanna’s sensual body.

Berger goes on to argue that the revival of Classical art in the eighteenth century enabled artists to use religious topics to put women’s bodies on display. For example, typical representations of *The Judgment of Paris* (Appendix E) depicts the nude, or partly nude, bodies of Aphrodite,

Athena, and Hera in such a way that they have nothing to do with Paris's judgment, for he can't see them from the voyeuristic angle that the artist and audience can. Ruben draws attention to the women's bodies, which are contrasted against the dull, dirt-coloured, background. There is a peacock on the left, again a symbol of vanity, and Athena (with Medusa's head on her shield) offering herself to Paris, who is rewarding Aphrodite with the golden apple.

In Ruben's paintings, the female nude implies an awareness of being seen by a male spectator (Paris or the artist himself, hence the viewer), who is forced to decide which of the three goddesses are the most beautiful. The disciplinary male gaze is also a voyeuristic gaze (in both paintings, Ruben enables the viewer to see a woman's nude body from three different angles), and an act of possessing the female subject: this is true in aesthetics as well as in Renaissance and Post-Renaissance sculpture and painting. It explains why, for example, women are nearly always depicted with no pubic hair, for this is associated with power and sexual passion.

Berger concludes that aesthetics takes as its paradigms works of art (and art theories) that exclude women as creators and tend to make her the object. As a result, feminine beauty in the visual arts has been defined by a tradition of artists/art theorists, whose depiction of women's bodies are intended for the viewing pleasure and critique of men. It is useful to note that both paintings are also perfect examples of beauty, according to Hogarth, Burke, and Winkelmann: Fairness (of the skin and hair) and smoothness (of the body: that is, no pubic hair), signifying sexual powerlessness; gracefulness, characterised by round stomachs (denoting fertility), and the Hogarthian line of beauty; Long hair gathered in a knot 'without a visible band to confine it' (Winkelmann 68); round eyes with half closed eyelids, expressing love (Winkelmann 94) or – according to Berger – innocence/ignorance toward being watched; and a passive, or sexually provocative, stance.

The 'art' of aesthetic surgery

Cosmetic surgeons and their advertising companies often use aesthetic discourse (both visually and linguistically) to describe feminine beauty as an 'artistic' goal, whereby women are positioned as passive, imperfect, 'subjects,' and male surgeons are positioned as 'artists.' At times, the influence of aesthetics on aesthetic surgery is explicit, for example, In an article entitled "An Artistic Approach to Figure Sculpting," Doctor Anoop Rastogi asserts that to create the perfect body – one that is characterised by balance and harmony – surgeons require two attributes: 'an artistic flair with the ability to think and conceive in three dimensions, and the surgical skill to then take this three dimensional vision and create a beautiful figure' (86).

Likewise, the fusion of art and science is increasingly exemplified by terms and phrases such as 'liposculpture,' 'art of beauty,' 'body contouring,' and before/after 'galleries.' Lanzer tells us that the term 'liposculpture' was coined in 1991 to differentiate itself from 'liposuction' (par. 6). Whereas 'liposuction' refers more crudely to the removal of fat, Rastogi declares that liposculpture 'should be an artistic procedure. It is the three dimensional sculpting of the body' ("An Artistic Approach to Figure Sculpting" 86).

Other times, the influence of aesthetics is less apparent; for example, in 1997, the Californian plastic surgeon Stephen Marquardt developed the phi Mask, a robotic-looking web of lines that dissects human faces using the golden ratio.^{vi} Marquardt claims that beautiful faces of any gender and race – even babies' faces – fit this universal mask. In a recent issue of *Aesthetic surgery Magazine*, part of the section, 'Meet Our Doctors,' from the Silkwood Medical Website reads:

Dr. Benjamin Norris has been inspired by classic European beauty, and his passion is to achieve a look of elegance. He specialises in the creation of beautiful, natural-looking breasts that result in a well-proportioned, harmonious body. (Silkwood Medical par. 5)

Stylistically, aesthetic surgery also adopts a canonical definition of aesthetic beauty that is based on eighteenth century values such as smallness, smoothness, fairness, symmetry, proportion and harmony; and a preoccupation with the Hogarthian line of beauty. For example, the Silkwood Medical advertisement is accompanied with a digitally enhanced, black and white, image of a nude woman with one arm raised, and her head and bottom cropped, greatly resembling the white marble busts of the Venus/Aphrodite type.

Enlightenment aesthetics thus informs the template of feminine beauty that is employed by cosmetic surgeons and their advertising campaigns. As the philosophy of aesthetics has always promoted a gendered view of women's bodies as passive sex objects, cosmetic surgery – or 'aesthetic surgery,' as many doctors prefer to call it – is an understandable problem for feminist theorists. This is because aesthetic surgery mimics the relationship between the female subject/patient and the male artist/surgeon; at the same time, it does not acknowledge the fact that the category of 'art' itself is a product of gendered ideas.

Enlightenment aesthetics and race

While feminists have begun to point out the gendered implications of aesthetics, little has been said about the ways in which Enlightenment theories of race have influenced, or were influenced by, aesthetics. In his book *Ape to Apollo*, Bindman convincingly argues that Enlightenment aesthetics is tied to race because it was during the Enlightenment when the notion of aesthetics (hence beauty) converged with scientific theories of the raced body. For example, in 1767, the Swedish physician, botanist, and zoologist, Carl Linnaeus, famously described 'four categories of humankind' that were based upon geographical origin and skin colour: the Americanus, who were red skinned and easily angered; the Asiaticus who were yellow skinned and greedy; the Africanus who were black skinned and negligent; and the white Europeanus, who, in contrast to the corrupt 'coloured' people, were regarded by Linnaeus as the 'gentle and inventive' race.¹

For Bindman, an interest in establishing such racial/racist categories coincided with the ascent of Europe's authority over the rest of the world. Scientific discourse on race intensified and was institutionalised as 'racial science' during the eighteenth century. In this way, social inequalities stemming from colonial expansion could be justified as the inevitable consequences of 'natural hierarchies' (15). Martin Bernal agrees when he argues, in his book *Black Athena*, that there are two models of Greek history: the Aryan model and the ancient model. According to Bernal, the Aryan model is a nineteenth century invention; it is the dominant model of Greek history, which sees Greece largely as European, whereas the ancient model sees Greece as Levantine. In contrast, the ancient model understands Greek culture to originate from the colonisation of Greece by the Egyptians and Phoenicians, making it part of Africa rather than Europe (1-2).

Although Bernal's work was controversial at the time (Bernal was fervently accused, by his critics, of falsifying history), he does make an important observation, that the history of art was 'whitened' in the nineteenth century, and that the privileging of European whiteness was clearly prefigured in the Enlightenment. For example, Winkelmann lists the grounds and causes of the 'progress and superiority' of Greek art beyond that of other Mediterranean people. Like Winkelmann, the German philosopher Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel accompanied his theory of aesthetics to many individual works of art, such as the *Dresden Zeus* and Praxiteles' *Cnidian Aphrodite*. In *Aesthetics I*, Hegel disagrees with Aristotle and Plato by arguing that the point of art is not to be mimetic but to reveal to a society what spiritual freedom looks like (what Hegel calls the "Ideal," or true beauty).¹ According to Hegel, such beauty is found above all in fifth and fourth century Greek sculptures of the gods (*Aesthetics I*, 79).

For Bindman, the racial implications of Enlightenment aesthetics are clear:

The Aryan model allows for a unified European race of superior accomplishment, linguistically and culturally separate from an Africa that brought forth blacks, Egyptians and Jews [...]. This brings aesthetics into the service of newly emerging theories of race by denigrating non-Europeans as 'ugly' or, at the very least, lacking the ability to make aesthetic judgments. (15)

Such raced/gendered meanings are implicit in the very notion of aesthetic surgery, which is also freely adopted by Asian surgeons and consumers. For example, two commercial industry magazines, *Aesthetics and Beauty Guide* (Malaysia) and *Cosmetic Surgery and Beauty* (Indonesia) consistently use Western models to advertise services that are targeted at Asian women, and represented by Asian surgeons (Appendix F). The few Asian models in these magazines have light hair, light skin, light eyes (Appendix G); many models are Classically posed, to emphasise the Hogarthian line of beauty (Appendix H;I); and some are actually superimposed on Classical images (Appendix J)

Conclusion

Because most of the feminist literature encompassing women's aesthetic surgery has primarily focused on Western culture, the widespread nature of the phenomenon in Asia raises questions about how aesthetic surgery is marketed on a global scale, and how Asian women's bodies are represented: why, for instance, are particular kinds of surgery more popular among Asian women? And is there a connection between Asian aesthetic surgery trends and Western ideals of aesthetic beauty? This paper demonstrates that Enlightenment aesthetics is indeed relevant to any feminist analysis of aesthetic surgery, because it associates women's bodies with beauty and male sexual pleasure; and this has gone on to inform the way feminine beauty is represented globally. Although many scholars have pointed out the gendered significance of aesthetic surgery and Enlightenment aesthetics, however, few have drawn a connection between the two discourses. Furthermore, the important racial/racist implications of Enlightenment aesthetics is yet to be acknowledged in the rising practice of Asian aesthetic surgery which – as we have seen – borrows explicitly from Enlightenment aesthetics. Aesthetic surgery is therefore an understandable problem for feminist theorists, because it mimics the relationship between the female subject/patient and the male artist/surgeon, and because its very conceptual framework is a product of gendered and raced ideas.

Notes



ⁱ Also known as the Age of Enlightenment and the Age of Reason, this is a period in Western philosophy and cultural life that is centred upon the eighteenth century.

ⁱⁱ According to Cooper, it was only in the modern period that philosophers considered such questions as forming a common set of issues.

ⁱⁱⁱ The word 'aesthetics' comes from the Greek *aisthetikos*, meaning 'sentiment.'

^{iv} One could argue that while Burke's is a language of impurity, Kant's is a language of purity; however, both are at risk of 'slipping' into the impure. This is the same for Hogarth and Hume, for whom the notion of a 'universal aesthetic sense' suggests a kind of gender neutrality, despite the fact that its very conceptual framework often privileges men: it is always caught up in the feminine and fear of the feminine.

^v Traditionally, the sublime (from the Latin *sublimis*, meaning 'uplifted, high, lofty, elevated, exalted') refers to the quality of absolute greatness. The first known study of the sublime is attributed to Longinus, a first century Greek poet, in his discussion of rhetoric. Eighteenth century philosophers, however, adapted the notion of the sublime to express contrasting aesthetic qualities of terror and beauty; a concept most often associated with Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* (1756).

^{vi} The golden ratio is a mathematical constant designated by the Greek symbol *phi*, or ϕ . It can be expressed algebraically as $(a+b)/a = a/b$. Mathematicians have long studied the golden ratio because of its unique and interesting properties. It is thought to occur in nature (in the head of a sunflower and the spirals of pinecones, even on the human body), and for this reason it is also known as the 'divine proportion.'

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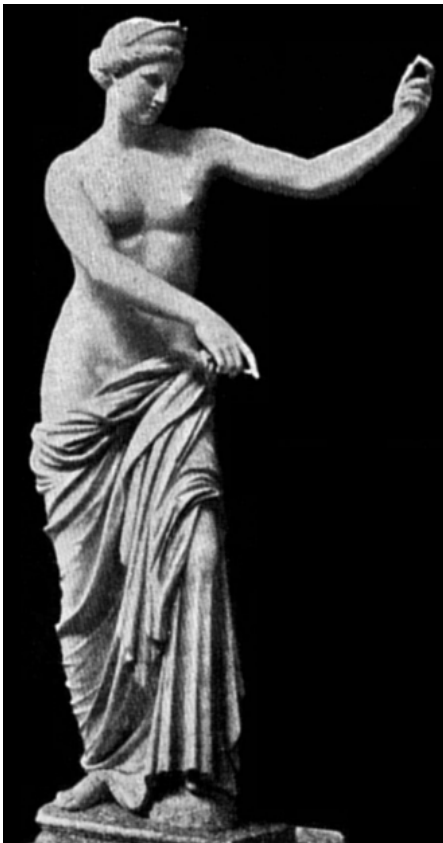
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Appendix A



Capuan Venus. n.d.



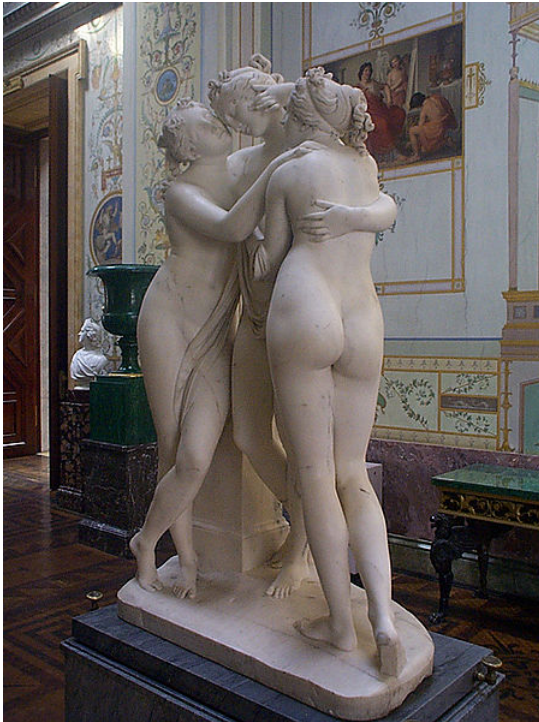
Venus de Milos. n.d.

Appendix B



Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique. *The Source*. 1856.

Appendix C



Canova, Antonio. *The Three Graces*. c.1813-1816.



Venus Kallipygos. n.d.

Appendix D



Tintoretto. *Susanna and the Elders*. 1560-62.

Appendix E



Rubens, Peter Paul. *Judgement of Paris*. 1636. National Gallery, London.



Rubens, Peter Paul. *Urteil Des Paris*. c.1638. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Appendix F

AM I BRAVE ENOUGH?

YOUR SKIN IS YOUR BEST FRIEND. BUT IS YOUR BRAVE ENOUGH TO TAKE THE RISK OF LASER TREATMENT?



Y... But what happens if we are not happy with our single... DETAIL: SPOTS, SCARS AND... SO ABOUT BRAY?

JOYCE LIM

skin and laser clinic




SKIN TREATMENTS	PHYSICAL
- Acne	- Skin redness
- Birthmarks	- Fine line reduction
- Blemishes	- Facial rejuvenation
- Cellulite	- Micro-needling
- Dark spots	- Skin tightening
- Eczema	- Skin resurfacing
- Hair loss	- Skin tightening
- Hair removal	- Skin tightening
- Hyperpigmentation	- Skin tightening
- Inflammation	- Skin tightening
- Itching	- Skin tightening
- Psoriasis	- Skin tightening
- Redness	- Skin tightening
- Rosacea	- Skin tightening
- Sun damage	- Skin tightening
- Sun spots	- Skin tightening
- Tanning	- Skin tightening
- Tattoos	- Skin tightening
- Vascular lesions	- Skin tightening
- Warts	- Skin tightening

THE SMILE REVOLUTION



... But what happens if we are not happy with our single... DETAIL: SPOTS, SCARS AND... SO ABOUT BRAY?

16 TOP TIPS FOR SKIN

A dermatologist is undoubtedly your skin's best friend. Cherie Taylor smoothes out 16 steps of disease vision from those in the know.



HAIR SAVERS



Identify and fix your hair problems with these simple tips, says Dr. Aron...

REMEMBERING A HEALTHY HEAD OF HAIR

... But what happens if we are not happy with our single... DETAIL: SPOTS, SCARS AND... SO ABOUT BRAY?

COSMETIC

ISSUE 4, 2010



CHUA SKIN SPECIALIST

A Solution For Your Skin & Beauty Needs



sculptura

Sensationally Subtle Beauty



Official launch of sculptura in Malaysia

Succiev

Simple is the new smooth



LUMIXYL

The Revolutionary Skin Brightening Peptide



These images were taken from the latest online issue of Cosmetic Surgery and Beauty Magazine (Malaysia and Indonesia).

Appendix G



The few Asian models in these magazines have light hair, light skin, light eyes, small mouths, full lips, high nasal bridge, 'double' eyelids.

Appendix H



Advertisement for the Liposuction Clinic, Melbourne.



Lely Venus. n.d.

Image from *Cosmetic Surgery & Beauty* [Malaysia]



Appendix I



Canova, Antonio. *Psyche Revived by Cupid's Kiss*. c. 1793.



Bernini, Gian Lorenzo. *Apollo and Daphne*. c. 1622-1625.



Advertisement for the Sydney Body Sculpting Clinic.



Cosmetic surgery billboard in Taiwan.

Appendix J



Cosmetic surgery advertisement. Seoul



Titian. *Venus of Urbino*. 1538. Uffizi, Florence.



Sustris, Lambert. *Venus et L'amour Attendant Mars*. c. 1550. Louvre, Paris.