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Religion and Religious Fundamentalism: Today's Challenges

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Abstract

Religion can be considered as a historical, social or theological phenomenon. There are two main approaches connected with religious fundamentalism research: methodological maximalism or minimalism. We should also distinguish scientific approach from journalistic one. There is a noticeable tendency to identify religion as such with fundamentalism. At times it is manifested as a notion that religious thought, worldview in a way leads to fundamentalism. religion takes the role of the primary determiner of civilisation. Thus, it is notable that the importance of other determiners, such as ideologies or economic potential, is diminished when faced with cultural differences, which are in turn derivatives of religious divisions. According to Bassam Tibi the conflict between civilisations is a kind of a struggle between various sorts of religious fundamentalisms. We are dealing with particular religions, such as Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Confucianism, or Sikhism. It is the fundamentalisms basing on the above, however, that are responsible for creating political philosophies or political ideologies.

Keywords: religion, religious fundamentalism

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Introduction

Considerations concerning the condition of religion and religious fundamentalism necessitate the identification of the methodological problems involved in the definition of the two concepts. First, in relation to the concept of religion it can be observed that we tend to speak of religion as such or in general (Marczewska-Rytko 2001, 53-72). In fact, no such religion exists. We are always dealing with concrete religions existing in history (Bronk, 1996, 78). In the same way, civilisational-cultural conditions play an important role in the case of religious fundamentalism. Second, in the face of the ambiguity of both concepts no single satisfactory definition of the concept has been worked out so far.

In view of the above several aspects of religion and religious fundamentalism must be pointed out. As a result of the complexity of the problem religion can be considered as a historical, social or theological phenomenon. The Latin concept of religion was originally invested with a legal-administrative colouring. The dichotomous view of religion (Christianity against all other religions) had survived in the European culture until the eighteenth century. Under the influence of comparative ethnological studies the possibly broadest conception of religion has been formulated, encompassing all cultures and peoples. Religion tends to be treated as a set of features characteristic of its historical forms. Thus it is assumed that particular religions emerged at a certain time, when their history began.

Fundamentalism is in its nature a return to the source, the basis of a religion, as a return to its foundations. Such a definition makes any assessment hardly possible. The phenomenon, however, is rather that of preservation and protection of the original ancestral faith against any influences. In this sense, despite being bombarded with information and opinions about the Muslim fundamentalism, we can in fact observe the notion within any chosen religion. Therefore, we can safely talk of Hindu, Jewish, Christian, Sikh, or Confucian fundamentalisms (Sim 2005, 59-101).

Religion in scientific research

According to Mircea Eliade we are faced with the manifestations of *sacrum* in history and the ways of human communication with it: "Through the experience of sacrum the human mind has grasped the difference between what manifests itself as real, powerful, rich and meaningful and what is devoid of these attributes – a chaotic and dangerous stream of objects, a stream of their accidental, meaningless appearances and disappearances" (Eliade 1988, 1).

In another formulation, religion is seen as an essential part of the social system. Thus, it cannot be understood in isolation from society. Religion is identified as an important factor in solving crisis situations and protecting against chaos, anomy and alienation. In terms of the theological approach religion is a phenomenon of divine origin, the revelation of the Absolute, human response to the revelation of the divine. Religion is described here in a normative fashion, since it is declared what religion should be within the framework of the accepted revelation.

Zofia J. Zdybicka, a philosopher of religion, states that “Religion is a real and dynamic personal relation of man to the transcendental reality of the Absolute (God), understood in our culture as a person, from whom man feels dependent in existence and action and who is the ultimate aim imparting meaning to human life” (Zdybicka 1978, 271).

Taking into account the doctrinal aspect, Alfred N. Whitehead defines religion as a system of general truths capable of transforming our character when they are sincerely believed in and internalised (Whitehead 1997, 30). Thus, according to him, all conceptions claiming that religion is primarily a social fact should be rejected. Social facts are of major importance to religion, but in its essence religion is loneliness, because only the lonely can be religious. In this conception religion is a use that an individual makes of his/her loneliness (Whitehead 1997, 31). That is why different forms of religion in the shape of institutions, holy books, codes of behaviour, rituals or collective ecstasies can turn out to be both useful and harmful. Looking critically at history Whitehead points to the dark side of religion in the form of human sacrifice, cannibalism, orgies, superstitions, racial and religious hatred, hysteria, or bigotry.

The main features of religious fundamentalism

According to my point of view, on a sufficiently high level of abstraction, to enumerate the characteristic features of an ideal fundamentalist formula (Marczewska-Rytko 2005, 45-59; 2007, 215-223; 2015a, 35-46). The task has in fact already been undertaken – more or less successfully – by a number of authors (Joseph; Węclawski; *Fundamentalism Observed*, vii-xiii; Skidmore 2003, 33-41). My proposition can be brought down to six defining features of fundamentalism.

Firstly, it is strongly critical of the elite in power for having departed from religious law and order. The source of all evil is seen in neglecting the rules of the faith and accepting those originating from alien cultures and civilizations.

Secondly, there is the idea of a return to religion, religious rebirth, seen as a remedy to all evil that exists in the world. At the same time, the reference to tradition and its origins is to a large extent dependant on its reinterpretation, adjustment to the contemporary needs, conflicts and tasks. Most commonly it is an invocation of a holy book as the source of absolute knowledge.

Thirdly, the advocates of fundamentalism claim to grasp the intentions of the absolute, to have the monopoly for truth and the knowledge of all the answers.

Fourthly, everyone else is treated the enemy.

Fifthly, the rules characteristic of a religious order are extended to cover all other areas of human existence: such as economic or political. Simultaneously, it is seen as natural to submit the life of an individual and the formed social and political systems to the demands of religion. Both the political and legal powers are legitimised by religious order, acknowledge its superiority.

Sixthly, fundamentalism is highly active on the social and political stage in its attempt to abolish the existing social order and replace it with a new one. The use of violence

is justified by higher ends and – as observed by Peter Partner – the idea of a holy war is not restricted to the Islamic religion (Partner 2000).

Scientific approaches connected with religious fundamentalism

There are two main approaches connected with religious fundamentalism research: methodological maximalism or minimalism (Marczewska-Rytko 2010). The work edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby *Fundamentalisms Observed*, significant as it was, can serve as a valid example of maximalist approach. The complexity of the real world, however, demonstrates the specifics of each particular fundamentalism, which depends primarily on cultural and outlook differences, but also on the establishment of democracy or its lack. Therefore, I share the view presented by the authors of *Współczesny fundamentalizm religijny* [Modern Religious Fundamentalism], who claim that discussing fundamentalism “in the plural means respecting the specifics, differences, as well as variable motives represented by the phenomenon in each particular case” (Pace, Stefani 2002, 22). The minimalist approach on the other hand, cultivates the belief that the only legitimate – methodologically speaking - use of the term refers to the background of Protestantism in the United States. In other words, the classical understanding of the notion of fundamentalism is called upon. The advocates of the above tend to claim that the term is not valid when transferred to the background of other cultures or religions (Pace, Stefani 2002).

We should also distinguish scientific approach from journalistic one (Marczewska-Rytko 2010). Within the scientific point of view the focus is almost automatically directed at Protestantism. Nowadays, however, due to the increasing importance of Islam and its political predominance, particularly after the September 11th 2001 tragedy in the United States, fundamentalism has become almost exclusively associated with this religion and culture. On the one hand, the above leads to the emergence of voices against the limitation of the term solely to the Muslim context. On the other hand, however, a number of authors – while indicating relations with various religions – underline its credence in Islamic cultures.

It should be also emphasize, that there is a noticeable tendency to identify religion as such with fundamentalism (Marczewska-Rytko 2015b). At times it is manifested as a notion that religious thought, worldview in a way leads to fundamentalism (Bronk b; Mynarek 1996; Lewicka 2003, 195-200). It was Samuel P. Huntington who proposed the thesis that after the end of the cold war, culture and cultural identity have become the main determiners of peace and conflict in the global order (Huntington 1998, 14). In his opinion, universalistic aspirations of the Western civilisation are the main cause of growing conflicts with other civilisations. In the same, religion takes the role of the primary determiner of civilisation. Thus, it is notable that the importance of other determiners, such as ideologies or economic potential, is diminished when faced with cultural differences, which are in turn derivatives of religious divisions. Authors such as E. Pace or P. Stefani criticise Huntington, for – as they claim – “drawing the attention of scientists and the public opinion to the inevitable conflict between the West and Islam, particularly in the aggressive form observed in the latter, which is due to the actions of fundamentalist governments and radical movements of the same character. [...] he thus contributed to strengthening the stereotype that the danger comes solely from Islam, and that – as far

as fundamentalism is concerned – that is the direction we should be looking towards with anxiety [...]” (Pace, Stefani 2002, 157). In reference to the above quote, it should be stated that, even if Huntington’s theses can be read in the above manner, they should in fact be seen as prophetic (Kaczmarek 2001; Scruton 2003, 7). One has to notice also the fact, that the price of underestimating the importance of the millionaire Osama bin Laden (Usama ibn Ladin) and his actions to stimulate Muslim fundamentalists, by the government of the United States – as noticed at the margin of Gilles Kepel’s book – was extremely high (Kepel 2003). According to my point of view, the context of each of the fundamentalisms and their functioning seems to be particularly important.

Bassam Tibi poses a thesis, according to which “the conflict between civilisations becomes a struggle between various sorts of religious fundamentalisms, while it should be noted that it is not a struggle between religions” (Tibi 1997, 16; Tibi 1998). I agree with Tibi in opposing the notion to identify the phenomenon of religious fundamentalism with that of terrorism. In fact, we are dealing with particular religions, such as Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Confucianism, or Sikhism. It is the fundamentalisms basing on the above, however, that are responsible for creating political philosophies. Religious extremism, on the other hand, should in my opinion be defined as a specific expression of the political philosophy of fundamentalism. In this case, there are intermediate connections between religious extremism and terrorism. Tibi warns us not to confuse the notion of fundamentalism with growing religiousness or extremism. One should notice, however, that although fundamentalism is, as a phenomenon, much older than extremism, its values are in fact generating the latter.

I also share Tibi’s opinion that fundamentalism itself has rather little to do with a rebirth of religiousness. In my understanding, it is more an attempt to abuse religious legitimization in order to solve earthly problems, to stimulate the members of a given community, to justify political power (Marczewska-Rytko 2004b, 129-143). As rightfully noted by Hubertus Mynarek, “religious fundamentalism is the most powerful and attractive of ideologies, the most likely to drive a crowd into ecstasy, and therefore every dictator will always strive to get a religion or faith to work for his benefit” (Mynarek 1996, 33). Furthermore, while presenting the origins of the phenomenon, he insightfully observes that a person “longs for the absolute truth, undisturbed bliss. But also, without doubt, is unable to recognise it. This overwhelming chasm separating infinite desires and longings on the one hand, and finite abilities on the other, parting the heavenly, utopian ideals and their realizations always bringing us back to reality, as they are never close enough, is utilized by every instance of fundamentalism” (Mynarek 1996, 34). It would, therefore, seem to be a method of instrumental abuse of religion. Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek presents a similar opinion, when he notes that “people find it hard to distinguish religious fundamentalism from – as is the case with Christianity – evangelical radicalism. On the outside, both phenomena seem alike. The only difference being that one of them is good, the other evil. Evangelical radicalism never turns against people, while fundamentalism always does. In this sense it is also contrary to religion” (Czy w Polsce, 19).

One should notice that – contrary to popular belief – fundamentalisms represent an ambivalent attitude towards the contemporary (Motak 2002). They are not anti-

modernisation by definition. The Taliban may be an exception to the above (Rashid 2002; Modrzejewska-Leśniewska 2001). In general, they oppose only certain consequences of modernization processes, particularly such as lifestyle or the manner of dressing. They are however eager to utilize many of the latest advances, especially in the areas of communication or military technology.

Religious fundamentalism and the other phenomena

The growing importance of religious fundamentalism is linked with such phenomena as integrism, communalism, nationalism, orthodoxy, traditionalism. One must note, however, that synonymous treatment of the above notions can only lead to misinterpretation of religion as such. It will also promote attempts to classify religions as desirable or undesirable. The basic methodological mistake in this case, comes – in my opinion – from confusing the various orders which are to some degree related to the above notions.

Integrism, in turn, stands for a vision of superiority of religious institutions over their secular counterparts, supported by the rule of subordinating social life to religion. In his search for the origins of integrism, Ryszard Kapuściński observes, that “the world faces a man with almost heroic requirements. And many fear the needed effort. They prefer to withdraw back to the older system. Hence the tendency for integrism. For what is integrism? It is withdrawal. It is fear of the challenges of the contemporary. A man who refuses to accept them finds support in nationalism, provincialism, isolation. He does so, because he believes it to be safer. But integrism has two sides to it. An integrist might separate himself from the world, he might even want to impose his beliefs upon others. But whatever the situation, the moment of escape due to the inability to cope with reality is always present” (Z Ryszardem Kapuścińskim... 1997; compare Bartyzel). Pierre Chaunu also rightfully notes, that integrism “does not derive from religion, but rather from the void left after religion has locked itself within.” Later he points out that “it is not excessively absolute religion that threatens us, but the enormous empty space left after its, possibly temporary, withdrawal” (Chaunu, Integrizm).

Communalism is a term commonly used in India to describe a given group or organisation representing a caste or a religious community. It is most typically used in reference to Muslim or Hindu entities (Chandra, Mukherjee 1999). As rightfully observed by Jan Kieniewicz, the problem of communalism covers “social class-based conflicts manifested in the forms typical of a different social order. In India, social and political conflicts led to growing religious and caste discords. The 20th century saw intense divisions into separate religious communities, mainly Muslim and Hindu. Once initiated, the conflict begun to shape communities and their constitutive parts under the overwhelming influence of religious differences” (Kieniewicz 1985, 719). Bogusław Mrozek notices, that the notion of communalism should be defined as “political and social trends and movements which base their ideology and manifestos on religious, caste, language, or tribal divisions, while the principles find their expression in the membership in a communalist party or organization being limited to a given religion, caste, etc.” (Mrozek 1976, 144). It is symptomatic, that the definition arose only while the genesis and formation of Bharatiya Jan Sangh was being discussed. However, while discussing the problem of communalism in India in chapter one, the author points to the twists and turns of the development of the

national liberation movement and the Indian nationalism. The events crucial to the course of modern Indian history, such as the division of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan or the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a Hindu extremist, had decisive influence upon the pejorative overtone of the term (Chandra, Mukherje, Mukherje 1999; Gupta 1991; Marczewska-Rytko 2004a).

Communalism is usually directed against a clearly specified enemy. Religious fundamentalism, on the other hand, is characterised by an attitude of a besieged stronghold, which means that anyone challenging the advocated truths is treated as an enemy, even within the home community. Only one, sanctioned way of interpretation (or as proclaimed by fundamentalists: exclusion of interpretation) is accepted when the holy book is concerned, as it conveys the absolute truth and is the source of the social order. An individual has but one option, and that is to fully submit.

It should be underlined, that fundamentalism is not synonymous to nationalism, orthodoxy or traditionalism. Nationalism (or nationalist fundamentalism) does not refer primarily to religion, but rather to the nation, and to negation of another community's right to autonomy. The same allows us, for instance, to distinguish between the religious and nationalist fundamentalisms in Israel (Paziński 1998; Jewish Fundamentalism... 1993).

Similarly, orthodoxy in itself, if not enhanced by additional elements, is not equal to fundamentalism. Such an element may be, for example, negation of the democratic rule and an attempt to replace it with natural order derived from a religious system. The indispensable requirement is that of extending the acknowledged values to the entire society and submitting all spheres of life to religion. The above also holds true for traditionalism.

Conclusion

It should be observed, that religion as such cannot be judged, but the consequences of the phenomenon of fundamentalism can. Those include the consequences for the functioning of modern civilizations. Undoubtedly, the primary feature of fundamentalisms is the desire for isolation within the boundaries of the advocated values, hence hampering the attempts for dialogue between particular civilizations and cultures. Furthermore, fundamentalism opposes the secular state and its drive towards development and modernisation. Religious fundamentalism seems to generate a certain political philosophy, which allows the use of extremist methods for the purposes of its implementation.

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The Phenomenon of Glocalization Practices of Japanese Popular Culture in Indonesia

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Abstract

Globalization is a phenomenon that can make boundaries between regions become apparent or borderless. Globalization itself has evolved into an influential paradigm since the beginning of the 1990s where between regions or countries are able to give each other their influence to other countries, through economics, politics and culture. Thus the existence of globalization has brought color to the divergent cultures in every region of the country. Cultural influences that go through globalization are capable of providing great political influence, like Japan, who appears to be an important player who is able to spread the influence of culture to various countries through its popular culture.

The existence of Japanese popular culture in Asia, especially in Indonesia is important in determining the direction of the connoisseurs market taste of popular culture and life style in Indonesia. This can be seen through the rise of popular culture in Indonesia that has a Japanese stlye/ character, like an idol group of 'JKT 48' and action hero figure of 'Bima Satria Garuda', and others. This research itself aims to see how big the cultural hegemony of Japan in Indonesia that led to the practices of glocalization on the popular culture and everyday life or life style in Indonesia, seen through the Roland Robertson's ideas about globalization and glocalization.

Keywords: Hegemony, Glocalization, Japanese Culture, Indonesian Culture: Popular Culture and Life style

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Introduction

Japan's economic progress achieved after World War II were successful in putting Japan as an important player in the international arena in the 1980s, followed by the deployment of Japanese popular culture globally. It could be said that the economic success is the gateway for the entry of Japanese popular culture in various international environments. Through technology products and industries such as Automotive spread globally such as Honda, Toyota, Yamaha, Sony and others, Japan is also capable of spreading the popularity of the cultural domination of Hello Kitty, Doraemon to sushi and ramen to various regions of the world.

The deployment process of economic, Politic, and culture between regions increasingly become unstoppable such as the phenomenon of globalization. Globalization is able to make the territorial boundaries between countries become apparent. It is known since the implementation of free trade through the WTO (World Trade Organization) on January 1, 1995 (http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm), in which the countries of the world able to conduct trade relations between one country to another. The existence of the free market, facilitate a wide range of foreign products to enter, and has an impact on every region.

The popularity of Japanese popular culture can be said to have been globalized and able to attend as an alternative to a new culture in the midst of American cultural hegemony that first has successfully spread its influence through popular culture such as Hollywood, Mtv, until Coca Cola and McDonald's. such example of the popularity of the Japanese popular culture can be seen in the series of Doraemon. For a series that is very famous and is present in the form of *anime* and *manga*, Doraemon managed to get in 18 countries and popular in Asia, Europe, and South America.(<http://www.merdeka.com/gaya/selamat-ulang-tahun-doraemon.html>.)

In Asia itself, Japanese popular culture popularity is received with enthusiasm. The presence of Japanese popular culture in the midst of Western Culture domination, are thought to bring a new style that later developed into an industrial culture that continues to be enjoyed in the Asian countries. The popularity of Japanese popular culture is also to make the Japanese national identity as the first Asian country which successfully spread its influence not only through economy but also through 'soft cultural' power as it is known as "Cool Japan" as a "power". As said by journalist Douglas McGray who published an article in Foreign Policy magazine that attracts attention with a fairly well-known that the term of 'Japan's Gross National Cool "(McGray, 2002): *"Japan is reinventing super-power", he argues, through the export of cultural goods and styles that have become not only conspicuous proof of Japan's international relevance, but also a powerful commercial force*".(<http://www.foreignpolicy.com>)

In Asia, particularly in Indonesia, the strength of Japanese popular culture entered since the 1980s. During this period the Japanese popular culture, or better known as J-Pop dominate the entertainment industry in Indonesia, from the impressions of children through comics or manga, anime or animation like Doraemon, Dragon Ball, sailormoon and others, until the serial drama like romantic drama 'go to school ', and action drama or 'action hero 'like' knight black steel ' or "Kamen rider" and so on.

The success of Japanese *manga* and *anime* that spread to all regions of the world, including in Indonesia, in turn influenced the genre of the entertainment industry trend in Indonesia. In Japan itself the glory of *anime* and *manga* consequently lead the activist to new ideas and innovations rarely develop, the film industry prefers to recycle works and that were previously successful such as Godzilla which was first produced 1954. Even if there is a "development" then it's back circling about Kaiju a.k.a giant monster who likes to make cities and buildings destroyed by series like Ultraman or Power Rangers. The success was then exploited by producing the themes of "similar but different". (Halo Jepang,"di bawah bayang-bayang Jepang";2015)

FrameWork

The Background on the concept of glocalization departing from the problem of globalization. Globalization has developed into an influential paradigm since the beginning of 1990 (Featherson, Lash, & Robertson, 1995).

A globalization may result in homogeneity and heterogeneity. where it can cause the loss of an old culture, and also the diversity of cultures that exist in a region. In 1990-1991, a sociologist Roland Robertson and expert theorists, open debate with Anthony Giddens to address issues of globalization. (Robertson, 1992)

Such conditions ultimately lead to the problems between the local and the global in the study of globalization. Robertson stated that the problems between the local and the global has grown to be important in the context of intellectual and practical variations. (Featherson et al., 1995) An important aspect in the global and local issues, manifested in public debates about the discourse on cultural imperialism. As it is known that of the termination of the second world war, the international community is awash with cultural values that originate from western countries, or rather the culture that originated Tuft American countries. And it can be ideology, or how to dress. (Featherson et al., 1995)

Most of the globalization of mass culture, basically is filled by things like thinking, lifestyle, art, and other things that relate to the characteristics of foreign culture. In a study of globalization, the problem is defined as a general understanding of the world that are compressed into one part of the whole, which also includes its relationship with the locality.¹

Robertson states about the impact of globalization, in the end led to the concept of glocalization. The term of glocalization is a mix between global and local terms. The blending of the two words is adapted from Japanese agricultural principles *dochakuka* meaning, adapting a technique of agriculture into local conditions, but the term is also adapted to the business in Japan in the global understanding of localization is a global product that is conditioned to be local. (Featherson et al., 1995)

The term globalization can be found in the business world closer to understanding. Robertson explained that, glocalization is a depiction of where the increasing flow of global markets are adapting their products into local forms (Featherson et al., 1995). The concept of glocalization is used by Robertson as a way to analyze an actor, identity, and institutions involved and can construct a meaning, and understand it as a sociology within the context of

¹ Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, dan Roland Robertson. Global Modernities (London, Thousand Oaks, CA dan New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1995), 38.

globalization.(Guilianotti, & Robertson, 2006) Glocalization has a relationship with several concepts such as indigenization, creolization, velnakularisasi, and hybridization. These concepts are used to scrutinize the global cultural phenomenon, and does not eliminate the role of the local culture as a value and role in critiquing the phenomenon.(Guilianotti et al., 2006)

In addition, the study of globalization is also associated with problems of homogenization-heterogenization. Assumptions about the homogenization has become realized in various theories related to cultural imperialism, synchronization, and Americanization(Guilianotti et al., 2006). Such assumptions presented by Schiller, Tomlinson, Hamelink, Robertson, Ritzer, which assumptions have the basic premise that social actors and local culture is the result of a global product reproduction(Guilianotti et al., 2006). Glocalization is basically a concept that explains the cultural values of foreign investments in the region. Foreign cultural values is eventually adapted into local forms, with the aim that the value of foreign culture can be accepted easily by the people who inhabit the region. The importance of introducing the concept of glocalization into social theory, arising out of some consideration. First, a variety of many explanations about globalization raises the assumption that the process will affect the locality, and it also belongs to the locality of global products on a large scale.(Featherson et al.,1995)

Second, the growing interest in understanding the spatial to bridge the relationship between spatial and temporal dimension in human life(Featherson et al., 1995). Such thinking has made an influence on the discussion on the subject of globalization. Assuming that there is to make globalization as a study that discusses the relationship between being and nothingness. And it is about the relationship between social events and social relations within the scope of the local context. Giddens said that globalization should be understood as a dialectical phenomenon, in which an interconnected events often produce a diversity, or sometimes display an event conflicting with each other.(Featherson et al., 1995)

The program of music from the United States into a program that is well-known in the countries of the world. And with the popularity of the MTV made later adapted into a local event. It can be seen as MTV Indonesia, MTV Japan, and MTV Korea. Adaptation adapted into the local form, make MTV as a form of glocalization United States in Asian countries through music programs.(Guilianotti et al., 2006)

The concept of globalization describes the role of a foreign party, either as an organization or industry. Foreign parties to adapt existing products, and is influenced by the adaptation of existing social aspect.

The Dynamics of Japanese Popular Culture Development in Indonesia

In explaining the success of Japanese popular culture in Indonesia need to browse in advance the success of the popular culture of Japan are from East Asia and Southeast (not in America or Europe), some argue that "cultural proximity" (proximity culture) determine the course of the spread of cultural flows, or "Asian fragrance" (fragrance Asia) which easily resonates among local consumers. According to this, the spread of culture is geo-cultural and not just between countries. Writings on Japanese TV dramas in East and Southeast Asia, Iwao Sumiko has introduced the concept of "shared sensibilities" (a feeling shared) (1994: 74), Honda Shino wrote "East Asian psyche" (soul East Asia) (1994: 76), and Igarashi Akio write "cultural sensibility" (the feeling of culture) (1997: 11). Although the actual "cultural

proximity" can not be explained, for example, why the youth of Taiwan choose to buy Japanese products rather than China, or why Thailand's students prefer to listen to American music, which obviously does not close culturally.(as cited in Otmagzin retrieved from <http://kyotoreview.org/issue-8-9/budaya-populer-jepang-di-asia-timur-and-tenggara-saatnya-untuk-sebuah-paradikma-regional/>)

Some others argue that the products of Japanese popular culture "is not duplicity" (faceless) (as Alison 2000; Shiraisi 2000). This is because the appeal of Japanese popular culture that are not national and therefore very easy to be transferred, so that the culture is no longer recognizable as the Japanese culture. Indeed, it is difficult to see characteristic of Japanese animated characters Hello Kitty, Doraemon, or Poke'mon, or how to look at the cultural messages that might be carried by those products are accepted by consumers in Asia.(as cited in Otmagzin retrieved from <http://kyotoreview.org/issue-8-9/budaya-populer-jepang-di-asia-timur-and-tenggara-saatnya-untuk-sebuah-paradikma-regional/>)

In his book recentring of Globalization (2002), Iwabuchi put the revival of Japanese cultural power in line with the process of globalization. His Basic argument was the expansion of Japanese culture to Asia in the 1990s related to the power decentralization of global-local relations. In view of Iwabuchi, Japanese media companies have to export Japan's experience in the spread of western culture in Asia (20). Thus people in Asia no longer consume "the West" but localized version or a combination of both.(as cited in Otmagzin retrieved from <http://kyotoreview.org/issue-8-9/budaya-populer-jepang-di-asia-timur-and-tenggara-saatnya-untuk-sebuah-paradikma-regional/>)

On the other hand in Indonesia itself, the popularity of Japanese popular culture gives color to the character of popular culture in Indonesia. The early history of incoming and development of *Anime* in Indonesia first appeared in the early 1980s, and has successfully become a trend in Indonesian society at that time. This is because for the first time, people in Indonesia know the *anime*, which is totally different from animation films coming from America and Europe, which previously dominated the animated films in Indonesia. (NN retrieved from <http://thesis.umsu.ac.id/datapublik/t14300.pdf>)

Indonesian community see the Japanese anime as a form of entertainment that is unique and new, so rapidly gaining popularity in Indonesia where the main Anime Audience at that time were children. In that period the anime are present in video format tape that comes with the popularity of machine Video Beta. The Japanese Anime that comes to Indonesia are those especially made and were popular in the 1970s such as the Science fiction anime genre for example *Voltus V*, and TVRI as the only television station in Indonesia at that time also contributed to broadcast the anime.(<http://thesis.umsu.ac.id/datapublik/t14300.pdf>)

The following years the life of the anime have ups and downs and vacuum with the end of the era of machine Video Beta at the end of the 1980s. It is also due to more television stations that provided time slot for animation made in America or Europe are considered to be easier to gain popularity. Anime then no longer be regarded as a trend and gradually abandoned. Until finally in the early 90s Anime returned to exist along with popping new television stations such as RCTI followed by SCTV and Indosiar. Television stations began aggressively airing a number of popular anime, mainly by the target audience of children, such as *Doraemon*, *Saint Seiya*, *Sailor Moon*, *Dragon Ball*, and et cetera so it can be said that it supports the development of anime in Indonesia.(<http://thesis.umsu.ac.id/datapublik/t14300.pdf>)

It can be said that the influence of Japanese popular culture, has brought the color to the entertainment industry in Indonesia of which were controlled by the industrial markets of America and Europe, the Japanese later emerged as a new alternative in Indonesia that comes with a unique and distinctive cultural characteristics. The growing popularity triumphed with increasing advances in technology and information. Media intercede that convey symbolic images which then determines the entertainment industry market appetite for Indonesian people are now known to modern society, that society is loaded with high-character consumerism and capitalism. Characters consumerist society that is responsive to the new trend resulted in the entertainment industry development pattern that only repeated and them being part of a global product localized, as expressed by Robertson as the following:

“...local cultures and the forces of globalization are thoroughly interpenetrated and coshaping; hence, the effects of globalization on everyday cultural life—via global brands, fashion, and mass media—are more accurately described as a process of “glocalization” (Robertson, 1995).

The Phenomenon Of Glocalization Practices Of Japanese Popular Culture In Indonesia

“In the 1980s, Japan pioneered a new kind of superpower. Tokyo had no army to speak of, no puppet regimes to prop up, and no proxy wars to mind. Just an economy. What made Japan a superpower, more than just a wealthy country, was the way its great firms staked claim to a collective intellectual high ground that left competitors, even in the United States, scrambling to reverse-engineer Japanese successes”. (Douglas Mcgray, ‘Japan’s gross National Gross’, 2009 retrieved from <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/11/japans-gross-national-cool/>)

The presence power of Japanese culture through popular culture, has put Japan as one of the major players in both the economy, politics and culture in an international environment. Post-World War II, the Japanese government is preferring to concentrate restoring its economy devastation by the events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Through the Yoshida Doctrine which brought the idea to the strengthening of the economic sector, has successfully established a production spirit of Japanese society that is nationalism. Followed by Fukuda Doctrine that carries the idea of "heart to heart diplomacy", the strength of the Japanese economy is getting steadily bolstered by the emergence of popular cultural industries creativity.

The emergence of industrial creativity of Japanese popular culture then spread affects the lifestyle of young people not only in Japan but also around the globe. A British ambassador creativity depict images of Japanese popular culture such as the following:

“All over the world, people are focusing their attention on contemporary Japanese culture. From the 1990s onwards, in manga, anime, gaming, art, architecture, design, literature, food and fashion there was a burst of cultural energy among the population at large. This has now blossomed into contemporary Japanese popular culture whose influence is reverberating around the globe and continuing to fascinate many people, mostly the young generation. (Ian Condry, “Anime Creativity Characters and Premises in the Quest for Cool Japan”, <http://tcs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/26/2-3/139>, Pg. 146)

In Indonesia, the influence of popular culture on the lifestyle of young people can be found in everything from music, fashion, food, and entertainment industries of gaming, drama, action movies, manga and anime. Not only the presence eventually dominate the Japanese popular culture in Indonesia, it has been able to become the new hegemony after the onslaught of

popular culture from the US and Europe hit Indonesia. At the end of the "game" of this culture, the capital owner or holder of trans-national capital are better off because they are good at playing their role to dominate aspects of economic, politic, and culture. "Thus, globalization is' a hegemony of form not content, that which celebrates particular kinds of diversity while submerging, deflating, or suppressing others'.

Japanese Popular culture successfully present as an important instrument that appeal to young people in various parts of the world, in accordance with what is expected by the targets and goals of the Japanese government. This is reflected in a speech at the Digital Hollywood University on "A New Look at Cultural Diplomacy: A Call to Japan's Cultural Practitioners" by former Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Aso, who expressed his opinion about the Japanese culture diplomacy.

"...Pop culture carries another meaning as attractive, interesting, funny, and cool. Pop culture can play a role as an instrument to invite or attract people from other countries, especially the younger generation to learn more about Japan. Fourth, with regard to "the brand of" Japanese pop culture can be used to "polish" the brand of Japanese products in other countries. Fifth, is about Japan's broadcast media as well as community involvement, Japan must build a strong English-language broadcasts to introduce Japan to the world, the Japanese media release should not domestically oriented, but should begin internationally oriented. On the other hand, this process also requires the support and involvement of the community and also the private sector".(Kementrian Luar Negeri Jepang, <http://mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0605-2.html>)

A strong private sector involvement is exactly what Strengthens gait and the existence of Japanese popular culture into a massive cultural industry. The result of Japanese popular culture influenced all aspects of life and everyday life in Indonesia, especially in big Cities that can be seen and felt by the real. Where the presence of Japanese popular culture is Able to establish the market appetite for popular culture industry in Indonesia, especially Among the younger generation. In the end the phenomenon of globalization is giving birth easing global practices adapted or localized product called Glocalization between Japan-Indonesia to be Able to Attract the entertainment industry market. For example globalization practice can be seen in the Japanese idol group AKB48 experiencing glocalization be JKT48 practices.



Picture 1.1 Idol Group AKB48²
Source: Japan Chord



Picture 1.2 Idol Group JKT48³
Source: Tribunnews.com

AKB48's management made some idol group AKB48 that have the same concept in some areas, such as SKE48, NMB48, HKT48, SDN48, OJS48, JKT48, TPE48, SNH48, and Nogizaka (Carolyn S Stevens, 2011. "Touching the Audience: Music and Television Advertising in Japan." *Japanese Studies* 31, Pg. 31). JKT48 is an idol group from Indonesia which was formed in 2011, founded by AKB48 producer Yasushi Akimoto, this group is the biggest idol group in Southeast Asia by the fanbase has more than 4.5 million fans. Of course, this group is a sister group of AKB48 first located outside the territory of Japan. This group also has the same concept as AKB48 where fans can see them every day at the Theatre JKT48, floor 4 FX Sudirman, Jakarta. JKT48 formation was first announced on 11 September 2011 at an AKB48 event held at Makuhari Messe in Chiba, Japan. Each year in support of cultural exchange between Indonesia and Japan, AKB48 and JKT48 actively exchange personnel and do performances for both in Indonesia and Japan.

In addition to groups such as JKT48 Idol, glocalization practices can be found in the action drama series 'Bima Satria Garuda' whose theme 'pahlwan' (hero) to combat crime in the cities in Indonesia. In this action drama series characterizations made as closely as possible with the hero of the Japanese style in the style of 'Kamen Rider'.

² NN, "AKB48", Japan Chord <http://japanchord.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/AKB48.jpg> accessed on 27 March 2015

³https://www.google.co.id/search?q=jkt48&biw=1012&bih=466&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUK EwinmfDe85TKAhUVU44KHYYtCr0Q_AUIBygC, accessed on 06 January 2016



Picture 1.3
Action Drama 'Bima Satria Garuda Indonesia'⁴



Picture 1.4
Action Drama 'Kamen Rider' Japan⁵

Thus it can be said that the phenomenon of glocalization practice of Japanese culture through the entertainment industry, not only are limited to commodities such as video games, anime, and manga. There is also a type of Japanese entertainment industry such as action drama which is better known as *tokusatsu*. The term of *tokusatsu* itself is an acronym meaning *Tokusho Satsuei* who have special effects, or film using special effects. *Tokusatsu* was originally introduced through an action drama theater in Japan named *kabuki*⁶ and *bunraku*⁷, which is where the drama of the theater showing the action of the players wear costumes and puppets for the demonstration of the action drama on the stage (<http://www.frieze.com/issue/review/tokusatsu/>). Through a series of *tokusatsu*, Japanese popular culture try to spread the influence of its value in the various countries of the world, particularly in Asia. as an example, it can be seen from the existance of *tokusatsu* in Indonesia.

The existence of *tokusatsu* series in Indonesia can be considered as a popular serial. This can be seen from the many *tokusatsu* series that aired on television in the 90 era. (*tokusatsu* serial number that existed at the time, became a phenomenon in Indonesia. The popularity of Japanese *tokusatsu* series in Indonesia in the previous era, became the background for the emergence of local *tokusatsu* series named Bima Satria Garuda (BSG) in 2013.

BSG movie is the result of cooperation between Reino Barack as the Executive Producer, with prominent *tokusatsu* film industry in Japan, namely Ishimori Production. Ishimori Productions is a leading entertainment industry in Japan. which produces series such as anime and *tokusatsu* films. There are many *tokusatsu* movie produced by the industry, including the 'Kamen Rider' and 'Super Sentai', these two titles of the film are series of the most famous among *tokusatsu* movie titles in Japan. Relations of cooperation with the Japanese entertainment industry in the BSG series, not only with Ishimori Production course. There is

⁴ Source: <http://www.rcti.tv/cdn/synopsis/large/1410855967> , accessed on 17 August 2014, 17.00

⁵ https://www.google.co.id/search?q=bima+satria+garuda&biw=1010&bih=466&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwihkMWH-5bKAhVJJI4KHSiCkEQ_AUIBigB#tbn=isch&q=serial+kamen+rider&imgc=GnB9Pu5b4d9pyM%3A

⁶ Kabuki is one of four types of traditional Japanese drama or theater, it can be seen at <http://www.japanindocuteculture.com/2013/10/kabuki-seni-teater-tradisional-jepang.html>. Accessed on 17 October 2014

⁷ Bunraku is Japanese theater featuring a puppet show. It can be seen at, <http://www.jepangku.com/bunraku-pertunjukan-teater-boneka-tangan-khas-jepang-yang-memiliki-nilai-sejarah/>. Accessed on, 17 October 2014,

the largest toys industry in Japan, which also binds its cooperation with Reino on BSG series, namely the Bandai.



Picture 1.4
Kamen Rider Action Figure Japan⁸



Picture 1.5
Bima Satria Action Figure Indonesia⁹

Besides the entertainment industry like the one above, glocalization practices of Japanese popular culture also occurs in the everyday lifestyle of the younger generation in Indonesia. From how to dress, hairstyle, and also foods such as sushi, ramen, takoyaki and others. So as to meet the trend of life style, businesses see the opportunity to bring the first Japanese namely AEON Mall in Indonesia that provides a variety of Japanese products both games, clothes and of course the food.

AEON Mall is an Indonesian investment cooperation with Japan through profit sharing between AEON Japan with Sinar Mas Land Indonesia (retrieved from <http://lifestyle.liputan6.com/read/2205963/aeon-mall-hadir-di-bsd-city-tangerang>,). According to the initiators of "Visitors will experience the atmosphere and shopping experience as in Japan". We apply the concept of one-stop-shopping here, "said President Director of PT Aeon Indonesia, Toyofumi Kashi on Wednesday (27/5) in a media gathering and show sneak preview in location. "One-stop-shopping" here, said Toyofumi, is a blend of the department store with a supermarket (retrieved from <http://wartakota.tribunnews.com/2015/05/27/sabtu-ini-aeon-mall-bsd-resmi-dibuka>,). In addition to selling Japanese products, Japanese-style Mall also provides local product Indonesia that characterizes the traditional nuances of Indonesia. Thus Mall visitors can experience the lifestyle of Japanese who simultaneously feel the nuances of traditional Indonesia.

⁸ <https://www.blibli.com/search?s=mainan+kamen+rider> Accessed on 02 March 2016

⁹ https://www.google.co.id/search?q=bima+satria+garuda&biw=1010&bih=466&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwihkMWH5bKAhVJJI4KHShiCkEQ_AUIBigB#tbn=isch&q=kamen+rider+action+figure+bandai+production, accessed on 07 Januari 2016



Picture 1.5 AEON Mall of Indonesia¹⁰

Source: Asia.nikkei.com

The Influence and Hegemony of Japanese Pop Culture in Everyday Life In Indonesia

The Consistency of Japanese government in supporting the cultural aspect as a soft power that spread throughout the region outside of Japan, looks very successful in shaping the character of the Japanese country better known as a "peace-loving" country. In particularity in Indonesia, consistency can be seen through the implementation of the annual event organized through the cooperation of the major Japanese businessmen and well shaded by the Japanese government through the annual event 'Ennichisai' or "little tokyo in Jakarta".

Annual events such as the "little Tokyo in Jakarta" also does not just happen in Jakarta, the other major cities such as Bandung, Surabaya also regularly organize similar events. It is of course the scene to introduce Japanese culture and also at the same time introducing Japanese products. On the other hand of course, the fame of Japanese products and culture can be a profitable strategy for local businesses to lower middle class. By looking at the phenomenon many businessmen eventually make all the nuances of the Japanese as their sales strategy. This hybridization phenomenon spread to every places in Indonesia. The hybridization is most prevalent in food products. As Indonesian Sushi style, Indonesian-Ramen style and many more.

Japanese popular culture trend in Indonesia provides a very significant impact for the sustainability of the existence of Japanese influence in Indonesia. It can be said that from 10 of the students were asked what was the reason they took up the study of Japanese language, 7 students answers, they took the Japanese class because of their interest in Japanese popular culture, the rest answers because of the domination of Japanese company in Indonesia.¹¹

¹⁰ wihkMWH-5bKAhVJJI4KHShiCkEQ_AUIBigB#tbm=isch&q=AEON+Mall+Indonesia, Accessed on 07 January 2016

¹¹ Quitonaire with the Students of STBA JIA (School of language of English and Japan Literature) Jakarta 2016



Picture I.6 Japan Little Tokyo In Jakarta
Source: Republika.com



Picture I.7 Japan's Pop-Culture As Market Strategy in Indonesia¹²

¹² This following images are an image of Indonesian television commercial for one of the famous internet products in Indonesia that using Japanese action hero Ultraman. Source: Tekno Liputan6.com



Picture I.8 Japanese Hybridization Culture In Indonesian Culinary¹³

Conclusion

As Robertson said that the term of globalization is a mixture between global and local words. The combination of the word was originally adapted from the Japanese agricultural principles which *dochakuka* meaning, adapting a technique of farming into local conditions, however, the term is also adapted to the business in Japan in the global understanding of the glocalization that is that the global product is conditioned to be local. In this case the glocalization practice in Indonesia is seen in the world of entertainment through the popular culture of Japanese and Japanese life style.

The practice of globalization can not be separated from the role of foreign parties which private parties or organizations can not be separated from the social conditions of local communities. For Japan dissemination of culture as a soft power has indeed been a goal of the government strategy which have been proposed since Fukuda era through the 'Fukuda doctrine'. The success of Japan's soft power through cultural instruments are capable of influencing the social condition of the people of Indonesia, where, through globalization of mass culture was born out of thought, lifestyle, arts with foreign cultural characteristics. *In light of the above, invoking globalisation has become part of a powerful political-economic ideology through which capital-labour relationships and relative class power positions are shifted in profound ways* (Erik Swngedouw, "Globalisation or 'glocalisation'? Networks, territories and rescaling", retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0955757042000203632>).

This globalization practices are the phenomenon that led to the increasing flow of global markets that adapt their products into local forms. This is done so that the process becomes a local adaptation of a global product, then the product can be more easily accepted and can

¹³ These images are examples of the culinary business created by the local residents by combining traditional nuance with Japanese popular food. like a typical Japanese sushi with Indonesian taste, Japanese ramen with characteristic of Indonesian flavours and et cetera. and the naming of the products are also mixed with Japanese and Indonesian style. As an example of "Ramen Udin" Udin is one of the most popular names used by many Indonesian people. Source: Indonesian Blogspot.com, Citizen Liputan6.com

quickly increase profits. On the other hand the practice actually not only showed their dominance of the unequal but also suppress the mass culture due to globalization eventually become a hegemony that could potentially sink the local culture itself. It can be seen in practices glocalization Japanese popular culture in Indonesia from JKT48, action Hero 'Bima Satria Garuda', to AEON Mall of Japanese in Indonesia are all more focused on Japanese culture rather than Indonesia.



Picture. 1.9 Candi Kurung¹⁴

...consumers often appropriate the meanings of global brands to their own ends, creatively adding new cultural associations, dropping incompatible ones, and transforming others to fit into local cultural and life style patterns (Hannerz1996; Miller1998a). Like Bertolt Brecht in his book “on theatre” explain that: good or bad, a play always includes an image of the world. [...] There is no play and no theatrical performance which does not in some way affect the dispositions and conceptions of the audience. Art is never without consequences.(as cited in Brecht, 1978).

¹⁴ This picture are taken from the scene of Bima satria Garuda episode 21 on channel of RCTI

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Is Everybody Present?

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The rapid development of communication technology in recent years, the extreme hike in the so called “click-mentality” and the high dependence on social media and the internet among young people has resulted in the lack of actual human communication and their inability to successfully use their body-mind and fully engage all their senses. Under these circumstances, the importance of additional ways of learning for younger people is obvious and we, as educators, need to open up the walls of a traditional classroom to innovative methods and strategies.

Over the past two decades, interest in the contemplative practices of world wisdom traditions has been steadily blossoming in the West. Though partially rooted in world religions, such practices as mindfulness, meditation, and awareness are being used as secular, pan-spiritual forms of activity. They are rather connected to the fact that we are all humans rather than to the fact that we all belong to different cultural, religious and language backgrounds. Contemplation can be seen as a spiritual experience, however, it is not constrained by it and can have an entirely secular tone. So rather than separate us, contemplative practices bring people of different backgrounds to understanding their similarities and offer connecting bridges to our collective mind. There is vast amount of evidence that contemplative practices help to alleviate stress and increase productivity, self-respect, confidence and overall wellbeing. That’s why executives in many fields and disciplines recognize the potential of contemplative practice for their employees, and thus for the success of their businesses. Duerr points out that contemplative practices have an even greater potential. “At a time when there is widespread inability to respond effectively to situations that seem overwhelmingly large and complex, a cadre of leaders is conducting an inquiry – often inspired by the insights gained from their own meditative practice – into how more sustainable forms of change might evolve out of environments where contemplative awareness is nurtured.”(Duerr, 2004)

According to the 2003 survey on transformative and spiritual dimensions of higher education conducted by the Fetzer Institute, 90% of respondents from a wide range of post secondary institutions, stated that the contemplative and spiritual dimensions of learning are “important” or “very important”. (www.fetzer.org) This is an important number, overwhelmingly stating the need for contemplative opportunities for students, not only as extracurricular activities but also right at the core of the course.

Contemplative practices help students to develop better attention and to alleviate fear. They also offer additional ways to deal with anxiety, to increase motivation and to help to build self-confidence. Attention need not necessarily focus on just one thing. Even though we are told that multitasking is virtually impossible since the human brain can only focus on one thing at the time, humans are multifunctional organisms that breath, walk, think, smell, taste, hear and see, often at the same time. Mindful attention constitutes panoramic awareness of space and time within and without.

Teaching in Eastern traditions is often compared to “pointing to the moon”. All the teacher can do is to point the way but it is up to the student himself/herself to learn. The teacher is simply the one who guides the students to the sources of knowledge. Relations between teacher and student are likened to the one between a chick still in the egg and the mother hen pecking the egg to help the chick break out. The hen can peck all over the egg with no result and so can the chick. Only when and if their

efforts coincide from both sides of the shell at one place, can the chick get out of the shell and begin a new life.

Contemplative practices could be included as methods of teaching in practically any discipline since they foster focus, presence and multiple awareness. Contemplative methods of learning are fully applicable to other areas of learning. Learning through observation and inquiry-based discovery is fundamental. Learners are responsible for their knowledge and are regarded as co-creators of knowledge, where the teacher is a guide but also a co-inquirer. Contemplative practices offer a well-tested foundation for the development of contemplative pedagogical methods fully applicable to any area of learning and teaching, including curriculum studies. These teaching methods cultivate deepened awareness, focus, concentration and insight. Contemplation helps to discover other ways of knowing, experiencing and being. It complements traditional methods of liberal arts education. As Tobin Hart states, "Inviting the contemplative simply includes the natural human capacity for knowing through silence, looking inward, pondering deeply, beholding, witnessing the contents of our consciousness.... These approaches cultivate an inner technology of knowing...."(Hart, 2009) Contemplative pedagogy aims to cultivate deepened awareness, to stop the habitual noise of the mind and to open the inner sources of self. They nurture mindfulness as a way to relate to the reality. Contemplative reading, reflective aesthetics, cultivation of compassion, panoramic awareness, spontaneity, refined perception, multi-sensorial learning awaken the natural capacity of using one's mind by re-establishing connection with the inner landscape. Contemplative forms of inquiry go beyond particular learning context and are especially useful today to balance dispersed attention needed to deal with the modern digital culture. Contemplative arts-based teaching methods innovatively meet the essential needs of learners of today.

Mindfulness can be considered another important competency for both teachers and learners. According to Ted Aoki, teachers exist in the "zone of between" (Aoki, 2005, p. 161). They are constantly building bridges between the two curriculum worlds, that created on paper outside the actual classroom and the one that unfolds in the presence of the students in real life. They are bridging this gap and at the same time they maintain awareness of the constant gap between the two. Moreover, they expand this space by entering the state of "not knowing" and expanding learning beyond knowing and into experiencing and simply being. They transform the classroom into a community of learners.

Contemplation as "another way of knowing" has been recognized across time, cultures and disciplines as essential to the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom. Students from the widest spectrum of disciplines across the university have a great interest in contemplative practices. The inclusion of mindfulness expands existing courses beyond-curricular activities that offer the common experience aimed to connect curriculum with real life.

My experience in including contemplation directly in the classroom activities consist of courses on Japanese language and culture I teach at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, Canada. While I include some language into my culture courses and some culture into my language courses, they are distinctly different classes, though complementary. Interestingly, one student noted that I was "a completely different person" in these two different subjects. After analyzing students' responses to

including elements of contemplation into the learning process, I realized that students particularly appreciated the opportunity to participate, to have hands-on learning opportunities, to be able to foster “the ability to observe details carefully”, to learn by experience, and to “gradually learn how to engage all senses”.

“I felt like I was actually taking something out of the course for me, not just my degree.”

“I feel like I’ve incorporated new aspects/ideals into my life that’ll remain with me forever.”

“The idea of truly seeing each moment and not wasting time thinking of what is to come was very useful for my life... It showed me that there is more to things that one can see on the surface... It is an amazing experience, and one that should be taken advantage of.”

While contemplative practices are directed inward, they also inspire curiosity and expand inter-cultural understanding. They help to develop a more compassionate view of the behavior and values of others, especially of those who are unlike us. They facilitate acceptance of and compassion towards the other. In turn awareness of the other and of the world also cultivates insight and inward exploration.

Research confirms that these contemplative forms of inquiry can offset the constant distractions of our multi-tasking, multi-media cultural environment. Thus, creative teaching methods that integrate the ancient practice of contemplation innovatively meet the particular needs of today’s students and teachers.

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Mediated Compassion and the Politics of Displaced Bodies

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Official Conference Proceedings**Abstract**

In media's attempt to humanize the impact of war, dramatic images of disgruntled human bodies seeking refuge in faraway lands have become symbols of suffering and calls for humanitarian action. However, some media scholars are claiming that compassion fatigue is desensitizing media audiences to the human cost of war. This article argues that certain images resonate with greater signification that offers new ways of looking at compassion as a form of dialogue. The photo of Kim Phuc, the young Vietnamese girl burned by napalm on the fields of Vietnam stands out in our collective memory. There are many others but only a few attain such iconic status. And as war becomes more politically complex, so too is media's roles in portraying the suffering of children especially in the context of forced migration.

The photographic image of the three-year old Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, washed ashore on a beach in Turkey and the many discourses it engendered represent a new mediated form of human suffering. As Barthes argued, there is a difference between a photograph that 'shouts' and a photograph that 'wounds'. The swift refugee policy changes expressed by some world leaders days after Aylan's image came out in mass media is revealing on many levels. Drawing from online media coverage of this particular media event, this article argues that media's dialogic potential problematizes competing arguments between moral obligation and moral imperialism where culture and race are implicated in policy decisions on refugeehood and cultural integration.

Keywords: mediated compassion, refugeehood, dialogic compassion, displaced bodies, new media

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Introduction

In mass media's attempt to humanize the impact of war, dramatic images of disgruntled human bodies seeking refuge in faraway lands have become symbols of suffering and call for humanitarian action. However, some media scholars are claiming that compassion fatigue is desensitizing media audiences to the human cost of war. Given this scenario, this paper argues that certain images resonate with greater signification and depth that offer new ways of looking at compassion as a form of dialogue. Images of children in media war coverage have always had a riveting spot within the compassion radar for most audiences. The photo of Kim Phuc, the young Vietnamese girl burned by napalm on the fields of Vietnam stands out in our collective memory. There are many others but only a few attain such iconic status. And as war becomes more politically complex, so too are mass media's role in portraying the suffering of children especially in the context of forced migration.

In the early days of September 2015, the image of the three-year old Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, washed ashore on a beach in Turkey hit the headlines of both offline and online news media. It is a harrowing image of human tragedy. Some journalists opine that it signifies the failure of humanity to value the meaning of life. Others claim that it emboldens a revisiting of compassion as a human affect. The more jaded ones complain that it is another form of media voyeurism. The swift refugee policy changes expressed by some world leaders days after Aylan's image came out in mass media is revealing on many levels. It problematizes what moral obligation means within the current crisis of human displacement where culture and race are implicated in policy decisions. Drawing from online media coverage of this particular event that articulates multiple and competing discourses, this article asserts that compassion is evolving and mediated by a more profound and paralyzing quagmire upon which the 'war on terror' now resides.

As Barthes (1981) argued, there is a difference between a photograph that 'shouts' and a photograph that 'wounds'. I argue that given the more somber photographic depiction of Aylan, media is performing an act of transgression through visual poetry by opening up wounds that ignite what I call a 'dialogic compassion'. The dialogic potential of this new kind of compassion is premised not only on the political context on which the photo finds its deeper meaning. It is also located on how the poignant visual depiction of a child suffering renegotiates the meaning of compassion.

Does the absence of violence depicted in the photo create dialogue? If so, what forms of human agency does it inspire in the context of humanitarian politics? How do media's dialogic potential help facilitate the shaping of public perception and empathy about the displacement of bodies in the context of war? To what extent does the Aylan image rekindle compassion from the fatigue it has sunk into? Lastly, how is refugeehood problematized given the cultural, political and religious contexts on which the 'war on terror' operates? While I realize that these questions are complex and can only be adequately addressed through a more extensive research, I pose them as starting points for future discussions on mediated compassion. I will discuss the photo as a mediated representation of compassion, what it signifies in terms of meaning and what discourses it engenders as gleaned from editorial conversations in online news media. For my empirical data, I looked at online editorials from *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *Al Jazeera*, *France 24*, *The Washington Post* and *The*

Atlantic within a two-week frame after the Aylan Kurdi photo went into online publication

This article consists of four sections. The first section discusses the arguments surrounding the issue of compassion fatigue and the anxieties and temporalities that have come to define what it means in contemporary context. The second section centers on the photo itself, its semiotic resonance as a symbol of human pain and the extent to which its wounding impact provokes media debates on compassion. The third section argues that the rage and anguish that the publication of the photo engendered opened avenues of discourse resulting in what I call a 'dialogic compassion'. The fourth section interrogates the politics of refugeehood and how its renegotiation, as a consequence of the Aylan photo phenomenon, is problematized from a multiplicity of perspectives bringing the conflict over moral obligation versus moral imperialism in closer scrutiny.

Compassion fatigue: Anxieties and temporalities

The tragic impact of war, natural disasters, famine, disease and human rights violations has made distant suffering of 'faraway others' closer to the more fortunate ones because of mass media (Thomas, 2011). Images of human suffering of whatever contexts have proliferated not only in news media but also in fictional cinematic representations magnified with more intense emotionality and special effects. However, the barrage of media representations of human suffering is bound to take its toll on media audiences' capacity for empathy. Donating material support may seem easy to perform. But sustaining a commitment to a deeper form of empathy and compassion that connects audiences to the suffering of others on a deeper level may not be as easy, which as Moeller (1999) asserts, is the main reason for compassion fatigue (Haavisto & Maasilta, 2015; Hariman, 2009; Lohoff, 2015; Tester, 2001).

According to Moeller, the tendency for media audiences to get overwhelmed is but a natural reaction. In 1991, the world saw a spate of tragedies happening in many parts of the globe; earthquakes, cholera epidemic, cyclones, famine, civil war that left relief organizations loss for any hyperbole to describe what was happening (Moeller, 1999, p. 7). When a plethora of human disasters happen simultaneously, with each human suffering competing for attention and humanitarian responses, a deficit of compassion is likely to happen (p. 11). Moeller reveals that the reasons for compassion fatigue are multiple and complex. As emotional attachment to certain humanitarian causes wears out easily, sustaining compassion for long durations of time is not only challenged by the temporal nature of compassion as a human affect. It is also challenged by the way media frames human suffering for media audiences.

Moeller interrogates the repetitive nature of a kind of formulaic journalistic framing of disaster reporting where audiences are made to feel that they have seen such crises before (p.13). Wright (2004) calls this kind of reporting as 'TV codes' where disaster stories aimed at inviting humanitarian action are framed using predetermined formula that borders on sensationalism and shock effect, especially if they are framed within the constraints of 'Western concerns' (p. 100). Chourialaki (2010) chimes in by saying that such framing strategy establishes a kind of social distance where the 'contrast between the bare life of distant sufferers and the civility of healthy bodies in the West' are imprinted in the minds of media audiences (p. 111). It is a relationship

that endangers compassion into becoming a stagnant element within the politics of humanitarianism that stifles human agency. This western ‘colonial gaze’ is particularly apparent in the way the Afghan refugee crisis was framed in the aftermath of 9/11 (Wright, 2004).

Lohoff (2015) and Thomas (2011) both argue that mainstream journalism’s formulaic depiction of human tragedy stems from the profession’s strong adherence to the principles of ‘objectivity’ which makes human suffering part of a commodified section in news programming categorized as human interest. As Tester (2001) also notes, such formulaic framing leaves audiences helpless with lingering questions like “what else can we do?” Such questioning tone leads to a sense of guilt. Guilt leads to a lowering of self-regard. A low-self regard can lead to a lack of regard for others resulting in numbness and compassion fatigue (p. 79). It is against this seeming crisis of guilt and compassion fatigue argued by the abovementioned scholars that this article locates its main argument in how the Aylan Kurdi photo renegotiates the crisis of compassion fatigue.

The boy on the beach: The photo that wounds

In Barthes’ (1981) semiotic analysis of photography, interpretation of meaning is shaped by the viewer’s subjective engagement with the image. Meaning can be decoded denotatively by the way an image extends knowledge that resonates with the trained exposure of the viewer to reality because of context, history or culture. This kind of interest in meaning production is what Barthes calls in Latin *studium*. But a less literal decoding of meaning is one that ‘punctuates’ or ‘disturbs’ the viewer, the *punctum*. For Barthes, the *punctum* is the element that ‘rises from the scene’ like an arrow that pierces the emotion (pp. 26-27). This element of an image is the tragedy that ‘wounds’ the viewer in profound ways. It is also the element that induces different modes of seeing where the temporalities of meaning allow the sovereign consciousness of viewers to interrogate their own subjective positionalities as images are reproduced through media (Paakspuu, 2009; Ventsel, 2010).

Shurkus (2014) however asserts that the *punctum* argument articulated by Barthes can be a misleading proposition. This is because it grants a photograph the sole power to activate a wounding effect as if such effect is inherently endowed to the image leaving the viewer outside of wounding experience. But according to Shurkus, Barthes is also quick to correct himself by saying that the *punctum* is a creation of the viewer and differs from individual to individual. The attention invested by the viewer to the image produces a life force from which *punctum* erupts creating what Shurkus calls a ‘phenomenological experience’ between the image and the viewer (p. 72). Such experience is further expanded by Alpert (2010) endowing Barthes’ semiotic analysis of a photographic image another layer of symbolic power. For Alpert, the *punctum* is the wound that erupts in reality that in closer and in more engaged viewing becomes reality itself (p. 331). Alpert’s statement is resonant in the way the Aylan photo became a wounding reality that dominated both the online news media landscape and current discourses on the ‘war on terror’. It is a wounding reality that opened new conversations and dialogues about compassion.

In his *New York Times Magazine* article, Homans (2015) opens with a question, “Why this boy?” The photo depicted on the online article reveals Aylan’s dead body being

carried by a Turkish policeman on the coastal town of Bodrum, Turkey. The photo is one of two that proliferated in news media and has come to remind readers of the Syrian refugee crisis. The other one features a more close-up shot of Aylan's body washed ashore on the beach depicting a pose like he was just sleeping. Homans states that the photo has an unusual place in the current trend of compassion fatigue about human suffering of 'others' in that the image sends out an experience of 'awful closeness' making a distant, unfathomable war closer again to viewers' wounded souls. Homans intimates that by looking at the photo over and over again, one is tempted to wake Aylan for him to get up. This is because taken separately, this photo suggests a different context like that of a small boy who fell asleep while wandering in your backyard, Homans insinuated. But since the photo operates in a set of meanings in a specific historical accident, it disturbs at the same time that it informs.

Several journalists have compared the Aylan photo with other photographic images that have reached iconic status. Juxtaposing it with those of the 'napalm girl' of the Vietnam War era or the Sudanese child's 'vulture-stalked' image of famine in Africa offers a closer examination of compassion and pity (Homans, 2015). Their compositional framing evokes different aspects of emotional distance. The nakedness of the 'napalm girl' and emaciated body of the Sudanese boy suggest a more distant affinity to emotional pain because of their visually abhorrent nature. Their status as a 'faraway other' is magnified by a mediated compassion making their pain emotionally riveting and yet tolerable, ephemeral or even unstable as claimed by Sontag (2003).

Sontag states that compassion for images of human suffering is unstable. It has to be translatable into forms of action to sustain a viewer's compassionate threshold. Otherwise compassion fades out (p.101). But for compassion to be translatable into action, a viewer has to be invested in a photo not only emotionally but also cognitively, which for Sontag is only possible through words (p. 29). Words have the power to alter the meaning of a photograph especially if they reside in the hands of those in positions of power such as governments, even media. The refusal of the Bush administration to name the Abu Ghraib photos 'torture' and some world leaders' avoidance of using 'genocide' to describe the massacre of 800,000 Tutsis in Rwanda are classic examples of how words add or subtract meanings in photographic images (Sontag, 2004). Using Sontag's argument, the photo of the 'boy on the beach' accompanied by the many stories and opinions expressed through online media expanded its potential to produce multiple meanings that can inspire action. The addition of words as suggested by Sontag not only expands meaning attached to the Aylan photo but also strengthens its phenomenological significance (Shurkus, 2014) as it helps bring back the tragic past of children's bodies caught in the quagmire of war such as that of Kim Phuc. Does this mean then that the photo cannot stand on its own merits without the power of words? That the wounding reality that both Alpert (2010) and Barthes (1981) assert in relation to the *punctum* becomes irrelevant?

In a *Wall Street Journal* editorial, Ken Burns, a well-known American documentary filmmaker posits a counter-argument to Sontag's endorsement of the necessity of words to allow photographic images to elicit compassion. Burns states that the power of the Aylan photo is vested on its ability to convey complex information even in the absence of words (Pensiero, 2015). Butler (2009) echoes a similar critique arguing that photography frames its own interpretive narrative that can 'unsettle' the viewer (p. 67). As a single image, Aylan photo's arresting impact interrupts humanity from

the stupor it has fallen into. Pensiero suggests that such interruption creates new awareness driven by the photo's disquieting or piercing affect (Barthes, 1981). Extending this argument further leads to Paakspuu's (2009) assertion of photography's 'hypertextual' potential where new practices of signification within the viewing experience create moral and ethical spaces (p. 193). Organic in these moral and ethical spaces lies the power of images to construct its own historical reality (Ventsel, 2010). Ventsel argues that such power becomes hegemonic especially when an image's particularity and hypertextuality transgresses into a metaphor.

To the extent that Aylan's photos attained a metaphoric stature can be seen in various formations. Objectivity in journalism was renegotiated as evidenced by the dilemma of the British newspaper *The Guardian*. According to Fahey (2015), the poignancy and emotional power of the photographs confronted the editorial staff into debating journalistic policies bringing the current political and cultural attitudes towards refugees across Europe into sharp focus. As a result, the photo of the Turkish policeman carrying Aylan's body was printed on the front page while the close-up shot of the boy faced down on the shore was printed as a secondary image in the inside page. In a parallel scenario from recent past, the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, experienced a similar journalistic dilemma when faced with the printing of photos of Iraqi children in hospitals destroyed by bombing. To avert revulsion from readers, the photos were published in black and white instead of color (Lohoff, 2015).

Although both photos were used in the case of Aylan, the decision was carefully analyzed in an effort to strike a balance between public sympathy and anger. Fahey (2015) notes that the growing animosity expressed by British citizens on social media over Britain's role as a mere bystander in the midst of such tragedy has caught the attention of the office of Britain's Prime Minister. Public sympathy over the little Syrian boy's arresting image and public anger over his tragic death forced the British leading newspaper to renegotiate what journalistic objectivity means in a time when more displaced bodies are flocking to Europe to escape the tragedy that unwittingly the Aylan photos became symbolic of. It is no coincidence that the sudden change of tone of David Cameron's refugee policy happened a day after the Aylan photos went viral becoming the top trending image on Twitter with a hashtag #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik (humanity washed ashore), Fahey intimates. For *The Guardian*, the urgency and the emotionality engendered by the photos were palpable enough to convince the news organization that this is not the time for censorship (Homans, 2015).

The photos provoked multiple debates and conversations expressing emotional outbursts ranging from anger, revulsion, empathy, activism as well as critique of media coverage. Compassion seems to have gained a form of rebirth as online discussions emanating from the photo not only gave rise to an outpouring of rage and condemnation about the failure of humanity to save innocent children's lives. It also resurrected the revulsion against the failure of First World countries to address the refugee crisis and to act upon a war that seems to have no end in sight. Kristof (2015) asserts a bigger moral failure that humanity has to face where issues of 'xenophobia and demagoguery' are opening up new discourses allowing the Aylan photo a kind of agency that forces world leaders to engage in a dialogic exchange about compassion, morality and obligation.

The photo that speaks: Dialogic compassion

Reflecting on Barthes, the wounding effect of Aylan's photos disengages readers' trained familiarity with the 'war on terror' away from bloodied bodies and military drones as symbols of violence. The poetic calmness and non-violent thrust that the Aylan photo evokes create a new symbol of compassion. It is a dialogic one in its potential not only to unsettle public mood and state policies. It is also dialogic in the way it engages an interrogation of 'other socially located languages' within existing discourses on compassion (Dentith, 1994; p. 196). In the novelistic form, Dentith articulates a Bakhtinian perspective on dialogism by asserting that language as symbol and a dialogic tool gains new meaning when reproduced in 'competing and conflicting worlds' (p. 196) where interpretative and internalized constructions of meaning both collide and coalesce around and within differing points of view.

Xu (2013) echoes the same Bakhtinian dialogic thought by emphasizing the interplay of different ideologies and contradictory discourses from which intercultural and inter-subjective dialogues emerge (p. 386). However, Xu also asserts that the emergence of such dialogic potential is influenced by context where inter-culturality and inter-subjectivity are problematized. Context in this scenario is not only defined within the social or political realities upon which competing discourses are created. It is also defined by a subjective introspection of the self from a post-humanist view that critiques Heidegger's (1962) view of the self as a 'self sufficient subject' (Xu, 2013; p. 384). In Xu's dialogic argument, the self is self-awakened by the context of the other, a dialectical relationship defined by a sense of ethical responsibility. Such subjectivity and responsibility place the awakening of the self to human suffering in a dialogic context fused with competing cultural and political discourses which, in the case of the Aylan photo, are caught within the growing fatigue of and compassion for the impact of forced migration.

However, compassion fatigue may not be as paralyzing as it is claimed to be by some scholars. Hariman (2009) offers another perspective on the issue of compassion in the electronically-mediated world. As all breathing and living things suffer, compassion by nature is ephemeral and therefore negotiable as any human affect can be in a given social context. Compassion is a human impulse shaped cognitively and emotionally (Haavisto & Maasilta, 2015) by social conditions that operate within hierarchies of ethical and moral judgments that form what Hariman calls 'human relationality' (p. 202). Relationality in Hariman's definition locates the self as ethically and morally implicated in the suffering of others echoing Xu's (2013) post-humanist argument on dialogism.

This idea of relationality locates media viewers as not socially isolated but rather connected to a network of human values that are not intrinsically barren in moral terms or eternally fatigued by acquired indifference, especially in the context of 24-hour news media. Feelings of indifference and fatigue are just as ephemeral and depending on how media frames human pain, a more compassionate way of seeing can always emerge. But according to Hariman, such compassionate seeing has to be cultivated both by media and those around it. It has to reach a level of dialogue across various communication platforms and geopolitical boundaries to induce action as suggested by Sontag (2003).

Freedland (2015) notes that Aylan Kurdi's drowning did not present a new horror. The world has seen it before. Compassion fatigue has made media audiences look the other way despite having sympathy. War has become so complex and abstract until we are confronted not with a mass of displaced bodies but with a single body, a small body of a child. And not until we zoom into those little shoes and bare legs caught in the sand upon which his whole body is faced down that we realize something is getting pierced in our hearts and in our minds (Barthes, 1981; Freedland, 2015). The image of one body was enough to inspire a collective sigh of compassion that galvanized both media and government institutions to heed a call to action.

According to Freedland (2015), the softening of tone on British Prime Minister David Cameron's position on refugee policy is a strong response to the public mood in light of Aylan's photo media coverage. Private citizens in the UK and Iceland started initiating their own housing projects to welcome Syrian refugees to augment their own government efforts days after the photo's publication. Through Facebook, Icelandic novelist Bryndis Bjorgvinsdottir gathered 11,000 Icelanders willing to house Syrian refugees (Freedland, 2014). On the Canadian side, media debates animating Canadian national election are forcing candidates to revisit refugee policies in terms of quota and resettlement programs because of Aylan's photo (Austen, 2015). Germany has also taken the lead to increase refugee intake as German volunteers wanting to help refugees from Middle East have also soared.

To what extent did the Aylan media coverage put pressure on member countries of the European Union to renegotiate their policies on refugees is anecdotal for now. However, for the first time in EU history, a much broader dialogue on immigration, asylum and refugeehood is being redefined and is now front and center of foreign policy debates (Harding, Oltermann & Watt, 2015). On a more theoretical level, the world is being confronted with defining what moral obligation means given the volatile historical trajectories some countries have had with the impact of war. The geopolitical implications of forced migration are opening up attitudes about war refugees not only within the economic disparity discourse between rich and poor nations, but also within inherent nativist tendencies that have cultural, racial and ideological implications (Douthat, 2015).

The refugee discourse: Moral imperatives of displaced bodies

As suggested in the previous chapter, the dialogic compassion inspired by the Aylan media coverage placed refugeehood at the center of foreign policy debate. This is not to say however that refugeehood as a topic of debate is new in the current politics of war. Rellstab (2015) states that even before the Aylan photo came out, the debate about war refugees has become a controversial political issue especially in the aftermath of the Arab Spring revolutions in North Africa. Issues of asylum and migration policies became politicized as a result of 9/11 and the many social protests that placed the Middle East at the center of political conversations in media. Rellstab argues that negative stereotypes of asylum seekers mostly Muslims have spawned a kind of 'differential racism' in certain parts of Europe also because of media (p. 110). This perpetrated a biased view of Arabs that could explain why Syrian refugees who are fleeing by hundreds of thousands are stigmatized, including children.

Simply looking at the photo of Aylan reveals no hint of prejudice. The boy's identity is hidden in the seeming innocent perspective by the manner his entire body is framed within the four corners of the photo. The aura of the photo suggests calmness. It almost has a poetic quality of an innocent child cradled to sleep by the gust of the wind and the soothing sound of the sea. But the social context in which the photo was taken speaks of another dimension. It speaks of violence. The violent historical and political context against which the serene quality of the photo is juxtaposed suggests a conundrum where a new sense of compassion is re-evoked.

As the word 'refugee' is now tainted with negative connotations related to terrorism, the rhetorical framing of which comes from world politicians themselves magnified through media (Hanson-Easy & Moloney, 2009), identifying Aylan Kurdi as a Syrian refugee complicates the refugeehood discourse even further. In an *Al Jazeera* editorial, Ott (2015) states that the fear that hounds the issue of refugeehood in the context of the Syrian migration is the possible 'Islamization of the West' – a phrase now tainted with extremist connotations. Ott reveals that the rise of protest actions from Neo Nazi and right wing groups and violent threats against refugee camps and homes of host families are becoming more like a daily reality in Europe (Paterson, 2015). Blatant display of xenophobic opposition to Syrian refugees complicates social problems related housing, job opportunities, language adoption and cultural integration programs.

German Prime Minister Andrea Merkel's 'open door policy' initiative while praised by some world leaders, has also been attacked by some EU leaders for imposing 'moral imperialism' (*France 24*, 2015; Morgan, 2015). Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban has accused Merkel of dominating the moral debate on the issue of refugees by imposing an imperialist stance on morality. Orban, who is also supported by the less affluent countries of the Eastern bloc, asserts that EU member nations should be allowed to determine their own refugee policy especially as it relates to quota allocations. Orban contends that rich nations like Germany or France should not have the monopoly of the moral imperative that determines what refugee policies the EU should adopt. The richer nations of the world especially those directly engaged in the 'war on terror' should carry the heavier weight of moral obligation. In this context, compassion and morality are now power brokers in foreign policy decision-making. The EU is now beset by a confounding debate between moral obligation and moral imperialism (Morgan, 2015).

While the rest of the world is trying to make sense of how compassion can invoke new lessons as a result of the drowning of the 'boy in the beach', religious extremists are using the same photo to promote its own agenda. The appearance of the Aylan photo in an article printed in *Dabiq*, the Islamic State group ISIS's official magazine gains new meaning. To counter the outpouring of compassion and support for the death of Aylan, the media savvy ISIS positions the photo as a warning to Syrians and Iraqis not about the dangers of fleeing their countries but the fatal consequence of abandoning Islam in favor of Christianity, atheism and liberalism (Paraszczuk, 2015). Paraszczuk notes that the main argument of the *Dabiq* essay is focused on the idea that allowing Arab children to reach the West, which ISIS labels as the land of 'infidels', binds them to threats of 'fornication, sodomy, drugs and alcohol'. In Paraszczuk's article published on the online version of *The Atlantic*, a photo taken in Sorocaba, Brazil features a graffiti of Aylan's faced down body suggesting how the

image itself has been transported across transnational borders and reappropriated to serve an entirely different and conflicting dialogic discourses (Dentith 1995; Xu, 2013).

Conclusion

The image of Kim Phuc became the bitter reminder of the horrors of the Vietnam War. It spoke to a generation of media viewers limited by television, film and the print media. The Aylan Kurdi photo speaks to a different generation. It communicates a different kind of compassion made possible by a media universe whose moral imperatives are as varied as they are dialogic emotionally and cognitively. The aesthetics of the Aylan photo, its visual framing with the boy's face hidden and his entire body devoid of any expression of pain speaks to a different kind of compassion. The absence of violence in the frame incites an inner monologue that in a post-humanitarian sensibility suggests a kind of self-introspection (Chouliaraki, 2010) that is dialogic without the desensitizing impact of guilt and pity. Aylan looked like an ordinary child cradled to sleep, an affinity to a humanity we are all familiar with. His status is transposed from being a 'faraway other' to a child you are inclined to wake up from slumber in your living room floor. The mediated compassion it engendered inspires a kind of dialogue whose power and agency are vested both on the poetics of photography and the interactive potential of new media where morality and compassion are constantly renegotiated.

The 'dialogic compassion' this article asserts is premised within the ongoing tension that animates, emotionally and discursively, the debate between moral obligation and moral imperialism now expressed in mediated forms. That world leaders and citizens are forced to redefine attitudes and policy lines on refugeehood, migration, asylum and cultural integration on a global context is a hegemonic privilege and a dialogic potential quite different from those attained by the napalm girl and the Sudanese boy imaginaries. The extent to which the Aylan photo is paradigmatic of proposing alternative ways of compassionate dialogue is one for media researchers to explore in the near future. Such dialogic potential is crucial especially in light of how media itself has opened new doors for extremist ideologies and violent messaging against humanity, endangering necessary mechanisms to save displaced bodies caught in the quagmire of forced migration, especially children.

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Legal Development of the Protection of Cultural Property: From the Event of Armed Conflict to the Illicit Trafficking

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Abstract

Cultural property becomes one of the most important evidences which can reify the past and proclaim a cultural lineage connecting between the present generations of the society and their ancestors; hence, it is hardly surprising that the importance of cultural property is worthy to be protected. However, it is found that, before the twentieth century, the protection of cultural property had seldom been recognized via legal perspective because the cultural property was not regarded by laws and was only viewed as a trophy for the victors of war. Until the mid-twentieth century, the establishment of the United Nations became a turning point to play a key role in protecting the cultural property from the devastation and spoliation in a war due to an outcome of the UN Charter stipulating that the use of force is prohibited. Although the cultural property can be legally protected from the plunder in the war, the cultural property has been instead threatened with a new form of plunder known as the illicit trafficking. In this regard, this legal research mainly aims to historically discuss the dynamic force of normative change and development of the protection of cultural property in order to prove how the legal protection of cultural property has been periodically evolved from the past to present.

Keywords: legal development, protection of cultural property, illicit trafficking

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Introduction

Cultural property or cultural object becomes one of the most important and substantial evidences which can reify the past and can also proclaim a cultural lineage connecting between the present generations of the society and their ancestors (Roussin, 2003, p.709). Cultural property does not only include access to the past, cultural traditions and cultural identity, but it is also profitable in economic value (Taylor, 2006, p.236). This is hardly surprising that, currently, cultural property has been rapidly threatened by the illicit trafficking because the cultural property has become highly valuable product that is often traded in a black market; for instance, in 2000, it was found that the illicit trafficking of cultural property was estimated to be higher to 6 billion US dollar per year (UNESCO, 2011). In order to fight against this problem, global community attempted to jointly seek for international cooperation in providing some protective measures of cultural property. As a result of many recent international conferences, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), recognized as a main global organization playing important roles in protecting cultural property has established the ultimate goal for member nations to prevent and eliminate the illicit trafficking.

In terms of international legal regime, the UNESCO adopted two key legally binding instruments: (1) the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (the 1954 Hague Convention), and (2) the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (the 1970 UNESCO Convention). In 1995, the UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention) has been also adopted as an outcome of international cooperation between the UNESCO and the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT) in order to be a complementary instrument to the 1970 UNESCO Convention. These international laws have been widely ratified and implemented by many nations to prevent and eliminate the illicit trafficking of cultural property. In this regard, this legal research mainly aims to historically discuss the dynamic force of normative change and development of the protection of cultural property in order to prove how the legal protection of cultural property has been periodically evolved from the past to present. Moreover, the terms “cultural property” or “cultural object” in this research shall only refer to a tangible and movable substance that may be physically plundered or stolen.

From the Early Periods to the Modern

The importance of cultural property was firstly recognized under the situation of international armed conflict (Vrdoljak, 2007, p.380). Looking back to the past, it was found that a war did not only devastate lives or places, but cultural objects were also demolished and plundered from their original place. The victors of war believed that the spoliation of cultural property from defeated enemies took them to the glory and the victors were also legitimate to plunder and steal all precious objects of the defeated enemies in accordance with a phrase “the victor goes the spoils” (Cunning, 2003, p.212). This right to booty or plunder, consequently, became one of goals of all events of armed conflict in this periods and this sentiment had also remained very popular and widespread during the early periods.

The Greeks and Romans adhered to the law of victor that legally permits the victor to destroy and possess everything such as persons, slaves, and properties in a city or town where was vanquished (Toman, 2006, p.3). Even, in the most famous epic poem written by Homer, the *Iliad*, it was narrated that when the Greek military were successful to invade Troy, numerous cultural objects of Troy were devastated and plundered (Duboff & King, 2000, p.26). Although the right to booty was widely claimed in both Greek and Roman civilization, this law was not agreed by some philosophers such as Polybius, Pericles, Homer, and Xenophon. For example, the prominent Greek historian, Polybius, condemned the Roman warfare that "I hope that future conquerors will learn from these thoughts not to plunder the cities subjugated by them, and not to make the misfortunes of other peoples the adornments of their own country" (Fishman, 2010, pp.348-349). Unfortunately, this statement of Polybius had not been recognized until the late nineteenth century.

In the Middle Age, this period remained full of the events of armed conflict and the concept of right to booty was also claimed like the Greeks and Romans. Particularly, in the Crusade Wars, the Germanic armies and the Crusaders plundered and demolished castles, towns, villages, and even churches where they invaded (Toman, 2006, p.4). Simultaneously, the Christian Church began to develop the concept of "just war" based on the just law theory through scholars' literatures. The just law theory refuses to separate between ethics and politics (Elshtain, 2001, p.3); moreover, its objective desires to make a balance between evil and good and to separate neither between civilians and soldiers, nor between civilian property and military property (O'Keefe, 2006, pp.5-6). According to Hugo Grotius (1925), he applied the concept of just law theory to the just war and introduced that the devastation of all types of enemy's property was permissible in time of war. Although this notion seemingly supports people to lawfully harm an enemy both his life and property, the just war must be restricted to be based on the defensive condition since a war could be morally justified when the war was only made to enrich the good, to punish evil-doers, and to secure peace (Rychlak, 2004, p.5). Thus, each party in the Crusade Wars attempted to claim that the wars were recognized to be just wars most theorists undertook that the killing enemies and looting their properties in the just wars could be morally justified (Coverdale, 2004, p.224). In regard to the Middle Age, it becomes obvious that the protection of cultural property from the plunder and devastation was not distinctly recognized and promoted.

At the early period of the colonization, the plunder of cultural property from many colonized territories became more popular and practically systematic. Many regions where were wealthy in several cultural objects such as Africa, Asia, and South America were penetrated and colonized by the Westerns; consequently, a movement of cultural objects from those regions were scattered for the benefit of Western collections. For example, indigenous civilizations in South and Central America including the Aztecs in Mexico, the Mayas in Central America, and the Incas in Peru were entirely ruined, plundered, and enslaved when the Spanish and Portuguese military landed the regions and then invaded the native civilizations in order to seek for monetary gold and properties to present their own kings and queens (Poulos, 2000, pp.9-10). Through the period of the colonization, many cultural objects were more plundered from numerous colonized civilizations. Although the plunder of cultural properties of those colonized civilizations might be realized as a component of the

colonial process (Vrdoljak, 2012, p.204), it is undeniable that this colonial trend had never been different from a concept of “the victors goes the spoils” in previous periods. The spoliation of cultural property had still remained licit and had not been prevented or restituted.

Legal protection of cultural property was initially built up at the period of the French Revolution. After the Paris uprising in 1792, the French Legislative Assembly, later as the National Convention, enacted respective decrees which legally command to destruct all vestiges of despotism; however, it was found that cultural objects which might be beneficial to French arts were excepted from the destruction due to the request by the Commission on Monuments (O’Keefe, 2006, p.14). The effort of the Commission became true when the first national legislation having core objectives of protecting and preserving cultural property was approved and then enacted as a decree of 16 September 1792 which calls for the preservation of masterpieces of arts. It is noted that this is the first time in France and World that the protection of cultural property is recognized into a modern legal process. Also, the protection of cultural property was strengthened by the concept of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the well-known political philosopher. Rousseau (1968) presented his concept of a distinction between public and private property. A public property of enemy party especially used for the conduct of war could be demolished and seized whereas another public property including private property that was not used for military service such as church, school, library, or private collection should be protected (Toman, 2006, p.5). This reflects that the Rousseau’s concept could definitely change a traditional attitude to the status of pillaged cultural property in the Middle Age which was not separated between civilian and military property of enemy.

Legal protection of cultural property was progressively developed through the United States Civil War. In 1863, the laws of land warfare were codified and published in title “Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field”, known as the Lieber Code. Although Article 31 of the Lieber Code provides that a victorious army is entitled to appropriate all public money and to seize public movable property, this appropriation and seizure shall be merely applied to public movable property of defeated parties, not to private movable property. Article 35 of the Lieber Code imposes the responsibility for all parties in the war to protect and secure many kinds of cultural property, such as classical works of art, libraries, scientific collections, or precious instruments, from any avoidable injury. It is noted that the Lieber Code has recognized the Rousseau’s concept of the distinction between public and private property. The Lieber Code was also resulted from the legal effort of the protection of cultural property during the war even though the Code was internally applied to the United States armed conflict which cannot be applied to the international context.

Nevertheless, the concepts under the Lieber Code were recognized as a basis for the adoption of the Declaration of the Conference of Brussels, which becomes the first international instrument including the protection of cultural property. With the assistance of the Emperor Czar Alexander II of Russia, the representatives from fifteen European countries were invited to participate in the international conference, held in Brussels on 27 July 1874 in order to jointly examine and discuss the draft of an international agreement concerning the laws and customs of war submitted to them by the Russian Government. Unfortunately, this Brussels Conference could not

produce any legally binding instrument because the draft was not successful to convince all representatives to agree and ratify it. The Brussels Conference instead decided to adopt the International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War, called as the Brussels Declaration of 1874. Although the Brussels Declaration is in form of a non-legally binding instrument, some provisions under this Declaration can play important roles in producing a legal foundation on cultural property protection (Goldrich, 1999, p.126).

The Early Twentieth Century

Approaching the twentieth century, the historical development of international legal regime concerning the protection of cultural property was substantially formed into international legally binding agreements even though those international agreements still remained involved in the event of armed conflict. Importantly, the key point in this period is the First World War as a big event which resulted in the devastation and spoliation of a lot of cultural objects belonging to both parties. Nonetheless, it is found that the plunder and devastation of cultural property in this period became prohibitive as a war crime.

In 1899, the Convention II with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land (the Hague II or Hague 1899) was adopted as a productive outcome of international conference held in Hague, Netherlands. This 1899 Hague Convention mainly aimed to revise concepts under the 1874 Brussels Declaration (Schindler & Toman, 1988, pp.69-93). Therefore, legal provisions under the 1899 Hague Convention seem very similar to the Brussels Declaration and the Lieber Code. However, in 1907, the 1899 Hague Convention was replaced by Convention IV Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land (the Hague IV or Hague 1907) because the conference desired to promote and reinforce the effectiveness of the 1899 Hague Convention and this 1907 Hague Convention did not improve or modify a core theme of the former Hague Convention. In terms of the protection of cultural property in the war, Article 27 of the Hague IV provides that, in sieges and bombardments, all necessary steps must be taken to spare and protect buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments. Article 56 also imposes that a property dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences shall be treated as private property and the plunder or destruction of the historic monuments or works of art and science shall be prohibited. According to the Hague II and Hague IV, both immovable and movable property can be obviously protected and both Conventions became the pilot instruments which raised legal awareness of how cultural property should be protected during the war.

During the First World War, between 1914 and 1918, the Hague II and Hague IV were given the great opportunity to prove their own performance. After Germany was aggressive to threaten many European nations in 1914, several cultural and artistic places were devastated and plundered such as the Library of Louvain and Louvain University in Belgium and Rheims Cathedral in France (Poulos, 2000, p.18). Unfortunately, the Hague II and Hague IV became failed to protect those cultural places and objects from the German invasion (Techera, 2007, p.5). At the end of the First World War in 1918, it was found that the bombardment of Rheims Cathedral in France, burning of the Library of Louvain in Belgium, and the spoliation of many museums and churches could reflect the futility of the Hague Conventions and also

prove how many loopholes under the Hague Conventions that a belligerent was intentional to eluded their application and did not really act in good faith (Keane, 2004, p.6; Nahlik, 1976, p.1075). On the other hand, the restitution for damage and the return of looted cultural objects were promoted at the end of the war. One of the Treaties of Peace concluded between the Allies and Germany was signed at Versailles on 28 June 1919. This 1919 Treaty of Versailles did not only enforce Germany as a defeated party in the war to return the looted cultural objects to original owners, but it also commands Germany to recover and compensate for damages caused by the devastation.

It is noted that, from the early periods to the First World War, the concept of legal protection of cultural property had been always embedded in the laws of war both nationally and internationally. It had not appeared that there was any legally binding instrument that was directly relevant to the protection of cultural property in peaceful time. Until 1935, the creation of the Treaty for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments, known as the 1935 Roerich Pact became a new perspective on the protection of cultural property because the Roerich Pact is recognized as the first multilateral agreement which only aims to concern the sole protection of cultural property and, innovatively, the Treaty can be applied in time of peace and armed conflict. (Edwards, 1991, p.940).

The 1935 Roerich Pact sets up two themes: (1) respected and (2) protected cultural property, which can be described in Article I. Article I provides that the historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions shall be considered as neutral and as such respected and protected by belligerents. Article III of the Roerich Pact also introduced a distinctive flag having red circle with a triple red sphere in the circle on a white background for marking the historic monuments and institutions in order to proclaim that those places were regarded as the protected places. It is noted that the Roerich Pact mainly prefers to protect immovable cultural property such as museums, monuments, and relevant institutions than movable cultural property. It does not clearly specify whether movable cultural property can be included in the scope of this Treaty. Thus, all movable cultural objects may fall outside the protective scope of the Roerich Pact (Alcala, 2015, p.249). However, it is probably that all movable cultural objects can be protected only when they are located inside the buildings as mentioned in Article I (Toman, 2006, p.18).

The Second World War and Creation of the United Nations

If the First World War was recognized as a big event of the devastation and plunder of cultural property, the Second World War also became a bigger one. The existing legal protection on cultural property had been challenged from huge ruin and plunder caused by the campaign of Adolf Hitler during the Second World War. After Adolf Hitler began his campaigns to create a universal Aryan Society, one of Hitler's Aryan Society campaigns was the cultural confiscation which needed to suppress cultural and artistic property that Hitler deemed degenerate (Myerowitz, 1996, p.1987). In 1939, when the Second World War was erupted, Paris became the main target of cultural destruction and plunder because Paris was recognized as a center of the art world (Tyler, 1999, p.449). It was found that the Nazis and Hitler's troops had looted one-third of the cultural property and art held in private possessions and many of those are still missing now; moreover, there were tens of thousands of works of art

which were destroyed, looted, confiscated, and hidden (Tyler, 1999, pp.447-449). Although, the legal measures provided under the 1907 Hague Convention were applicable to protect cultural property from the huge ruin and plunder, it was found that those measures were scarcely applied due to their weak implementation. This might raise a key question of whether or not any new international agreement directly concerning the protection of cultural property should be created instead of the 1907 Hague Convention.

Due to the failure towards the implementation of the 1907 Hague Convention, an idea of the protection of cultural property had been seriously revised among the global community at the end of the Second World War. The classical concept of “the victor goes the spoils” became no longer acceptable when the prohibition of warfare was broadly supported as a new trend of peaceful process provided under the creation of the United Nations in 1945. The Charter of the United Nations (the UN Charter) is the constitutive instrument of the United Nations which sets up the rights and obligations for member nations. The rule of the UN Charter is the most important turning point in changing perspective on the protection of cultural property because Article 2(4) of the UN Charter obviously provides that all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. This Article implies that the warfare, which is a cause of the devastation and plunder of cultural property, has been now prohibited as an illegal action. This concept seems totally different from the past because, in the past, the war was not legally prohibited; therefore, the victor in the war often claimed his legitimacy to plunder and devastate cultural property of the defeated party. Likewise, from the ancient periods to the Second World War, the laws of war in international and national level had not refused the plunder and devastation of cultural property in time of war even though such plunder and devastation were only restricted to the property conducted for the military necessity.

From the experiences of the First and Second World War, an idea of educational and cultural reconstruction was promoted by visionary Americans such as James William Fullbright and Archibald MacLeish who strongly commenced to call for a conference with the thirty-four members of the United States representatives in order to discuss how a postwar educational and cultural organization was to be probably created (Wanner, 2015, p.9). Until November 1945, in London, the international conference proposed the institutional arrangement proposal for the creation of an educational and cultural organization which embodied a genuine culture of peace and prevent the eruption of another world war. Finally, many nations jointly established the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and also adopted the Constitution of UNESCO signed on 16 November 1945 and came into force on 4 November 1946.

The UNESCO was formally established in order to respond towards the confidence of all nations and to take a forward step over two world wars; furthermore, the UNESCO becomes a main organization and specialist working for the cultural and educational regime. This character has never occurred before because, in the past, cultural and educational regime was not more interested and the protection of cultural property depended on numerous instruments provided by various entities. The emergence of the UNESCO, therefore, can play an important role in centralizing the protection of

cultural property into the unique form. After the UNESCO was created in 1945, the legal development of the protection of cultural property seems rather stable and systematic because the UNESCO collected recent principles and experiences on the protection of cultural property to be a fundamental platform in drafting the most important international legally binding instrument presented under auspice of the Hague Conference in 1954.

The 1954 Hague Convention

The huge devastation and plunder of cultural objects by the Nazis and Axis Powers during the Second World War and the failure in implementing of the 1907 Hague Convention could be recognized as a key checkpoint leading to a big change in modifying and creating a more effective legal instrument. Accordingly, after 1945, the UNESCO with supports from member nations attempted to seek for international conference to discuss and draft a new legally binding instrument. In 1954, the Netherland government invited all UNESCO member representatives to participate in the Intergovernmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict held in Hague and finally the product of this conference was the adoption of Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (the 1954 Hague Convention). This Convention was adopted to respond the event of the Second World War and to address the insufficiencies and shortcomings of the 1907 Hague Convention; consequently, the 1954 Hague Convention aims to prove how it can provide stronger protection of cultural property. In this regard, the 1954 Hague Convention laid down two fundamental principles through its purposes: (1) the safeguard and protection of cultural property, and (2) the restitution of cultural property.

The 1954 Hague Convention shall be particularly applied in the event of armed conflict. It requires contracting party in occupation of the whole or part of the territory of another contracting party to take the most necessary measures to protect cultural property located in the occupied territory from any damage by military operations if the competent national authorities of the occupied state are incapable to take such protective measures. Additionally, it provides to cut off the illicit import and export of cultural property belonging to any state which has been invaded and occupied during the war. This shall be practically implemented in the fact when the event of armed conflict could be settled, this Convention shall require an invading state to return or restitute cultural property to the invaded and occupied state. However, although this Convention created some innovative provisions such as the protection of cultural property in occupied territory and the restitution or return of cultural property, it seems undeniable that a trend of peace has become a main stream of contemporary legal development; accordingly, the recognition of the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict has been gradually decreased and now replaced by the illicit trafficking of cultural property.

From the Event of Armed Conflict to the Illicit Trafficking

After the United Nations was established in 1945, the prohibition of use of force under the UN Charter becomes a key point in changing perspective on the protection of cultural property in the war that has been no longer recognized as a main problem. In contrast, global community has been facing a new problem for cultural property

that is in form of the illicit trafficking of cultural property. The trafficking of cultural property was booming since the Second World War because there have been enormous increases in the demand for cultural property and art, served for both its aesthetic fashion and its investment qualities (Taylor, 1977, p.134). Until the era of globalization, the world becomes a much smaller place and even the remotest places are open for discovering and travelling; likewise, people around the world may easily approach many films and photos which are taken from foreign countries and are also represented other lands and customs. With this globalization, the cultural barrier has no longer had and the interest in other people, other cultures, or even other cultural objects, which can be powerfully reflected in fashion and design used for the combination of foreign and exotic style elements, has been increasing among people, particularly in the Westerns (Askerud & Clement, 1997, p.9). This phenomenon has motivated many collectors and ordinary people to demand and to trade in cultural property.

However, the modern trade in cultural property has provoked the illicit channel for acquisition of cultural property due to the high value of cultural property. Also, this problem is related to two key stakeholders: (1) states of origin which are mostly rich in cultural objects and need to protect them and legally call for absolute return of those objects from the illicit export; (2) market states where the cultural objects of other nations are regularly consumed or collected. In order to prevent the illicit trafficking of cultural property, the UNESCO called for international cooperation among nations to adopt an international law. Finally, in 1970, the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (the 1970 UNESCO Convention) was adopted to require all state parties to design their own preventive measures for illicit trafficking of cultural property. Furthermore, this Convention provides the restitution that shall request a state party of origin to take appropriate steps to recover and return its own cultural property stolen or illegally exported; however, the requesting state shall pay suitable compensation to the requested state or to an innocent purchaser or a person who has valid ownership to that property.

In 1995, in order to reinforce and complement the 1970 UNESCO Convention, the international cooperation between the UNESCO and the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT) was promoted to create the UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention). This Convention requires all state parties to prevent and stop the illicit trafficking of cultural property in their own territory. Although most legal provisions are similar to the 1970 UNESCO Convention, the UNIDROIT Convention is slightly different from the UNESCO Convention in a key point of who is entitled to request for the return of stolen cultural property because the UNIDROIT Convention permits both individual and state to reach the court of requested state for requesting the recovery or restitution of their stolen cultural property.

Conclusion

It becomes clear that legal development of the protection of cultural property has been more dynamic from the early periods to the period of globalization and also the global community has never stopped looking for an appropriate protection of cultural property. After the United Nations and the UNESCO were created in 1945, the legal

development of the protection of cultural property seems very stable and systematic because the UNESCO collected recent principles and experiences on the protection of cultural property in the previous periods to be a conceptual framework in drafting the 1954 Hague Convention. Although the threat of cultural property has been changed to the illicit trafficking since the end of the Second World War, the legal effort of the protection of cultural property has been still recognized.

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Action Heroes and Representations of Masculinity

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Abstract

This paper contextualizes a cultural construction of hegemonic masculinity and discusses ways in which Thai action film heroes in Historical and Muay Thai films are represented. Traditionally, the quality of *nakleng* is desirable for Thai action heroes along with having mastery in a particular skill. In a moral realm, the idea of gratitude or *kwarm katanyu*, in Thai, is prioritized and highly regarded to be an inevitable requisite for good men, which includes an action hero. Such a sense of gratitude extends to one's ideological obligation to his motherland or *matuphoom*, which is often thematically portrayed in Muay Thai and Historical films through the struggle of the hero. Based on the reading of the two exemplary films, *Ong Bak* (Muay Thai Warrior 2003, dir. Prachya Pinkaew) and *The Legend of King Naresuan (Part 5): The Elephant Duel* (2014, dir. Chatri Chalermlukol), the different social backgrounds of the two heroes, their autonomy, and lack can be explained in relation to a discourse of Buddhist spirituality. In addition, the ways in which the two heroes are differently depicted is a cinematic device with the aid of which, in addition to the observance of filmic verisimilitude, the representations are designed to cater to segmented subject/citizen audiences. In psychoanalytic terms, each hero from the two films is similarly made to acquire autonomy and experience lack in different realms of the symbolic order.

Keywords: hegemonic masculinity, *nakleng*, gratitude, *kwarm katanyu*, autonomy, lack

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Introduction

Thai action heroes are often linked to commonly accepted ideas of nationalism and masculinity. The possession of qualities associated with being a “good man” according to the general Thai perception of masculinity, or hegemonic masculinity, is also of importance. This is especially the case in action films of the post-1997 era in which the art of traditional Thai self-defence, Muay Thai, was incorporated into the representation of Thai masculinity, allegorically projecting the country to be even small, yet strong and unyielding. This paper will show firstly, how the concept of masculinity is tied to and shaped by national ideology and politics at a particular conjuncture and secondly, how the notion of masculinity, when class differences of heroes are taken into account, may well be perceived differently.

The context of Thai masculinity

Manas Kingchan (personal communication, October 1, 2012), a film archivist, has written in one of his unpublished articles on early Thai action cinema that since the early action film genre emerged out of melodrama, which is *kroprot* or of mixed genre convention, identification of a film as to whether it belongs to the action genre or not was often done by reference to its title, in addition to its narrative. That is to say the titles of early action films are relevant to their generic categorization. Noteworthy, the terms addressing the hero, as shown in the film title, are also indicative of the ideological type of action heroes of a particular epoch. Those terms —*nakleng*, *supap burut* and *singh*¹ or *suea*² —, which roughly connote mixed characteristics of a ruffianish, a gentlemanly and a brave (and powerful) hero, respectively, recurrently appeared in several action films’ titles. To give some examples of films in which Mitr Chaibuncha, who is dubbed as a legendary action hero had acted in: *Chao Nakleng* (1959, dir. Sek Dusit), *Singh Diew* (1962, dir. Sor Asananchinda), *Singh La Singh* (1964, dir. Neramit), *Supap Burut Nakleng* (1965, dir. Sor Asanachinda). The last mentioned film is of particular interest as its title seemingly reflects a kind of paradoxical hero who possesses both gentlemanly (*supap burut*) and ruffianish (*nakleng*) qualities. The normalization of these terms of reference to the action film hero is critically related to the socio-political context of the period. Years under military dictatorship, from the 1958 coup to the 1973 student’s movement, not only led to the production of popular ‘escapist’ movies which were enjoyed by wide audiences, they also led to the formulation of a type of action hero who is brave, ready to act/ fight (*singh/ suea*) and chivalric (*supap burut*) or as being equivalently dubbed in Thai as *nakleng* as described above. Interesting enough, it can also be said that the term *nakleng* is indeed a broadly cultural conception under which *supapburut* (the gentleman) and *singh/ suea* (the brave) are generically subsumed. At one point, the term *nakleng* itself conveyed a negative connotation as it referred to someone (most likely a man) who has a tendency to pick fight or gets himself into a certain (troubled) confrontation. Hence, the manifestation of the *nakleng* quality in the film hero is similarly reflected in films bearing these respective terms in their titles: *nakleng*, *supap burut*, *singh* or *suea*.

¹ The word’s literal meaning is *lion* but this term can also refer to a man who is brave and takes pride in his dignity.

² The word’s literal meaning is *tiger* and it shares a similar connotation with *singh*.

The connection between being nakleng and masculinity involves different historical origins but one, which is frequently referenced, is pertinent to the leadership of General Sarit Thanarat who served as prime minister between 1958 and 1963. Sarit is said to personify the epitome of nakleng (Keyes, 1987, Aewsriwong, 2011), who may well be defined as one who is:

[A] person who was not afraid to take risks, a person who lived dangerously, [who was] kind to his friends but cruel to his enemies, a compassionate person, a gambler, a heavy drinker, and a lady killer. In short, the kind of person who represented one central model of Thai masculinity (Thak Chaloemtiarana cited in Keyes, 1987, p. 80-81).

During Sarit's term in office, martial law was implemented throughout, his decisive policy –making approach, severe measures in suppressing communist rebellion and the executions of men charged with arson have earned him notoriety (Keyes, 1987, p. 81). The number of mistresses he had, coupled with his popularly quoted words like “[t]he whole responsibility is mine” when exercising political suppression further accentuated his nakleng image. Given such a dictatorial approach in governing the people, Sarit is still publicly remembered for his ability to crack down on crimes and foster countrywide development, including the implementation of the first social and economic development plan. Whether we like it or not, Sarit's nakleng image found its resonance in the action film heroes of his period. Rome Rittikrai (Mitr Chaibancha), a masked hero in *Chao Nakleng* (1959), for instance, was depicted as a Zorro style masked hero whose mission was to help the helpless and defenceless out of their troubles. However, it remains a moot question here as to whether the nakleng demeanor has been well delivered or not.

The character of ‘nakleng’ as manifested in the former prime minister, Sarit Thanarat has a few social implications worth mentioning here. First and foremost is that, as the notion of being nakleng connotes how one relates to others in terms of leadership, it implies that a Thai action hero is unlikely to be a solitary individual who accomplishes the mission on his own. He has to mobilize assistance from others by employing his social skills in addition to certain intrinsic qualities. For this, there emerged a stock character of a comedian who acts as the main mobilizer for the hero. In addition to the comedian, other minor characters such as villagers and government officials are also important for the hero's mission particularly in films presenting the right ideology (Sungsri, 2004, p. 278-279). Another implication is that the good leadership quality to which the nakleng character is attached requires that the hero must be verbally communicative; hence, the action hero is supposed to be a well-educated man. Even though he should not be boastful, he must be able to communicate effectively when necessary. For this reason, in my opinion, Tony Jaa in all of his action films is deprived of the nakleng quality. He may possess certain requirements such as bravery, humility and honesty which are pronounced in his characterization as represented in *Ong Bak* (2003) and *Tom Yum Goong* (2005). Nevertheless, his inability to articulate may well prevent him from getting access to the domain of leadership which is putatively an ideal kind of Thai masculinity. The depiction of Naresuan (Wanchana Sawasdi) in all sequels of the movie *The Legend of King Naresuan*, on the contrary, highlights the leadership quality of Naresuan which encompasses the nakleng demeanor as well. Released at different times after 1997, the depiction of the two outstanding action heroes differ markedly from one another. This is not only to say

that such differences are intentional and vital for the cultural verisimilitude of each film which tells stories of two men from totally different backgrounds: the lowly common man for Tony Jaa and the high born king for Wanchana Sawasdi. More importantly, there are some cultural and political connections that deserve our attention, which are to be discussed. In addition, a transgender hero, Nong Toom in *Beautiful Boxer* (2003) further indicates that the idea of masculinity itself is not a closed and rigid category but rather an open and contentious one.

Nong Toom's alternative sexuality and Tony Jaa's inability to articulate may well put the relation of masculinity vis-à-vis working class men, a category to which both heroes belong, in the spotlight. While I have no intention of bringing class dichotomy to the forefront, it is worth noting that within the same patriarchal structure, masculinity is allowed to operate differently in different social settings. The working class action heroes are allowed to be less "phallic" (Mansfield, 2000, p. 70), to use a symbolic term, than those of the middle-class. Different expectations of masculinity can be observed through a comparison of the characterization of Muay Thai action heroes, namely, Tony Jaa (*Ong Bak* trilogy and two parts of *Tom Yum Goong*) and Asanee Suwan (*Beautiful Boxer*) with the hero of Historical epic films, *The Legend of King Naresuan*, (1,2,3,4,5,6), Wanchana Sawasdi. The main focus of the following discussion will be on Tony Jaa and Wanchana who represent notions of hegemonic masculinity although other heroes will also be mentioned.

The act of gratitude/ kwarm katanyu

The traditional theme of action films is often related to maintaining the status quo of national ideology, particularly as it concerns the three institutions including the nation, the Buddhist religion and the monarch as Sungsi (2004) has explicated in her research. As such it renders the triumph of the good (the nation) over the bad (the other) pivotal to the film narrative's resolution. Apart from the ideological victory of the nation over the political other, action heroes are also depicted to be morally superior to the other. This is consciously done, narratively and cinematically, to support the Buddhist belief in morality. The act of gratitude (*kwarm katanyu*) is just one, among other Buddhist values, that is considered an essential quality of a good man. It is thus a prerequisite, a vital code of conduct to be strictly observed for all heroes regardless of their social background. Critically, the economic breakdown in 1997 which caused waves of aftershocks years later has somehow brought *kwarm katanyu* to the fore. One reason may be that, it is the value pertinent to the discourse of communitarianism and the prevailing sense of nationalism that was resurgent after the recession, and was also taken as a tool, ideologically and pragmatically, to deal with the country's failed economy and the masses' weakened psychology. Social stress resulting from the crisis had effects on both the rural poor and the urban middle-class alike, albeit differently. However, according to Atinc and Walton (1998), the plight of the poor was more severe due to many relevant factors including a decreasing labour demand, rising commodity prices, social services being cut along with failed crop cultivation as a consequence of drought in some areas (Atinc & Walton, 1998, p. 3). It is said that economic growth and overall welfare gains that took place in East Asian countries before the crisis proved inadequate in preparing governments for possible breakdowns.

The idea of communitarianism, which is tied to the king's concept of self-sufficient economy, primarily concerns the invocation of 'the roots' or 'the rootedness' of

identity as well as *Khon Thai* (being Thai) *agency*. The idea calls for one's enactment on personal transformation at a fundamental level based on the practice of Buddhist beliefs in moderation, immunization and pragmatism and the application of the economy or philosophy of self-sufficiency. This was to be followed in order that one or the family can successfully get through the difficult time mentally and materially. Given what is said, the process of finding one's own roots resonates differently in two different classes. While the working class and rural subaltern were oriented towards communitarianism, Buddhist values and self-sufficiency, which basically refers to integrative, sustainable farming for household living and living in harmony with a community, the middle-class and the upper class, on the other hand, were ideologically driven to embrace practices of nationalism and protectionism. This is understandable for a small country that has taken pride in its long history of non-colonization. The economic crisis, which resulted in large scale lay-offs among office workers and closure of financial institutions and companies, may be relatively less of a fear than the loss of sovereignty in the sense that the nation had to subject itself to many regulations imposed by the IMF. In the political landscape, critically what emerged were New Social Movements (NSM), led by key figures from different social sectors including those of the grassroots level and state enterprises such as the labor union, the assembly of the poor, social activities groups³ and others. Dismayed by the IMF imposition concerning economic restructuring regulations on the government, their main commonly shared agenda was to effect a paradigm shift in the direction of economic development away from being internationally dependent and uncritically globalized towards greater self-reliance. This was practiced under the cooperative discourses underpinning the movement including an economy of self-sufficiency, sustainable agriculture, community welfare, community business and Thai wisdom (Kitirianglarp & Hewison, 2009). Notably, such movements did not only harness a fair share of political power, particularly when they aligned with the nationalist group which had primarily fought for the monarch's challenged sovereignty and against the supremacy of a political party like Thaksin's Thai Rak Thai party. They had also raised public awareness of political issues, ushering political changes and eventually, culminated in the military coup on 19 September, 2006.

To return to the period surrounding the economic crisis, on the cinematic front, the sensational reception of three local films *Daeng Bailey and the Young Gangsters* (1997), *Bang Rajan* (2000) and *Nang Nak* (2002), all of which were released at the time of the recession testified to the return of the nation. While *Daeng Bailey* presented young notorious gangsters against the backdrop of retro Thailand, *Bang Rajan* invoked patriotism through the ancient battle between Thailand and Burma. Similarly, *Nang Nak*'s reimagining of Thailand's past within the social and spiritual context of the Thai middle-class set the tone for the "heritage films" to follow (Ingawani, 2006). To return to the notion of *kwarm katanyu* or gratitude as aforementioned, the interesting question is how actually it is embraced and conveyed by heroes of the two classes. Fundamentally, the concept of *kwarm katanyu* is originally derived from the personal relations that exist between parents and children,

³ Nevertheless, the movements were viewed as problematic particularly when their vision on political ideology was concerned. See Kitirianglarp and Hewison, "Botwiphak karnmuang phak prachachon nai prathet thai: Khor cham gut khong naew wikror lae yuttasart karnmuang baeb khabuankarn khlaen wai thang sang khom roopbaeb mai [Critique of "People's Politics" in Thailand: Limitations of analysis and strategic politics of "New Social Movements"]", in *Fadiewkan* (2 April-June 2009: 120-55).

masters and students or givers and takers. To be regarded as a *katanyu* person, one is required to return someone else's favor when it is possible to do so. Between the parents and their male child, the best act of *kwarm katanyu* the latter can do toward his parents is to be ordained as a monk. Becoming a monk even for a short period of time is considered important for Buddhist men since it is the opportunity for spiritual purification and the learning of dhamma. This is to say, ordination allows Thai men to perfect their socially required masculine duty. *Daeng Bailey and the Young Gangsters*, the film that set the trend of the New Thai Cinema, has two sequences that present the ordination ceremony of the hero, *Daeng*, both of which are interrupted by his rival gang. The first ordination takes place at the beginning of the film, while his head is being shaved and the second one occurs toward the end in which he is sitting on an elephant, while the joyful procession is ongoing. Suddenly a gunshot is heard and the lotuses, symbolizing purity, fall to the ground. The crowd screams and is dispersed bringing the ceremony to a halt. The failed attempts to be ordained as a novice monk prevent the hero, who later becomes a formidable gang leader, from performing the honorable act of paying gratitude to his mother. Both *Daeng* and his mother, a prostitute whose most cherished wish is to see her son being ordained as a monk, are forever confined to the realm of *bhab* or sins. Similarly, the transgendered hero in *Beautiful Boxer*, Nong Toom, is ordained to be a novice when he is very young. Once he is caught applying a lipstick, Nong Toom has to confide to his novice friend how he desires to have a beautiful feminine body. Nong Toom's revelation is objected to by the fellow novice he is speaking to who warns him that thoughts such as those would result in a karmic consequence to his parents. Here, it reflects another dimension of the concept of ordination in that it is merely a path to merit making that one man can give to himself and his parents. Yet, it is not something that would justify every conduct of an ordained man. In addition to consideration of the individual level, the concept of *kwarm katanyu* is also deployed on a collective level. As being integrative into the communitarian and nationalist discourses in the wake of the economic crisis, it was required that such awareness was to be extended to one's grateful feeling for his native land. Within such discourses, one was obliged to pay gratitude to his *matupoom* or motherland in whatever ways possible.⁴ Sometimes such an act is commonly referred to as *kwarm katanyu tor phandin*, meaning the act of paying gratitude to the land.

The concept of gratitude to the land is obviously manifested in *Ong Bak*, *Tom Yum Goong* and *The Legend of King Naresuan*, albeit in varying degrees. In both *Ong Bak* and *Tom Yum Goong*, Tony Jaa, who plays a bumpkinish hero, is determined to take back what has been stolen from his community, namely, the head of a Buddha statute in *Ong Bak* and two elephants (mother and baby elephants) in *Tom Yum Goong*. The significance of the stolen items is not only tied to their spiritual and material value for the individual hero, but they are also bound to certain collective cultural roots, which are part and parcel of the local history of the community. In the prequels of *Ong Bak*, namely *Ong Bak 2* and *Ong Bak 3*, the legend of *Ong Bak*, the Buddha statute which is

⁴ Gratitude to the mother's land is a broad concept which, in addition to communitarian way of living, involves conservation of natural resources and cultivation of civic consciousness and volunteer spirit. Discourses of both gratitude and gratitude to the motherland were presented and practiced via various channels such as songs, poems, monk's sermons, and schools' and the army's projects. See for example, a clip titled "katanyu tor phandin", 25 February 2014, in *Hmong Hub: Music video online*. Date Accessed: 20 March, 2015 <<http://www.lajsiab.com/MnQ3ZlZlZ2xsTGcx>>.

regarded by the village people to be the god of protection and cultivation, is told. Likewise, the elephant in *Tom Yum Goong* is also traced back to the career of the hero's ancestors — royal soldiers called 'Jaturangkabath' whose duty is to protect the king's battle elephant, and it is also the hero's childhood dream to become a Jaturangkanath soldier. Even though within a modern context, such an occupation is non-existential, the film implicitly links the past to the present, the traditional to the modern so that the hero's agency and communitarianism can be visibly observed. A connection to one's roots is used to allegorize the moral obligation of the hero (as representative of the people) to his native land. In *Ong Bak*, after the hero has succeeded in bringing back the stolen head of Ong Bak, he is ordained as part of the village's festival. The gratitude he has for his native land is impeccably paid and it is ceremonially recognized. The ordination ceremony not only functions as a way of celebrating the recovery of the stolen item, but serves as an indication of the completion of the paid gratitude. Psychoanalytically speaking, it helps relegate the hero's lack (inarticulacy) to the realm of spirituality, in which the mastery of leadership is not recognized and he is bestowed with a sense power and privilege. More importantly, it is indicative of the village's prevailing sense of history and the collective future of communitarianism.

In *King Naresuan*, being a consciously patriotic film, King Naresuan is shown to have developed a strong connection to his native land ever since he was a young boy as a hostage of the Burmese King, Bayin Naung. Unlike Tony Jaa in *Ong Bak* and *Tom Yum Goong*, who was nominated by the village people to defend the communitarian way of life, Wanchana Sawasdi, who acted as King Naresuan is the nominee of the nation. He is thus prefigured to be the ideal nationalist hero who is qualified to lead, rule and perform. He is the sum of the nakleng quality as was aspired to by the former premier Sarit Thanarat. However, it is his image as a brave, virtuous warrior and his devotion to protecting the people and to strengthen national sovereignty that places him in a superior position, rather than his royal status alone. Naresuan's practice of monogamy, in contrast to ancient Thai kings, past rulers and many Thai men of the present time, suggests his approach to modernity, highlighting an ideal feature of masculinity and the nation alike. The first episode of *King Naresuan*, or officially titled *The Legend of King Naresuan: Hostage of Hongsawadi*, was released in January 2007 under the newly set-up post-coup interim government. In this episode, Naresuan is seen as a young boy, a hostage to Hongsawadi who is already inculcated with a strong sense of being Siamese. Given his tender age and monkhood status, he is preoccupied with thoughts of a subservient Ayodhaya, his homeland. The rooster fighting sequences in which the lost rooster of Siam (or Ayodhaya, supposedly belongs to the Siamese hostage) is made to fight against the Burmese rooster illuminates his intentions of fighting for freedom. Against the Buddhist's precept of refraining oneself from causing harm and violence, once young Naresuan finds out about the origin of the rooster, he is not reluctant to bring it to the fighting ring. "I doubt the Siamese rooster would ever yield to the Burmese one", he said before taking the rooster to the ring. The first rooster fight ends with the victory of the Siamese side leading to further fights. Even though Naresuan is punished by the senior monk for his misconduct, what keeps resonating in his mind is the voice of the Burmese rooster house's owner saying "the fight must happen before the freedom is gained". As such, it has led him to bring the rooster to another fight against the one that belongs to Mang Sam Kiet, or Bayin Naung's nephew. Surprisingly, this time he is supported by the senior monk, which suggests a certain legitimacy of moral intervention, upon the

request that the former must make this rooster fight the final one. Just before the fight begins, upon hearing Mang Sam Kiet's intimidating and insulting words, dignifiedly, Naresuan responds "given its underdog position, my fighting rooster is Siamese which never recedes from its rival". After the first round, the Siamese rooster appears to be inferior and defeated, thus the young prince speaks to the rooster:

If the Siamese blood within you remains strong, you must never give in. Rather, you shall make it evident to the Burmese that no one can frighten the Siamese. You will now bring me victory.

The sequences and quote elucidated above reveal a few implications that emerge from within and outside the film narrative. The first implication is that the rooster fight is an analogy of Naresuan's own fate. Like himself, the rooster is a Siamese hostage which is destined to fight for its freedom. The fight itself cannot be a one-off competition but which will take place many times before true victory is achieved. The invocation of Siamese blood within the fighting rooster is comparable to both the individual (Naresuan himself) and collective invocation of the public audience who are decentered by the political turmoil happened prior to and at the time of the film's release. The ousted Mr. Thaksin, who was prime minister then, was exposed as having engaged in cases of law amending, tax evading and questionable business dealing that while benefiting his family's businesses, sabotaged national interests.⁵ The emergence of Naresuan whose primary concern is the nation's interests, albeit at certain points through territorial expansion and suppression of hostile states as portrayed cinematically, is much appreciated by the middle-class nationalists who feel betrayed by Thaksin and his party. Naresuan's defence for the state's territory, his victorious battle that sets Ayodhya free from the Burmese Hongsawadi bondage rightly entitles him to the badge of the man who is *katanyu tor phandin* or the man who has repaid a debt of gratitude to his motherland. On a sub-textual level, it also denotes the legitimization of the coup, or more specifically the military leader, that had actually occurred twice in September 2006 and May 2014 when *Naresuan 1* and *Naresuan 5* were released respectively. In terms of leadership masculinity, the image of the latest coup leader, General Prayuth Chan-ocha, who is the current premier, is a case in point here. He is indeed a popular personality among the middle-class nationalists due to his nakleng quality: proactive, decisive, straightforward, morally conscious, yet willing to negotiate.⁶ When such traits are combined with his display of loyalty to the throne and "everything I do, I do it for the country" approach, just like King Naresuan's portrayal on screen, he has probably become one of the most powerful military leaders in the recent history of Thai national politics.

⁵ There is a large amount of existing materials written about Thaksin's financial irregularities and allegations. One of the most notorious is perhaps his US\$1.9 billion Shin Corp and Singaporean-owned Temasek Holdings transaction. For other charges and more details, see Kaewsan Atipothi, "The Return of Thaksin Regime", August 2011, in *Isra News Agency*. Date Accessed 22 April 2015 <www.isranews.org> and also "Check Lists of Thaksin's Inescapable Allegations", 25 November, 2014, in *Isra News Agency*. Date Accessed: 22 April 2015 <<http://www.isranews.org/58-isranews/isranews-scoop/4390>>.

⁶ Nevertheless, he is also despised by the red shirts and liberal groups who, other than their anti-coup ideology, have criticized his ruthlessness on handling the anti-coup protests, the use of martial laws and lately the implementation of article 44 in place of martial law and his tough restrictive stance regarding the press.



Young Naresuan talking to his Siamese rooster

Autonomy and lack

Given different representations of masculinist roles between the middle-class hero and the working class or subaltern individual, there is no conflict of duality between the two. As a matter of fact, the different social classes of the nation should not be seen as being separated by a fixed, rigid divide that causes a great social disparity, rather if the history of feudal cultural legacy is considered, the class relations are not completely free from their origins in kinship relations, which implies that there is a degree of amicable communication and negotiation between the classes. As such, the differing images of the working class hero and the middle-class one do not reflect a social or class conflict. Rather, they are related to the segmentation of targeted film audiences (or say, the masses, multiplex middle-class or cinephiles), all of which look at things differently in their imagining of the nation. Whether it is located in the present or in a historical setting, the depiction of both Tony Jaa as a rural hero and Wanchana as a national hero can be subsumed within the discourse of Buddhist values and spirituality. It is the sphere accessible for identification to all subjects/citizens. The mastery of Naresuan in the art of war and leadership is important to his autonomy. The same is also applied to Tony Jaa's Muay Thai skills. Being situated within the multiplex's middle-class audiences, King Naresuan is there to be gazed upon and recognized as *the phallus*, the symbol of totality in the political, symbolic order. Unlike the subaltern hero, Tony Jaa, who is ostracized for his sheer lack of voice⁷, King Naresuan is endowed with leadership qualities that make him the father of the nation. Nevertheless, his phallic power is neither eternal nor transcendent. According

⁷ The character of Kham in this film, *The Legend of King Naresuan: The Elephant Duel*, is a reference to Kham as played by Tony Jaa in *Tom Yum Goong*. Here Kham, as depicted in this film, is the care-taker of Naresuan's battle elephant, Phra Chaiyanupap. Interestingly, he is portrayed as a dumb, primitive figure whose extraordinary ability of taming and communicating with the wild beast is an accidental discovery.

to Silverman (1992, cited in Chaudhuri, 2006, p. 107), no one can actually possess the phallus or an unattainable wholeness due to universal castration. Throughout King Naresuan's adult life, he is enmeshed in wars with rival states. Any sign of uprising or lack of cooperation from even a small vassal state is promptly translated into 'an act of disloyalty', thus urging him to march out with his army to suppress the resistance. This evidently reflects his ever-present fear of losing the grip of total power. The continual warfare with which Naresuan is engaged, thus, signifies his need for the confirmation of his masculinity, given his awareness of the transient nature of victory. In the same way, Tony Jaa in *Ong Bak*, seeks refuge in the religious domain where his masculine power is fulfilled. For King Naresuan, his masculine power depends on the actions that occur here and now in the material world, or rather, the symbolic world. His every victory in the battle works to conceal his lack, securing the illusion of perfect masculinity. Nevertheless, due to every man's inevitable subjection to "universal castration" as Silverman has rightly claimed, the King's lack was eventually manifested in the film's finale, *Naresuan 6 (The Legend of King Naresuan: The Fall of Hongsawadi, 2015)* when he is found to be fatally ill. Here, he is bed-ridden due to a malarial fever that he caught during his military forays. This physical fall lends him the final revelation in which death, one form of sufferings according to Buddhist philosophy, is endorsed. In one sequence toward the film's ending, he said to his wife Maneechan, "I may have won so many battles, but I'm being defeated by the god of death". Such a revelation as is shown here is not merely intended to affirm the existence of the universally inevitable lack, which literally suggests one's loss of control over his own fate. Rather, it sanctions the superiority of the religious/ Buddhist spiritual order to that of the symbolic one.

Conclusion

The somewhat different images of masculinity presented by the two heroes, does not mean that the one who may appear to belong to the modern sphere, in this case, Naresuan, given his nakleng, leadership quality and rational outlook, is morally or politically superior to a subaltern hero like Tony Jaa. To repeat what I previously mentioned, each hero is projected to cater to different segments of the masses. The ordination ceremony of the hero in *Ong Bak* in which the hero is mounted onto the elephant may well be comparable to Naresuan being seated on the throne in the accession ceremony. Each of the heroes is made the object of divinity witnessed by each respective subject/citizen audiences. At the same time, each hero is made to catch a glimpse of his totality and completion in different spheres of power.

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Narratives of the Romantic Relationship between Teacher and Student in Thai Contemporary Media: Turning Point in Thinking about Relationships?

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Abstract

The romantic relationship between teacher and student is prohibited by Thai social context and culture; however, there are plenty of Thai narratives which have presented the idea of this relationship in Thai contemporary media, in TV series and films, since 2006. This article aimed to examine six narratives between 2006 and 2015 to indicate the possibility of a specific type of relationship to reveal an ideology that controls the construction of these narratives through Thai contemporary media.

The result is that almost all narratives portrayed that the romantic relationship between teacher and student is an unacceptable one, which correlates with social norms. However, two of the selected narratives represent the possibility of having this kind of relationship; that is to say, an affair between teacher and student can be acceptable when the teacher has no more duty of care to the student in the context of school. These narratives show a turning point in thinking about the romantic relationship between teacher and student in Thai society that challenges convention. Moreover, those two narratives showed that amorous relationships mostly happen when a male student makes the first move towards a female teacher. Obviously, male students' characters are the symbol of reproduction of patriarchal ideology; a kind of relationship that principally relates to pleasure, desire, imagination, and male sexual experience. In other words, the turning point in thinking about the romantic relationship between teacher and student that appears in those narratives still cannot fully conquer the power of patriarchy.

Keywords: narrative, romantic relationship between teacher and student, contemporary media, patriarchal ideology

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Introduction

The romantic relationship between teacher and student is prohibited in many countries; for example in Japan, 2007, a 42-year-old female teacher was arrested because of having a sexual relationship with a 16-year-old student. (MGR Online, 2007) In 2011, a relationship between a 22-year-old graduate student at the University of Idaho and a psychology professor at the same university ended in murder-suicide. (Pruitt, 2012) In Singapore in 2014, a 42-year-old female teacher left bruises on a 13-year-old student. (Digital Media, 2014) As can be seen, the romantic relationship between teacher and student does not always have a 'happy ending' unlike a fairy tale or other types of relationship. In Thailand, there are similar stories in the news. In 2009, a female teacher and male student were found to be having a sexual relationship at the beginning of the year, or the story about the relationship between a male Physical Education teacher and his female student that ended with her taking her own life. (Thairath Online 2015a)

Apart from news broadcast in media as mentioned above, the romantic relationship between teacher and student is also presented in narratives in contemporary TV series and films, in this case meaning only in Thailand. When considering those narratives, they were presented in two opposing types; unacceptable and acceptable relationships. The key question is; the prohibited relationship could be accepted or possible under which conditions and controlled by what ideology?

Scope of the study

This article studied 6 narratives of the romantic relationship between teacher and student presented in Thai contemporary media between 2006 and 2015, which are:

1. *The Sin*, a short film by Sukkhaphisit (2006)
2. *Love, loved, loved*, a short film broadcast on cable television Bang Channel by Mongkolsawat & Wilawan (2013)
3. *Hormones 1st season, ep.12 Growth Hormone*, TV series broadcast on satellite television by Sukmak-a-nan (2013)
4. *Teacher and Student*, a film by Intharaphrom (2014)
5. *Hormones 2nd season, ep.3 Toey and a computer teacher*, TV series broadcast on satellite television by Wachirathammaporn (2014)
6. *The Secret of Grade 12, Room 3*, TV series in *Club Friday the Series 5th season*, directed by Trakulkasemsuk (2015)

The romantic relationship between teacher and student in social and cultural dimension

In the context of Thailand, teachers are the second parents of students, therefore they have a status of high respect. Whenever they do not discharge their duty as much as is expected by society, such as in cases where a teacher falls in love with a student, they would be denounced.

In the Teachers' Code of Ethics, the romantic relationship between teacher and student could be interpreted as taboo behavior. Furthermore, this relationship is illegal within the scope of the Criminal Code if sexual acts take place. Furthermore, Section 285 of the Code states that when a teacher carries out an offence against a student,

they should be punished one-third more harshly than usual. That is to say, under Thai law, a teacher's offence is more serious than one committed by a member of the general public. Therefore, the romantic relationship between teacher and student is unacceptable in the context of Thai society and culture.

People's attitudes to this relationship can be separated into two sides. On the one side, Thai people cannot accept the relationship because they are concerned about the teacher's status, which is held in high respect. On the other side, the relationship is acceptable because love and relationships are uncontrollable. Society should keep out, and both teacher and student should express their love appropriately in the correct time, place or situation. (Thairath Online, 2015b; Thairath Online, 2015c)

Narratives of the romantic relationship between teacher and student: representation through Thai contemporary media

By considering narratives of the romantic relationship between teacher and student presented in Thai contemporary media, they can be separated into two types: the forbidden relationship between teacher and student, and the possibility of the relationship between teacher and student under specific conditions.

The forbidden relationship between teacher and student

Being a teacher is an occupation which is completely controlled by a Code of Ethics and the romantic relationship between teacher and student breaks that Code. In this sense, the Code is a significant conceptual idea that controls those narratives to present it as an inappropriate relationship in Thai society, especially when the teacher is the first to show an interest in the student. This idea was shown in the film *Teacher and Student* and *Hormones 2nd season, ep.3 Toey and a computer teacher*.

The film *Teacher and Student* presented the narrative of an English teacher 'Ton'. He falls in love with his student 'Joe'. Ton steals Joe's school uniform and is caught in the act the second time he does it. However, when caught he tries to persuade Joe to keep his secret, saying things such as "Joe, I love you, truly love you. Tell me what you want, I can give you everything." Ton tries to begin a romantic relationship with Joe and conceal his misdeed. Moreover, when Joe hesitates, Ton asks "What's wrong with a teacher associating with a student?" Apart from asking the question between one character and another, it is implied to be questioning the societal norm, and makes that film seem to be destroying that norm.

Although this film showed that the teacher broke the Code of Ethics, that Code still controlled the direction of the content by giving a vital role to Joe. Joe used the word 'Master' all the time when talking to Ton. When Joe found out that Ton is a fetishist and was smelling Joe's student uniform, Joe called him 'Master' and made him stop. When Ton acknowledged that he loves Joe, Joe asked him "Why do you love me, master?" Joe also said "It's not good at all to love you, master." The repetition of the word 'Master' by Joe in every sentence is to remind Ton of his duties as a teacher under the Code of Ethics. By using that word all the time, the film's producer wants Ton to realize his teacher duty as a teacher, as contained within the Code of Ethics. Hence, when Ton breaks the Code by telling Joe that he will copulate with him if Joe is willing to be his lover, Joe swears at him "You fuck-up!" Ton assaulted and tried to

rape Joe but Joe didn't allow him to, and swears again 'Douchebag!' Joe then left immediately.

As mentioned above, the film *Teacher and Student* showed that the romantic relationship between teacher and student should not be allowed to happen, and when the teacher does not observe the Code of Ethics, the teacher will be unable to coexist in society, like Ton who is bogged down with his sorrow as shown at the end of the film. In addition, it should be noticed that Joe's invective is not only to condemn Ton's behavior, but it could also be implied as homophobic.

In the same way, *Hormones 2nd season, ep.3 Toey and a computer teacher* also showed that a teacher should not begin the romantic relationship with a student because it is contrary to the Code of Ethics. In this narrative, Toey feels that Pin, a male computer teacher, is unusual; he keeps getting up close to her. Meanwhile, when Pin does the same to Tan, another female student, it makes Tan cry. Toey thinks that Tan has faced the same problem so she talks to her. Toey says, "Pin pushed his face into mine, it was terrible, I'm not OK at all." This showed Toey's negative feelings when she realized Pin's behavior contradicted the Teachers' Code of Ethics.

After hearing Toey's story, Tan confessed that she had been harassed and raped by Pin. Subsequently, Toey plans to allow Pin to violate her and Tan will record the video at the same time, to use against him in evidence. When that scene was broadcast, the message 'Sexual harassment is illegal and immoral. Careful advice from parents is required.' was shown at the bottom of the screen the whole time. It showed that the series producer realized that the content was immoral and contrary to the Teachers' Code of Ethics. However, the vital message is to follow the Code, so the producer presented that scene by giving a key role to Tar, a male student in the same class as Toey, who discovered the incident and helped her get away from Pin. Tar asked Pin "How dare you do this? How dare you, you bastard!" This question is not only asked of Pin and questioning his behavior, but it is also a question to any teachers who have violated their students.

In addition to the above question, the utterance of Niphon, one of the school's administrative teachers, who talked to Pin after the incident, showed that this episode of the series has Teachers' Code of Ethics as a way to present the story. Niphon said "You are a teacher! Even if you weren't, you have no right to force anyone to do this!" This narrative shows that 'teacher' is sacred, respected, and should be a good example of behavior. Although Pin said 'I'm also a human,' it is unreasonable because it is shown that the teacher also has to take responsibility for a student's welfare.

Apart from the narratives where the teacher is the first to show an interest in a student as mentioned above, some narratives represent when the student is the first to start the romantic relationship with their teacher, and also show that the relationship is contrary to the Teachers' Code of Ethics. One example is shown in the short film *The Sin* and another in *Hormones 1st season, ep.12 Growth Hormone*.

The short film *The Sin* represented the romantic relationship between 'Suvicha,' a male student in a vocational school, and a new unnamed English teacher who tries to hide his gender and sexuality because it is the principal reason for his previous

unemployment. His gender is male but the sexuality could be defined as a transvestite. Nevertheless, although the teacher tries to conduct himself not to associate with another male, especially as he is in a school where most students are male, when Suvicha comes into his life, his heart is substantially affected.

Suvicha is a student in the teacher's English class. One day he asks to go and live with the teacher because he doesn't want to go home. The film shows them living together in many private places, such as a bedroom and the roof-deck of a dormitory. There are many situations in which the teacher has to suppress his feelings, such as when Suvicha takes off his clothing and stands naked in front of the teacher before he goes to shower, when the teacher gives him a towel in front of the bathroom, or when Suvicha is drunk and the teacher tries to rub his body dry but Suvicha pulls the teacher into a hug and falls asleep. Every time they are close together, the teacher always avoids confrontation because he doesn't want to think improperly towards the student.

It can be seen that the teacher chooses to suppress his feelings although he has the opportunity to do many things to Suvicha when they live together. This film is represented under the framework of the Teachers' Code of Ethics, which control the teacher's behavior; although it also showed that his feelings and the Code are at odds with each other. The Teachers' Code of Ethics, which influences teachers' thoughts, emotions and actions, is emphasized again in the scene when teachers in the staff room are gossiping about an electronics teacher who had sexual relations with a female student and was fired. They use phrases such as "Oh my god! Such dishonor in our school!" "Teacher, a teacher, how shameless!" "He destroyed the reputation of our school," and "Someone who behaves like this should be careful." For the teacher who is starting to fall in love with Suvicha, these sentences have an effect on his mind.

The Teachers' Code of Ethics is emphasized again at the end of the film when it reveals the full story of Suvicha, who is a male prostitute, and the teacher finds out the truth. It makes the teacher depressed because he lavished many things upon Suvicha, but Suvicha doesn't appreciate them, and the teacher sinks into sorrow for a long time.

As mentioned above, the short film *The Sin* represents the romantic relationship between teacher and student under the framework of the Teachers' Code of Ethics, it causes the teacher to be unable to live happily ever after with the student, because duty is more important than personal feelings.

In the same way, *Hormones 1st season, ep.12 Growth Hormone* also showed an instance in which a student starts the romantic relationship with their teacher. In this narrative, Win, a student in Nadao Bangkok School, is the first to show his interest in Aor, an English teacher. However, the romantic relationship between them occurred when they were very drunk and lost consciousness after a party at Aor's home. While Aor is changing her clothes in a bathroom with the door left open, Win walks past and sees her. He feels sexual desire and tries to take advantage of Aor. When Aor comes to and realizes that the person confronting her is Win, she pushes him away and walks out of the bathroom. Nevertheless, the situation was recorded on another student's smartphone. When that clip goes viral around the school, Aor is immediately fired.

The final scene shows Aor walking out of the headmaster's room and on seeing many students she avoids eye contact with them. It could be a reference that what happened in the video clip is very shameful and shouldn't happen to a teacher who has to follow the Teachers' Code of Ethics.

Furthermore, there is a scene in which Nippon, one of the school's administrative staff, comes in the classroom to replace the English teacher. He declares the reason is "Because a vicious story has just happened in our school," which refers to the story of Win and Aor in that video clip, and also shows the evaluation of that behavior, which is bad and shouldn't have happened.

Moreover, the producer also gives a role to students in the school to produce and broadcast a television program 'VR Source'. The moderator interviews students about the clip; most of them have the same opinion of Win.

"I think, if he did this, he should be expelled. Why couldn't he abstain from doing that with the teacher?"

"I wonder what he was thinking. How dare he! Damn him so much!"

"Why don't you take some time to watch the clip? I think that teacher probably went along with him."

"The teacher has no right to do that!"

From the above utterances, the students interviewed in the 'VR Source' program are unimpressed with what happened in the video clip. Some students criticize Win for behaving inappropriately, while some think maybe Aor went along with Win. Although the producer gives a role to one student to say "Win is cool, he managed to make love with a teacher," the producer gives a role to Pop, one of the moderators of 'VR Source,' to slap the first student and say "You pig! She is your teacher!" Also at the end of the program, Khongkwan, one of the most popular students in the school, gives a warning that nobody should judge others if they haven't witnessed the situation; however, no-one cares about what really happened that night. Most of them are prepared to judge Aor and Win although they have only seen a short clip. That is to say, the Teachers' Code of Ethics is the framework to represent this narrative.

As mentioned above, the Teachers' Code of Ethics has become a moral norm that controls how all producers represent characters' thoughts and deeds in Thai contemporary media. The characters who refuse to follow the Code of Ethics will be punished by society, by condemning them with insulting looks, gossip, invective, and even punishment by law. Incidentally, even if the temptation happened only in characters' minds, they will found to be guilty of the offence. It could be considered that the Teachers' Code of Ethics is a bio-power of the modern Thai state, which controls and specifies the framework of thinking about and representing the romantic relationship between teacher and student through Thai contemporary media, and it also has the power to control and order characters' thoughts and deeds in those narratives.

The possibility of the relationship between teacher and student

Although the Teachers' Code of Ethics is a vital framework of thought in representing the romantic relationship between teacher and student that shouldn't happen in Thai

society through narratives, some narratives show the framework to be negotiable, by representing that the romantic relationship between teacher and student could happen under certain conditions.

In a short film *Love, loved, loved*, the narrative presented the romantic relationship between 'Tin,' a third year student, or a final year, in vocational school, who falls in love with 'Praew,' a university student who is practicing teaching English in that school. Tin tries in a number of ways to show his desire for Praew to make her aware that he loves her, such as often asking question in the class, or trying to offer his motorbike service to take her home, but Praew doesn't show any interest in him. When asked by her friend about if a student were to fall in love with her, Praew quickly answers "Are you mad? I'm a teacher, even if I'm just a trainee." Praew's words show that the Teachers' Code of Ethics has the power to control Praew's mind, and the producer of this film realizes this.

Moreover, when Tin posts a photo of him taken with Praew on Facebook, Praew is given a warning by the headmistress. Praew says to Tin "Tin, do not try to persuade me to go home with you. I am a teacher! You are a student! I have to teach you! You should just study in the class! From now on, do not disturb me. Just go back to focus on your studies." Praew's words show that the teacher's duty and Code of Ethics are the most important things to consider when thinking about how to behave appropriately. The Teachers' Code of Ethics is the framework that controls Praew's thoughts and actions. At the same time, when Tin realizes that he is the reason for the warning the headmistress gave to Praew, he becomes aware of his duty as a student and says "You're in trouble because of me; actually I should do no more than my duty."

However, this short film shows the framework of the Teachers' Code of Ethics is negotiable. As Tin said, "If someday you're not my teacher and I'm not your student, I think it would be better." This sentence presents the idea that the romantic relationship would "be better" if the teacher and the student do not have duty towards each other. 'Time and place' becomes a frame of thought that controls the way to represent the narrative of the romantic relationship between teacher and student in the film; that is, the romantic relationship between teacher and student is possible, but both teacher and student should behave suitably within the right time and place. 'Teacher' and 'student' have duties that they perform to each other both in and out the school, and all the time they still have a duty to each other. But if they both no longer have any duty under the condition of time and place as mentioned, the romantic relationship between teacher and student is allowed to happen.

The short film *Love, loved, loved* represents the maintaining of the romantic relationship between Praew and Tin after Praew finishes her teaching practice in Tin's school, and Tin has also graduated from that school. When Tin's friends send his story to a TV program 'Love me or not?' and make Tin and Praew talk together again, Tin asks Praew to be his girlfriend and Praew accepts. The story of Tin and Praew was taken to produce a narrative shown in that short film. It can be seen that the appropriate time and place in which a the romantic relationship between teacher and student is allowed to happen is when Tin has graduated and Praew is also no longer teaching him.

In the same way, *The Secret of Grade 12, Room 3*, TV series in *Club Friday the Series 5th season*, also shows the negotiation between ‘time and place’ and Teachers’ Code of Ethics. In the series, Aorn, a class teacher of grade 12, room 3, faces pressure from many sides when the romantic relationship between her and Tee, a male student in her class, is revealed. For instance, when the headmaster talks to her after suspecting her secret:

You know what the duty of a teacher is, don’t you? When parents send their children to our school, they may reasonably think that school is the same as their home, and we are their deputies in instructing them, and teaching them to grow up as good people. I understand that a teacher is only human, but you should not forget that since the first day you chose to be a teacher, it has meant that you accepted the Teacher’s Code of Ethics, and it will follow you as long as you still are a teacher. Do you understand?

From the message above, the producer presents that the Teachers’ Code of Ethics is still a framework to control the romantic relationship between teacher and student, because the teacher must perform respectfully in the same way as the parents. When Aorn has a romantic relationship with Tee, she is criticized by other teachers, with posts on Facebook and scornful looks. Furthermore, the Teachers’ Code of Ethics still makes Aorn decide to quit her job, as she says “The gossip was spread, whether it is true or not, the school has lost its reputation because of me, hence I must resign from my job here. It’s my fault, since I let the gossip spread. Please accept my apology. I should take responsibility. The school won’t lose its trustworthiness. I’m really sorry.”

The day Aorn decides to quit her job, the Teachers’ Code of Ethics has the power to control Aorn’s mind and actions more than her feelings. Aorn dumps Tee by shouting “I told you to go to class, didn’t you hear me?” Also, when Aorn says “Tee must accept the truth, the truth that our relationship is wrong. It should end now,” it emphasizes the framework of the Teachers’ Code of Ethics that judges the romantic relationship between teacher and student to be wrong. Although Tee asks “Why, Aorn? We love each other, feel good together. Is it really wrong?” or “What should I do, Aorn, to make you understand that our relationship is not wrong?” His question is not only being asked in the series, but it also asks about the framework of the Teachers’ Code of Ethics. By leaving Tee’s life, it is Aorn’s best answer that emphasizes how powerful that framework of thinking is, at least when there is still duty between teacher and student.

The Secret of Grade 12, Room 3, TV series in *Club Friday the Series 5th season* shows that the framework of the Teachers’ Code of Ethics still has the power to control character’s thoughts and behavior so that their lives are unhappy. Like Aorn said “At that time, I think it will be happier if I do what is right, but it’s not the same as I think,” but ‘time and place’ is the framework of thought that is used to negotiate with the Teachers’ Code of Ethics. For example, at the end of the series Tee goes to Aorn’s house after graduating from school. He takes off his student uniform and asks Aorn “I’m not a student any more, can we love each other now?” This question shows that both Aorn and Tee no longer have any duty towards each other, it is just their feelings that go on. By taking off the uniform, it could be implied as liberation from

his duty as a student. In addition, Tee's question also implies that it is being asked of society too.

As previously mentioned, 'time and place' is a framework of thought that can negotiate with the 'Teachers' Code of Ethics.' Those two narratives of romantic relationships between teacher and student show that both teacher and student who love each other are under pressure from the Teachers' Code of Ethics and how to emerge from that pressure to carry on with their relationship. The possibility of the romantic relationship between teacher and student is under the condition of 'time' and 'place' when both of them have no more duty to each other in the context of school.

By considering the narratives of romantic relationship between teacher and student presented through Thai contemporary media between 2006 and 2015 as mentioned above, the conclusion is: the narratives of romantic relationship between teacher and student can be separated into two types, the forbidden relationship between teacher and student, and the possibility of the relationship between teacher and student. The first one proves that the romantic relationship between teacher and student still falls under the Teachers' Code of Ethics and the relationship should not happen. Moral ideology becomes a vital framework to control those narratives to show that romantic relationships between teacher and student are not acceptable, and when they happen, both of them will be condemned to varying degrees. The other one shows that the possibility of a romantic relationship between teacher and student is acceptable under the framework of 'time' and 'place.' The romantic relationship between teacher and student may happen in an appropriate time and place, and it shows the negotiability with the Teachers' Code of Ethics, which is a mainstream way of thinking that controls people's minds.

Turning point in thinking about relationship?

The two narratives that presented the possibility of a romantic relationship between teacher and student are a challenge to the prohibited relationship under Thai convention. Although the romantic relationship between teacher and student is totally in contravention of the Teachers' Code of Ethics, those two narratives represent the possibility of a romantic relationship between teacher and student that could take place when the student has graduated from high school and the teacher has no more duty to that student either. However, when considered from a legal perspective, the romantic relationship between teacher and student under those conditions is not illegal because the student is over 18 years of age. If there is no force exerted by the teacher, the romantic relationship between teacher and student may be possible.

The romantic relationship between teacher and student presented in Thai contemporary media does not follow social convention. Although these narratives are presented in entertainment media, when one realizes that both narratives were produced from the audience's 'real' experience, or based on a true story, the narratives of romantic relationship between teacher and student lead to debate in society, especially the appropriateness and possibility of this type of relationship. Whether this relationship is acceptable or not, the narratives still create the debate, and make it a hot topic.

Moreover, the narratives of romantic relationships between teacher and student reflect the new generation's desire to change social contexts. In the past, although the

romantic relationship between teacher and student was prohibited, the media sometimes presented news about those relationships. Interestingly, news stories that were presented in the media never showed this as being an acceptable relationship. The possibility of the romantic relationship between teacher and student presented in Thai contemporary media is not only a challenge to the convention and feelings of people in society, which could imply that the strictness of some social norms is decreasing, but it also shows that the romantic relationship between teacher and student is a human desire and a relationship that the new generation could accept, and may also be permitted under law. Whether the 'truth' behind those narratives is true or not, the possibility in narratives of the romantic relationship between teacher and student establishes a new space for the relationship that exists in society, from the forbidden relationship, and it can be regarded as a turning point in thinking about the relationship of people who have a different status.

When considered from the perspective of gender, those two narratives have something in common, whether intentional or not. Those two narratives show that the romantic relationship between teacher and student can happen if there is a relationship between male student and female teacher, and the male student is the first to court the female teacher. By representing the vital role through the male student, it is a reproduction of the patriarchal ideology, because that relationship principle responds to male desire, imagination and sexual experience. Meanwhile, the female teacher in those two narratives just responds to the male student's desire. At the end of those narratives, by giving a role to the male student to succeed in associating with the female teacher, it is still a reproduction of romantic love under heteronormativity that stems from the patriarchy's establishment. That is to say, though the romantic relationship between teacher and student shows a turning point in thinking about the relationship among Thai society, that turning point still cannot conquer the power of patriarchy, which is entrenched in Thai society.

Interpersonal relationships are no longer a private business, but are surrounded with social and cultural matters, which are controlled by the ideology behind them, and its power can harmoniously control the relationships between people in society.

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***How the Conceptualization of Refugees Impacts their Capacity to Fulfill
Their Social and Economic Agency***

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Abstract

By the end of 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had identified 14.4 million refugees globally (UNHCR Global Trends 2014). The growth of the refugee population is an increasing concern that affects origin countries, host countries, aid organizations, and, most importantly, refugees themselves. The tendency of governments, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), aid agencies, and policymakers to conceptualize refugees through security and victimization frameworks prevents refugees from making valuable economic and social contributions. This paper argues that such frameworks inhibit refugees from enacting their agency and achieving their capabilities as human beings.

The paper will evaluate the extent to which particular refugee policies prevent or enable refugees to assume agency and contribute to their community. The study will qualitatively investigate common policies regarding the legal, economic, and social integration of refugees into their host societies. This analysis will explore how these policies differ among various host countries and the impact of those differences on refugees. This study recommends a conceptual shift in the refugee aid industry from a victim paradigm to one of empowerment and acknowledgement of refugee capacity. Moreover, increased cooperation between governments, the UNHCR, NGOs, and businesses is necessary to foster the conditions under which refugees have the power to make economic and social contributions. If implemented, these policy proposals would transform the landscape of the refugee crisis by facilitating mutually beneficial rather than contentious relationships between refugees and their host countries.

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Introduction

By the end of 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had identified 14.4 million refugees globally with developing countries hosting over eighty percent of them (UNHCR, 2014). The growth of the refugee population is an increasing concern that affects origin states, host states, international aid organizations, and, most importantly, refugees themselves. Often perceiving refugees as security threats and drains on the economic system, host States seek to marginalize the influence of these at times unwelcome foreigners on their communities. At the same time, governments and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) tend to view refugees as victims, and this framework leads them to respond to refugee issues with short-term fixes and handouts. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the current failure of State governments and NGOs to promote refugee agency and the missed opportunities this presents for both refugees and their host States. Through a comparative analysis of refugee policies, we argue that approaching refugees as self-sufficient actors enables them to make contributions to their host countries that far outweigh the security threats they potentially pose.

Theory: Victimization vs. Capabilities

When conceptualizing the social and economic role of refugees, though it may be loosely contrived and underdeveloped, scholars, NGOs, and states are working from a particular theoretical framework (Hakovirta, 1993, p. 36). This model emphasizes the short-term provision of food aid and other subsistence resources through the lens of victimization of passive refugees who depend on these programs for survival.

This paper advocates a human capabilities model to understand refugees as actors and their ability to make contributions to their host states. The capabilities approach focuses on the type of life that humans are able to achieve, and emphasizes choice in relation to what people are able to be and to do (Wells, 2015). It focuses on the human's ability to achieve functionings, such as being adequately nourished, achieving self-respect, and taking part in the life of the community (Sen, 1989, p. 44). Through this framework, refugees become agents who have the power to enact political, social, and economic change.

Legal Integration

When refugees flee their home states in search of refuge in host states, they are met with differing forms of legal regulations and restrictions. Some countries have strict rules that compel refugees to become permanent residents quickly after arriving in the host state, while others impose restrictions that prevent them from becoming permanent residents for a long period of time or at all. These legal frameworks suggest particular conceptualizations of refugees and directly impact refugee capacity to integrate into their host state.

Some States require refugees to become permanent residents after a certain period of time residing in that host State. For example, the United States legally requires refugees to apply for Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status within one year of physical presence in the country. This status enables refugees to "own property, attend public schools, join certain branches of the US Armed Forces, travel

internationally without a visa, and, if certain requirements are met, apply for US citizenship” (Migration Information Source, 2012). Accrual of LPR status enables refugees in the United States to move freely within their host state and to seek most forms of economic advancement available to U.S. citizens.

Notably, numerous host countries do not allow refugees to gain permanent resident status at all. The Gulf countries in particular, such as Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Bahrain, typically have no clearly defined legal regulations for refugees. These states display a strong reluctance to extend permanent residence rights to any non-nationals (Bayoumy, 2015). In Saudi Arabia, for example, refugees are allowed into the country on work permits which are temporary and can be canceled at any time (Amos, 2015). In most Gulf States, there is no opportunity for refugees to remain permanently without work, and once their work contracts have expired, these “migrant workers” must return to their home countries (Stephens, 2015). These states conceptualize refugees as political, economic, and demographic threats to their stability (Stephens, 2015). This security lens prevents refugees hosted in Gulf States not only from gaining protection afforded by refugee status, but also from assuming agency through legal integration.

Social Integration

The elements that impact the social integration of refugees in their host states, such as NGO policies and the social environment towards refugees play a crucial role in the capacity of refugees to fulfill their human agency. NGOs tend to view refugees as either capable actors or as helpless victims, and these views determine whether they will act to foster refugees’ long-term self-sufficiency or their reliance on short-term handouts. In Sierra Leone, at a time when it hosted close to 100,000 refugees, an NGO called The Foundation for International Dignity “conducted mediation workshops between refugees and host communities in camps in Sierra Leone” (Knoydyk, 2005). Such programs have helped to mitigate the tension between refugees and their host communities and, as such, have assisted in greater ease of refugee integration into Sierra Leonean society.

The social environment surrounding perceptions of refugees and the consequent actions of individuals also play a significant role in refugee attainment of agency and capacity to contribute. For example, the recent arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey has sparked security fears and violent xenophobic attacks. In 2013, a car bomb aimed at Syrian refugees coupled with numerous violent acts against individual refugees caused many of them to flee violent discrimination in Turkey to return to their unsafe homes in Syria (Krhon, 2013). These xenophobic environments cause refugees to live in fear, preclude their enactment of agency, and prevent them from successfully integrating into their host societies.

Just as a xenophobic environment and security lens inhibits social integration, a welcoming environment facilitates social integration. In Germany, individual volunteers are gathering in groups around refugee camps and housing “to offer language classes and assistance in dealing with authorities or medical services” (Bershidsky, 2015). These strategies suggest a view of refugees as a valuable asset and welcome addition to Germany’s social fabric.

Economic Integration

The host state's facilitation or inhibition of economic self-sufficiency demonstrates a clear view of refugees as victims, security threats, or assets. The employment laws and welfare regulations and provisions related to refugees determine their capacity to act as valuable economic resources in their host states. The refugee employment policies of host states also affect refugees' capacity to develop skills, and, therefore, impact their future ability to reintegrate into the economic life of their home state upon repatriation.

Some States have short waiting periods for refugees to receive work permits and impose few requirements. In the United States, refugees have the right to work immediately upon arrival, and must merely show their refugee admission stamp to employers as proof of employment eligibility (USCIS, 2015). In Germany, refugees can begin working after residing in the country for three months, but must obtain approval from the municipal immigration office before accepting the job (Hamann, 2015).

As an extreme example of employment restrictions for refugees, Saudi Arabia requires refugees to obtain residence permits and sponsorship from an employer in order to live outside of refugee camps and gain employment. Given the aforementioned xenophobic environment in Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia, employers are unlikely to provide this necessary sponsorship.

How Refugee Agency Benefits Host States

It is clear that giving refugees the legal, social, and economic means to integrate into the society of their host states enables them to act with agency and dignity and to develop skills that will aid them in maintaining self-sufficiency in their host states and upon possible repatriation. However, conceptualizing refugees as more than just victims in need of handouts also yields benefits to host States and home States.

A Human Resources Manager at Vermont's Koffee Kup Bakery in the United States has argued that "her refugee employees have been instrumental in growing the company's revenues 30 percent annually for the past three years" (Margolis, 2015). In addition to business declarations, studies have shown that workplace diversity increases productivity (Soergel, 2015; Saxena, 2014; Peri, 2012). Moreover, in 2012, Chmura Economics & Analytics found that local refugee agencies spent \$4.8 million in Cleveland, Ohio to help refugees establish themselves; however, in that same year, refugees contributed approximately \$48 million to the community (Soergel, 2015).

Conclusion

Conceptualizing refugees as self-sufficient actors rather than passive victims enables them to transcend the savior/victim and security threat paradigms to make significant social and economic contributions in their host states. An engaged understanding of refugees as dignified actors can mitigate tension between refugees and host communities and enable refugees to be economically independent and constructive members of their host states.

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Discourse on Disciplining Indonesian Women's Bodies in a Dove Advertisement

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Abstract

In modern society, all human beings are performers. Our identities could be formed to imitate the personality types that are circulating around us, or we could create our own unique personality styles, which are different and in fact has never been attached to another person. Advances in information technology affect the way people define their identity. The mass media provides the widest opportunity for people to get a reference of lifestyles and role models in the process of establishing a person's identity. Hair is one of the attributes of the body which receives most of human attention besides the skin, face and body itself. It becomes a topic that is often discussed in various articles published in mass media, ranging from magazines, newspapers and the Internet. Hair has also become one of the attributes of the body sold by the world beauty industry.

This article does not only describe the contents of a shampoo advertisement text, but also questions the existence of the advertisements in the context of society and explores their role in the project of disciplining the female body. Dove shampoo commercial is chosen to be analyzed in an effort to dismantle the intervention of the beauty industry in the process of identity formation of women in Indonesia. The discussion in this article advertisement adopts Fairclough's theoretical framework on three elements of discourse, namely text, discourse practice (production, distribution and consumption of text), and sociocultural practice (socio-cultural practices in society).

Keywords: Discourse, body, hair, identity, advertisement

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Introduction

Body has become important identity symbol. Biologically, a woman's identity is distinguished from men in terms of body anatomy. In her book *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1984), Mary Douglas stated that "as everything symbolizes our body, it becomes the symbol for everything." In *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (1996), she divided the body into two: the self (individual body) and the society (body politics). The body politics forms the way the body is physically felt. Physical experience of a body is always modified by social categories known, including particular perceptions of the society.

In all social contexts, body has become the center of consumption since in this part occur reproduction practices and social norms. The body becomes an epigraph of various symbols and identity values, as well as differences. In the regime of fashion, body is the epigraph of desire in fulfilling the beauty satisfaction temporarily. Modern consumption practices have enabled the body to become potential consumers to be manipulated by the pleasure of gaze offered by televisions and advertisements (Appadurai, 1996: 84).

If consumption is the effort to obtain satisfaction of the fulfillment of human's need, advertisement in mass media does not have other function but providing the information to the consumers on what goods and services they need to fulfill, where to get them, how to use them, and what effects may appeared after using them (Falk, 1994: 151).

Commercials do not only offer the products to fulfill consumers' needs, it also creates new necessities on a product that is, in fact, not needed or not yet needed by the society (politics of desire economy). Those necessities are created through pieces of image that are considered as representing certain product. In beauty product commercials, pseudo necessities are produced through the image of beautiful hair, slim tall body, fair skin, as well as pretty face presented by various models.

If we observe the development of media industry, the appearances of Indonesian women in newspaper, magazine, radio, television, internet, as well as other media has become daily normality. They take the role as producers, commercial model presenter, or actress in TV series. Indonesian women also become the part of advertisement material, a theme of a topic, as well as the title and central story in a TV series. Their existence in an increasingly open public space has attracted beauty product companies to make them part of market expansion targets.

In the globalization era, Indonesian women do not only own a single face. We can see them in various appearances. Different hair colors, skin colors, body shapes, and women fashion selections appear in televisions, magazines, newspaper, and, indeed, on the billboard set on the highway. This phenomenon cannot be separated from the role of beauty product commercials employing the image of celebrities that appear to be perfect in the purpose of influencing the society. These public figures act as if they are the warden of beauty industry who assures the discipline of the convict in the form of woman body so that they obey the regulations of the markets. This obedience is shown by their reluctance to move from one beauty product to another. Commercial

has become the controlling tower of their prisoned body that will never guarantee their freedom.

The study of discourse in advertisement, especially in Dove ads, has been carried out with diverse theoretical approaches and methodologies. *A Not-So-Beautiful Campaign: A Feminist Analysis of the Dove Campaign for Real Beauty* (McCleary, 2014), *Consuming Construction: A Critique of Dove's Campaign for Real Beauty* (Dye, 2011), and *Critical Discourse Analysis: Analyzing the Beauty Advertisement Discourse, Dove's Campaign for Real Beauty* (Hoepfner, 2006) are the examples of study of Dove ads, which has been published by previous researchers. The difference between this article and the previous one is the use of panopticon, the ideas of Michel Foucault, to dismantle the discourse practice. Panopticon become a referral form of production, distribution, and consumption of discourse in society. Advertisement has become the controlling tower of the women's prisoned body that will never give them the freedom to be themselves.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a Method

Language is a social practice. Language use is always simultaneously constitutive as social identities, social relation and system of knowledge and belief. A discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view (Fairclough, 1989).

Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Critical discourse analysts take explicit position to understand, expose and resist social inequality. Most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts (Van Dijk, 1993).

Critical discourse analysis of a communicative event is the analysis of relationships between three dimensions, which call text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Text refers to written or oral text and visual text. Discourse practice is the processes of text production and text consumption. And sociocultural practice means the social and cultural context, on which the communicative events are a part of (Fairclough, 1997). Analysis of texts is concerned with both their meanings and their form. This analysis provides a way of investigating the simultaneous constitution of systems and belief, social relations, and social identities in a text.

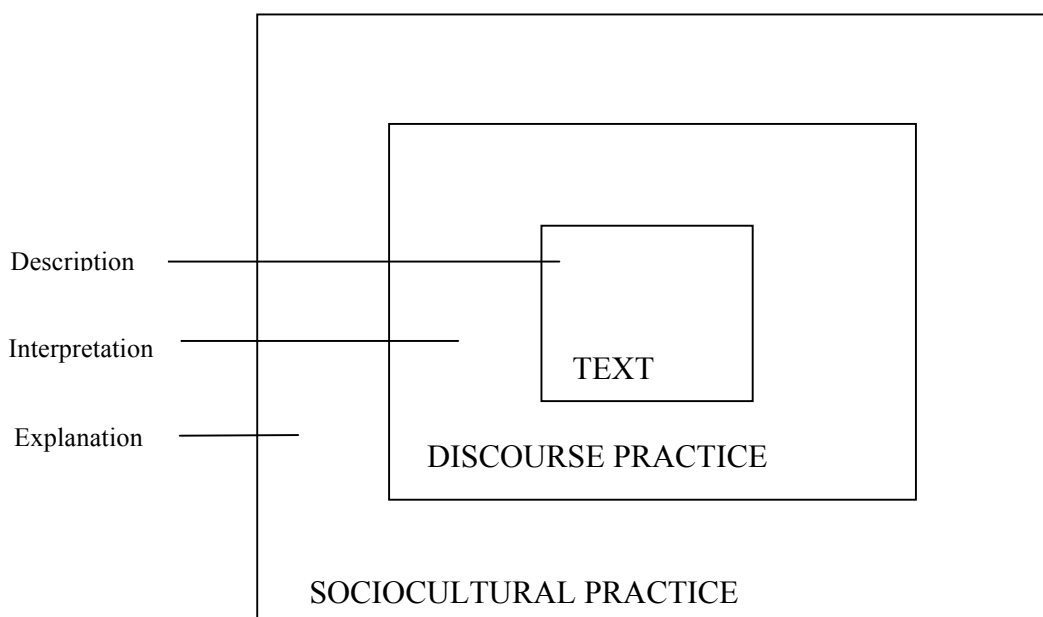


Figure 1. A framework for critical discourse analysis

Based on the figure, text dimension becomes the object of the analysis that should be described to see the parts of the discourse. The text can take the form of writing, illustrations, conversation, writing and illustration, conversation and illustration, or the combination of the three. The dimension of discourse practice is the place where text is produced, distributed, and consumed by the society through the process of meaning (reading, writing, listening, speaking, seeing, and designing and so on). In this area occurs the conflicts among relations of power appeared in certain discourse. The next dimension is socio-cultural practice, a condition of the social culture that becomes the background of the process of meaning of a discourse.

The dimension of commercial includes substance, music and pictures, para-language, situation, co-text, inter-text, participants, and function. Substance is the physical material in the form of voice of the model and narrator, screen, package, sticker, and banner containing text. Music can take the form of orchestra, solo, or acoustic. Picture can be moving images, cartoon, and photograph. Paralanguage is a variety of different language variation, ranging from words, phrases, sentence structures, facial expressions, sound quality, and gestures. Situation is the text scope, in which we know where and when the advertisement is aired. Co-text is the text that is equal, coordinative, and is related to other text, either precede or go along the text. Intertext is the discourse that depends on other discourse, either in the form of events in the advertisement or events outside of the advertisements. Participants can be classified into two: sender and receiver. Sender is the producers offering their products, while receiver is the target community of the products. Function is what is wanted by the producers from the consumers and is contained in a text (Cook, 2003). Critical Discourse Analysis does not focus on one dimension. The discussion will always involve the three dimensions. Text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice cannot stand on its own. The three dimensions are having mutual influence.

Indonesian Women's Hair in Dove Commercial: A Text

The advertisement discussed in this article is the TV commercial of Dove Hairtherapy, in which the fragment is aired in Indonesian televisions in 2014. As a whole, the advertisement lasted in 2 minutes 30 seconds. Below is the scripts of the scenes in the advertisement of Dove Hairtherapy, with its tagline, “No Makeup, Just my Dove Hair.”

Scene	Text
00:00	Opening: Writing of “Dove Hairtherapy” with the white background.
00:03	Anonymous Quote, “Healthy hair is the best make up a girl can get!” with white background.
00:05	The writing of “Dove visited several campuses and offices in Jakarta” with white background.
00:08	Writing of “and challenged the women to be confident with their healthy hair without makeup” in white background.
00:10	An office situation with desks full of books, documents, and coats hanged on the chair; a male staff in the corner of the room, a woman in big figure wearing flowery blouse was tying up her hair. Next to her was a black-veiled woman wearing green blouse. She was looking at her.
00:11	A woman was sitting in front of her computer and holding her mouse, taking a short glance at the camera, then facing her computer in front of her. This woman has straight black hair that was loosened to her shoulder and wore flowery shirt.
00:14	A woman with a short straight black hair, wearing black blouse, was holding her mobile phone and smiling. Next to her was a woman with a long, straight black hair, wearing a shirt and a white inner shirt. She touched the first woman’s chin while smiling at her. The background was an office with the male and female staffs walking here and there.
00:17	Writing, “but we previously asked”
00:18	A face of a woman (with the focus on her eyes) was being put on mascara.
00:19	A face of a woman (with the focus on her eyes) whose eyelashes were being trimmed.
00:20	A face of a woman (with the focus on her lips) was putting on her lipstick.
00:21	Red lips of a woman.
00:22	Writing “What does makeup mean to you?”
00:23	Karin, “Personally, I am crazy about makeup.” Visually, Karin has straight black hair that was loosened to her shoulder. She wore white, short-sleeve blouse and a necklace. She has slim figure. Karin was sitting on the broken white sofa.
00:25	Debi, “Makeup make me more confident and fresh” This woman had strong black hair that was loosened to her shoulder. She wore short-sleeve blue blouse, glasses, necklace, watch in her left hand, and rings on two of her fingers. She was slim. Debi was sitting on a white chair.
00:30	Egin, “If I put some makeup I feel more confident.” Egin had long black straight hair, some were loosened to her shoulder and some were tied to the back of her head. She wore white sleeveless blouse. She was slim and sitting on white chair.
00:35	Nuti, “I feel like there is something missing without makeup.” This woman has long straight black hair. She wore long-sleeve shirt that

	were rolled up to her upper arms. The shirt had asymmetric black and blue patterns. She also wore long trousers. She completed her outfit with a watch in her right hand and bracelet in her left. She was slim and sitting on a white chair.
00:36	Puput, "Extremely important." Puput had straight black hair loosened to her shoulder. She wore long-sleeve black T-shirt. She was rather big. She was sitting on a white chair.
00:38	Theresia, "Only eyeliner and eyebrow." Theresia has brown long straight hair. She was wearing white inner shirt and peach blazer, with necklace and watch in her right hand. She was slim. She was sitting on a broken white chair.
00:41	Kenzo, "Sometimes i just feel unconfident, feels like I don't belong..." This woman has short straight black hair, with some part of it were tied. Kenzo was wearing grey inner shirt with green cardigan and black short skirt. She is also wearing a watch in her left hand. She was slim. She was sitting on a white chair.
00:45	Writing, "Then DOVE challenged them to be confident with healthy hair without any makeup."
00:48	Writing, "And their reaction?"
00:51	Debi, "If I don't put any, I will look pale."
00:54	Angela, "Seriously without any?" This woman had long straight black hair. Angela was wearing white inner shirt, black cardigan, and short black skirt. She was sitting on a chair in a broken white color. She was a slim woman.
00:57	Karin, "Nothing for my eyebrow?"
00:59	Writing, "First, their makeup was cleaned."
	The situation of the beauty shop: washing table, chairs, dressing table, towels, shower, and hairdressers. Puput, Kenzo, Karin, and Debi seemed not to enjoy the process.
01:00	Writing, "During the cleaning up the makeup and hair treatment, the participants were not allowed to look at the mirror..."
01:04	Situation: the face of the women putting up makeup was being cleaned.
01:10	Writing, "Then DOVE gave them a series of treatment providing them a complete nutrient."
01:12	Writing, "to make their hair healthy and shiny."
01:16	Close up products of Dove Hair Therapy
01:17	Close up process of hair washing using Dove Hair Therapy
01:25	Close up product Dove Hair Therapy: Total Damage Treatment Conditioner
01:30	Close up process of applying conditioner to the hair
01:35	Close up product Dove Hair Therapy: Hair Vitamin
01:36	Close up process of applying vitamin to the hair.
01:40	Close up process of combing their hair.
01:45	Writing, "The result ... "
01:48	A woman was sitting playing with her hair with an expression of surprise
01:49	Kenzo was playing with her hair with an expression of joy
01:51	Theresia was combing her hair using her hand and smiled.
01:53	A woman flicked her hair with an expression of joy
01:54	A woman was holding her hair and shaking them with an expression of

	joy.
01:57	Writing, "Won't you believe now that healthy hair make you beautiful even without makeup?"
02:01	Debi, "Well, it's nice and I still look fresh."
02:06	Valeri, "Healthy hair makes me more confident." This woman has long straight black hair. She was wearing white inner shirt, black cardigan, and short black skirt. Valeri was sitting on a chair with in a color of broken white.
02:07	Theresia, "It's awesome. It's so natural if I am like this every day."
02:10	Puput was playing with her hair while smiling.
02:12	Quote from Martin Luther. "The hair is the richest ornament of women."
02:15	Writing, "They dared to be beautiful and confident only by healthy hair."
02:17	Writing, "What about you?"
02:18	Writing, "upload your selfie photo with your healthy hair and without makeup."
02:21	Writing, "in social media with the hashtag
02:23	Writing, "Get 500 packages of Dove and Hair Styling Tools every week until September 10, 2014."
02:27	Writing "Visit facebook Dove & www.vemale.com/microsite/dove "
02:30	Writing, "Dove hairtherapy"

According to the cuts of the scenes in the commercial of Dove, we can see that the discourse of beauty has shifted. In general, the commercial offering beauty products, such as cosmetics, soaps, and shampoo, always employs typical model, beautiful woman. They are said to be beautiful if they are young, have white skin and long black hair, as well as slim. In this case, commercial becomes the agent that strengthening the cultural construction in Indonesian society on the stereotype of woman's beauty. However, Dove is different from other brands owned by Unilever. Sunsilk and Clear always employ beautiful model who are also public figure. Dove deconstructs this habit. It employs 'regular' women with different body shape, hair types, and occupations. The representation of women in the Commercial of Dove is considered to represent a figure of Indonesian women in general.

Disciplinary Project: A Discourse Practice

Foucault said that discourse analysis does not reveal the language system, such as words, sentences, and structures, as well as the social system from which it comes. The idea on discourse emphasizes the historical relationship among discipline (knowledge) and disciplinary practices (social control). Knowledge means more than a statement of true or false in terms of social politics and particular culture. Knowledge is the instrument of the power that bears the functions of supervisory, regulatory, and disciplinary. Knowledge and power are like two sides of a coin. The products of knowledge tend to support the system of authority.

According to Foucault, the relation pattern of power does not come from the authority and cannot be conceptualized as being owned by individual or class. Power is an expansive network. It is not given, changed, or looked for. Indeed, it is implemented. It is in the form of action. Authority is a relationship of power and always exists in the society. This authority is distributed through social relationship producing the forms of categorization of good and bad behaviors as the form of individual control. The

obedience is not originated in direct physical pressure, but in discourse and disciplinary mechanisms in the form of procedures, regulations, and so on. Disciplinary, according to Foucault, is the way the power takes control or supervision on individuals that is aimed to create obedient individuals. The control is not only intended to supervise the physical power, but also the thinking.

Panopticon, a concept of prison stated by Bentham, became the model of rigorous control on criminal, using the camera that can reach all areas and record every event within its reach. According to Foucault, panopticon is the form of punishment in modern era that does not emphasize the significance of physical punishment. Instead, it focuses on how to reform the soul of a “convict.” Panopticon is designed to implement the procedures of the establishment of individuals’ behavior so that they become obedient through a series of trainings called discipline. Disciplines occur in four ways, those are individual spatial distribution, control on the impacts of an action, adjustment on the segments and stages of an organization, and integrated trainings for individuals according to the effective norms (Mc Houl, 1995).

The commercial of Dove Hairtherapy is, in fact, a form of disciplinary practice, especially on woman’s body. Sandra Bartly (Mills, 1997) stated that woman’s body that she described in the magazines and commercials are forms of disciplinary practices, where woman’s body becomes the subject of control and deconstruction. In this case, they make their body, especially the inferior woman’s body, trained and subjected. This commercial showed the success of disciplinary project on woman’s body, especially hair.

At the beginning, woman was placed as the convict because they depend themselves on makeup to be beautiful. They feel alienated and less confident when they go without makeup. Debi said, “Makeup makes me more confident and fresh.” While Egin said, “Wearing makeup makes me more confident.” Similarly, Nuti believed that, “I feel less perfect without makeup.” Kenzo also confirmed, “Sometimes I don’t feel confident. It feels like I don’t belong to anywhere.” Those expressions clearly stated that makeup is part of those women that is important for their existence among the society.

When Dove challenged them to clean their makeup, they felt worried, anxious, and scared. It can be seen from Debi’s statement, “If I don’t put any, I look pale.” Angela questioned Dove’s offer to appear without makeup, in doubt, “Seriously without any?” Karin, indeed, hoped that there would be tolerance in using eyebrow pencil in her question, “No pencil for my eyebrow?” For Dove, their doubt and anxiety were ‘wrong.’ Then, the ‘wrong’ behavior was corrected by encouraging them to try the product of hair treatment from Dove Hairtherapy.

These ‘wrong’ women underwent a series of special treatments, as if they were convict, based on the regulation of the usage of Dove Hairtherapy. The treatment is aimed to improve their hair condition in certain period of time, to make them behave in the ‘right’ way, to feel confident without makeup. Dove ‘forced’ them to obey the rules using the products stage by stage without complaining. This obedience is continuously built through product commercials. The results, the industrial prison of beauty products named Unilever succeeded in regulating, even, changing their mindset, in that to be beautiful, they do not need any makeup. They just need healthy hair. Unfortunately, the healthy hair is based on the standard of Dove Hairtherapy.

Thus, whether they want it or not, these women should follow the rules of Dove Hairtherapy, free from makeup but still pretty. These are shown in the reaction of the women following the series of hair treatment in the commercials. Debi said, "It's nice and look fresh." Valeri said, "Healthy hair makes me feel confident." Theresia shared similar opinion with Debi and Valeri, "It's awesome, if I can be like this every day, I will look natural."

In this case, commercial of Dove Hairtherapy has become the control tower of the women imprisoned in the construction of beauty from cosmetic products. Instead of freeing them, Dove Hairtherapy leads them to new construction about beauty, forcing them to admit their mistake and assuring them to follow series of treatment to make them return to the 'right' track, according to Unilever through Dove Hairtherapy.

Dove in Indonesia: A Sociocultural Practice

In Indonesia, there are seven big companies offering beauty products for hair. Those are Lionwings, Unilever, P&G, Mandom, Sara Lee, Makarizo, and Kinocare, along with all their brands. Not only promotion in the mass media through advertisement that are limited to duration or pages, those companies also create special program in televisions called outdoor events to promote their products. PT Procter and Gambel (P&G) and Unilever set a beauty pageant to select the commercial star for Pantene, Rejoice, and Sunsilk. This program was showed in several private televisions in Indonesia.

Dove is one of the brands launched by Unilever. It is a new trademark introduced by Unilever to the consumers in Indonesia. Previously, Unilever initiated hair treatment products in Indonesia with their Sunsilk trademark in 1952. Different from other hair treatment product advertisement, Dove, with its motto 'Beauty is a State of Mind,' first appeared with the model chosen from the regular people, instead of professional or celebrity. Dove presents various types of hair, ranging from curly, short, to coloured and extended hair. This brand has broken the stereotype of beautiful hair in Indonesia which was identical with long straight black hair. It offers new ideas on the beauty of hair in that the beautiful hair belongs to healthy hair.

The fame of hair treatment products in Indonesia, especially Dove, is the result of vigorous advertisement through various communication media. According to Nielsen Advertising Information Services, in general, hair treatment products reached the total value of advertisement spending of Rp 2 trillion. Mass media becoming the main contributor to the growth of advertising spending is television, reaching as much as 9%.

Even if it seems to take the sides of humanity of the Indonesian women, Dove does not fully struggle for 'regular' woman as its biggest consumers. Industrial interest is still the main thing to be considered in making the commercial. Their partiality is artificial only for the sake of greater profits. In fact, the industry does not want to lose anything. Unilever, like other companies, aims to gain as much as profits as they can and satisfy their stakeholders.

So far, the aim of our company is still the same, where we work to create our better future every day; making the customers feel comfortable; appear nice, and enjoy the

life through the brands and services providing the advantages for them or other people; inspiring the society to do little things to create greater change to the world; as well as developing new way in doing the business that enables us to grow and reduce the bad impact to the environment.
(www.unilever.co.id).

If surviving the old discourse is more profitable, the industry surely will not take the risk to build new paradigm that will not be accepted by the society. In this case, commercials tend to maintain the paradigm that has developed in the society or reproduce the paradigm that it will spread widely. In turn, it will increase their sales performance. In the context of the commercial of Dove Hairtherapy, the concept of beauty has changed. However, disciplinary discourse on woman's body has not changed. Indeed, Dove uses the new disciplinary mechanism because they present 'regular' women in their commercials as the role model of obedience. Their existence was so natural that they want other women to be more respected and no longer question the disciplinary project that was happening. At the beginning, women feel like they are watched by the appearance of non-stop commercials. Then, they are used to and follow what are done by the role model according to the expectation of the industry or ignore the role model with the consequence of being haunted by the guilt because they appear with the makeup that represent their dependence and inferiority. Here, the industry serves as the prison that helps 'guilty' women upon the beauty products as the guides or regulations that should be followed. Meanwhile, commercials act as the controller or the warden.

Conclusion

Hair as the symbol of identity of a woman, in one hand, is physical and private. On the other hand, it is public. Everyone has different type of hair that is naturally owned since they were born. However, in the development, woman's hair is defined by the patriarchal society that it leads to various imagination on the ideal hair of a woman, forcing them to adjust to the demands.

The imagination of the society about the ideal hair of a woman is used by the industry of beauty products to discipline woman's body, since the beginning of the establishment in 1933. This company created various beauty products as the tools to discipline woman's body. One of the products is Dove Hairtherapy shampoo. Women having wavy or straight hair, long or short cut, and putting up some makeup, are trapped in the commercial aired in televisions and forced to use the hair treatment. Their obedience is built continuously by the commercials employing 'regular' woman as the role model. The main objective of the disciplinary process is woman's dependence on Dove products so that their behavior can be controlled in such a way to gain the company's profits.

In the commercials of Dove Hairtherapy, the concept of ideal beauty of a woman has changed. Different from the previous concept of ideal beauty, a face with makeup, the healthy hair in the version of Dove Hairtherapy is the symbol of real beauty. Whatever is the hair type, the cut, or the color, as well as the body shape, Indonesian women have to have healthy hair that can only be obtained if they use Dove Hairtherapy.

Even though the concept of beauty in the commercial of Dove Hairtherapy has changed, there will be the concept that will never be changed by the commercials of beauty products in the awareness of the society. It is the disciplinary of woman's body for the sake of capital accumulation. This discourse will always develop but it will never disappear, as long as human's body, especially woman's body, is still interesting to discuss.



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***Beat of Asia: Analyzing East Asia's Cultural Hierarchy and
the Negotiation of Hallyu Stars' Identity and Songs***

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Abstract

The study examines the nascent paradigm shift in transnational pop culture production in East Asia as Korean pop music is becoming the next epicentre for pop culture in Asia – a status long enjoyed by Japan. The popularity of K-Pop in Japan is said to be a major development since it is an example of how a cultural product from the periphery or a non-hegemonic culture can attain success in the center or the hegemonic culture. Thus, focusing on the K-Pop boom in Japan, the study aims to answer the following questions: How are the identities and songs of Hallyu stars negotiated as they take part in the complex transnational flow of culture? And given the strategies employed by Asian cultural industries in the transbordering activities of Hallyu stars, what can be said about the cultural hierarchy in the region, and on Japan-Korea relations? Framed under the Culturalist discourse on Hallyu and the concept of global flows and scapes, the study employs a political and socio-cultural approach in analyzing Korean female solo singer BoA's transbordering activities as a component of Hallyu in Japan. Findings show that the success of BoA within the region is contingent on the evolving political, economic, and socio-cultural postcolonial relations of Japan and South Korea. Furthermore, BoA's activities in Japan has heavily compromised her identity as a K-Pop artist, but this venture has also made her a Hallyu Star and an "Asian Star" back in Korea – a demonstration of Japan's continuing top position in Asia.

Keywords: Cultural Politics, Japan-Korea Relations, Popular Culture, Globalization, Hallyu

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Introduction

In the 2000s, the popularity of Korean popular culture, coined as the Korean Wave or *Hallyu*, became the focus of study in the academe as Asian audiences have widely consumed Korean television dramas, films, and pop music. For South Korea, the success of *Hallyu* within Asia was a “major development” from the one-way flow of East Asian cultural products coming from Japan in the past (KCIS, 2011, p.27). The breakthrough of Korean dramas, in particular, is said to have provided “a period of more balanced media and entertainment exchange in East Asia” (KCIS, 2011, p.27).

In line with this, Korean pop music (K-Pop) has emerged as the “next epicentre for pop culture in Asia – a status long enjoyed by Japan” (KCIS, 2011, p.31). K-Pop’s growing popularity is said to be an example of how a cultural product from the *periphery* (*non-hegemonic culture*) is able to succeed in the *center* (*hegemonic culture*) (Lee, 2013, p.211; Sablayan, 2013). In the center of pop culture in Asia, Japan has seen the influx of K-Pop artists promoting there for the past decade. However, Yoshitaka Mori (2008, p.129) argues that, these stars’ “impact was relatively limited in the Japanese market. Consequently, K-Pop is not always understood as part of the Korean Wave in the Japanese context. The Korean Wave in Japan is primarily the popular movement of Korean TV dramas.”

This study then problematizes the K-Pop boom and the Korean stars’ feat in Japan as components of *Hallyu* in the country, and aims to answer the following questions:

- 1) How are the identities of transbordering (*Hallyu*) stars and their songs negotiated as they take part in the complex transnational flow of culture?
- 2) Given the strategies employed by Asian cultural industries in the transbordering activities of *Hallyu* stars, what can be said about the cultural hierarchy in the region, and on Japan-Korea relations?

This study takes on the position that *Hallyu* stars promoting in Japan become an odourless cultural product, which shows no evidences of their cultural origin, and takes on the role of the Other to be accepted into the society. And when the *Hallyu* stars return to Korea, their artistic identities are reconstructed back as *Hallyu* stars and as “Asian” stars, wherein their Japanese songs and identities are also localized into Korean. Thus, the transnational cultural flow in the region involves constant localization of shared symbols in the media that creates a gateway for *Hallyu* in Japan and an “Asian” star in Korea.

The research questions aim to shed light on what strategies are employed in constructing the identities and music of Korean artists when they perform in the center of popular culture in Asia (Japan), and what blurs the line between J-Pop and K-Pop. This study also highlights the complex transnational flow of culture in the region, focusing on the flow coming from Korea to Japan, and then back to Korea to further show how ventures in Japan create a *Hallyu* and “Asian Star” back in Korea. Lastly, this study will also discern how Japan-Korea relations affect the mobility and artistry of *Hallyu* stars.

Literatures on K-Pop and Hallyu (Mori 2008, Iwabuchi 2008, Hyunjoong 2009, Sirivuvusak 2010, Lee 2010) often mention that K-Pop stars are localized into the Japanese music industry. However, these strategies of localization have not been discussed elaborately with concrete examples of CD releases. Also, as seen in Shin's (2009) study, literature on transbordering musicians from Korea to Japan only mention this localization strategy in passing, and the discussion of localization only stops on the flow from Korea to Japan. Lee (2013) also mentioned that "in the case of BoA, her Japan-released albums and Korea-released albums have been separated that songs included in her Japan albums have not been included in her Korean albums, and vice versa" (p.171)– which is not really the case, as this study will show.

Frameworks

The study will employ a trans-Asian perspective against the backdrop of *globalization*, which refers to the "transplanetary processes involving increasing liquidity and growing multidirectional flows as well as the structures they create" (Ritzer, 2010, p.2). An important process in globalization which this study will use is *localization*, and is defined as "the process of customizing a product for consumers in a target market" to "form the impression that it was designed by a native of their country" (Lingo Systems, 2002, p.4).

A key term in globalization, which this study will also utilize, is the idea of *flows* by Arjun Appadurai (1996). The idea of flows pertains to the "movement of people, things, information, and places due, in part, to the increasing porosity of global barriers" (Ritzer, 2010, p.7). From the five scapes that Appadurai (1996) had conceptualized, *ethnoscapes* (*flow of people*) and *mediascapes* (*flow of information and images*), will be utilized to better understand the mobility and record-releases of *Hallyu* stars. Furthermore, this study will also use Shin Hyunjoong's (2009) term *transbordering musicians*, which refers to "migrant musicians who have crossed borders literally and figuratively (p.102)," with a particular focus on the flow between Korea and Japan.

Lastly, this study will also take on a *culturalist* approach in looking at the phenomenon of *Hallyu*. Keehyeung Lee (2008) has extensively discussed different discourses on *Hallyu*, with the *culturalist* approach as the third perspective. This approach challenges the essentialist view of Korean culture by acknowledging Korean cultural products as cultural hybrids that "emerged from the convergence of institutional, cultural, and political conditions and factors," stemming from the "the Americanization of Asian popular cultures in the post-World War II years and the surge of Japanese popular culture as a dominant cultural force and form in the region for decades (Lee, 2008, p.184-185)." According to Shin Hyunjun (as cited in Lee, 2008), Korean pop culture is situated in a cultural hierarchy wherein its status is "defined according to its relationship with others [American and Japanese pop culture]" (p. 185). Shin Hyunjun observes that when Korean stars promote in China and or Southeast Asia, they are often depicted in the media "as going out to conquer in Asia," which Shin criticizes, saying that, "this groundless pride in the superiority of Korean culture is defined not in terms of original creativity but rather through the establishment of hierarchical relations with hegemonic others" (Lee, 2008, p.185).

Methodology

A case study of BoA, a Korean female solo singer, will be the focus of the study.

BoA is chosen for this study for a number of reasons. First, her success as a pop singer in Asia is due to her transbordering activities in Korea and Japan, while also re-recording her songs into Mandarin Chinese and English. Second, she is the first Korean artist to top Japan's Oricon Charts and the only non-Japanese Asian artist to have three million-selling albums in Japan (KCIS, 2011, 32). Third, in South Korea she is referred to as *The Star of Asia/Asia's Star*, the Queen of Korean Pop Music, and the Pioneer of Hallyu (KCIS, 2011, p.32; Win Win, 2012). Fourth, BoA's successful foray in Japan led to more Koreans debuting in Japan, with other Korean agencies and labels emulating the strategy that her agency did, which Shin (2009) supports saying that, "Since the records by BoA have followed this formula, this practice has become firmly established in the Japanese music/entertainment industry. It has become confusing to call the songs sung by Korean singers K-pop and not J-pop" (p.107).

The study employs a political, socio-cultural, historical, and comparative approach in the textual analysis of BoA's music videos, CD cover arts, and songs that were released in both Korea and Japan. Documentary films, books, and journal articles are the secondary sources of data.

Hallyu Beginnings in Japan

From the 1960s to 1980s, Korean musicians in Japan were only limited to the genres *enka*, folk music, and protest music (Shin, 2009)(Ko, 2010, p.140). At this point, Korea-Japan diplomatic relations are almost non-existent brought about by colonial memories that are still ripe in Korea (Mori, 2008, p.129). It wasn't until 1998 when popular culture exchange began as South Korea lifted the ban on the entry of Japanese cultural products in the country called the *Ilbon munhwa kae-bang* policy (Shin, 2009, p.101). Another important event in the development of Korea-Japan relations was during the 2002 FIFA World Cup wherein Korea and Japan co-hosted the event albeit reluctantly (Mori, 2008, p.129). In organizing the World Cup, what first started out as a reluctant venture, "eventually resulted in creating unexpected mutual cheering for each national team and created a friendly atmosphere, particularly among young people" (Mori, 2008, p.129). Following the World Cup was the entry of Korean films and dramas in Japan and the subsequent phenomenal success of the Korean drama *Winter Sonata* (Mori, 2008,131). Since then, more consumption of Korean cultural products took place, including popular music.

The Hybrid and Transnational Korean Cultural Production Practice

The Korean cultural production model's origin can be traced back in the 1980's when the state was undergoing democratization, and the Korean media adopted a U.S. pluralist model (KCIS, 2011, p.18) (Shim, 2010, p. 122). By the 1990s, Korean filmmakers have been adapting Hollywood filmmaking styles and aesthetics, making Korean films much palatable to a broader Asian audience due to the region-wide influence of American cultural and media influence (Shim, 2010, p.124). Aside from the U.S. pluralist model, Korea also adapted Japan's "cultural production practice, co-production and concept trade, as well as localizing strategies," particularly the music

industry's "*aidoru* or idol system" due its "attractive market innovation" (Siriyuvasak, 2010, p.162-163).

As Korean cultural industries adapted the models of other states; ultimately, the Korean cultural practice's main strategy then includes "constructing an appearance and feeling of Asianness into the cultural content to present an Asian face in the image of the product," wherein language use and cultural proximity become essential factors "to present regional consumers with a sense of familiarity and pleasure" (Siriyuvasak, 2010, p.163). Thus, *Hallyu* singers become the product of content collaboration between two or more cultural corporations across the region. BoA is said to be a great example of this as she has reached "Asian Star" status due to her singing using second or third languages (Siriyuvasak, 2010, p.163).

However in the case of K-Pop artists promoting in Japan, the extent to which Korean artists are localized against the backdrop of a "genre-specific and location-specific characteristics of border-crossing Korean popular culture make it difficult to think of K-pop in Japan as a 'national media export'" (Shin, 2009, 107). In the case of transbordering musicians, a better focal point of study is the production aspect of the music industry, especially the collaboration of international artists and composers, rather than the finished product or song itself that will soon be confined to a single genre of a specific country (Shin, 2009, 107).

Korean cultural industries distribute their cultural products through "effective licensing schemes and localizes content distribution." Siriyuvasak, 2010, p.162). Siriyuvasak (2010, p.162-163) also discusses the three mechanisms are employed in this distribution and localization strategy of Korean cultural industries: First, securing partnerships with East Asian transnational and/or regional companies for distribution of their products. Second, "Korean media industries invest directly with local media partners;" and consequently, Korean cultural industries become the focal point where these forged networks intersect within the region.

BoA's Debut

When BoA was signed by SM Entertainment in 1998 at the age of 11, she underwent vocal and dance training, Japanese and English language lessons, and "image-making to reach out to the world market." (History of BoA, 2003; Win Win, 2012; Pops in Seoul, 2013). She was then placed in a homestay program to improve her Japanese skills and to be immersed in Japanese culture, where she was also made "to learn youngster's slang and informal speech styles in Japan and listened to daily conversations" (Star History, 2007)(Win Win, 2012).

SM Entertainment also partnered with Japanese record label and agency giant AVEX. In 2002, BoA's debut album in Japan *LISTEN TO MY HEART* reached number one in the Oricon Chart and sold a million copies, making her the first Korean artist to do so. In the same year, BoA performed at the 2002 World Cup National Festival, and when she went back in Korea at the 2002 SBS Popular Song Awards, BoA was a Grand Award Winner, and was introduced as, "BoA became a global singer as she became the number one singer in Japan's Oricon Chart."

BoA's Records

To further see the extent of what Shin (2009) refers to as “genre-specific and location-specific characteristics of border-crossing activities” of *Hallyu* stars in Japan, BoA's records will be examined.

In 2000, BoA released her debut album *ID; Peace B*. The album contains 14 tracks and the creators of the songs are Koreans. In this case, BoA's Korean debut album is more catered to the domestic audience, and she was introduced as a K-Pop singer. For her name, BoA is spelled in the Roman alphabet, rather than 보아.



Figure 1: Covert Art of Korean Album *ID; Peace B*¹

Track Title	Lyricists	Composer
1. ID; Peace B	Yoo, Young-jin	Yoo, Young-jin
2. Come To Me	Kim, Hyung-seok	Kim, Hyung-seok
3. Chanyeom (Heart-Off)	Kim, Jong-sook	Bang, Shi-hyuk
4. Sara (Sara)	Park, Jung-ran	Kang, Won-seok
5. Bimil Iyagi (I'm Sorry)	Shin, Yoon-ah	Lee, Hyun-jung
6. Andwae, Nan Andwae (No Way)	Yoo, Young-jin	Bang, Shi-hyuk
7. Chama (Every Breath You Take)	Kim, Nam-hee	Hong, suk, Noh, Young-joo
8. Whatever	Seo, Yoong-geun	Seo, Yoong-geun
9. I'm Your Lady Tonight	Yang, Jae-seon	Kim, Hyung-seok
10. Eorin Yeonin (Young Lovers)	Kim, Jong-sook	Kim, Hyung-seok
11. Ibyeol-junbi (Letting You Go)	Park, Jin-young	Kim, Hyung-seok
12. Meon Hutnal Uri (Someday Somewhere)	Kim, Yeo-jin (Jennifer)	Lee, Hyun-jung

Table 1: Tracklist of *ID; Peace B*

¹ Song titles, names, and song lyrics in Korean have been edited from McCune Reischauer to Revised Romanization by Nina Aquiza, Leni Dela Cruz, and Thea Alberto-Masakayan

Then, BoA's first mini-album *Don't Start Now* was released on 7 March 2001 in Korea. Looking at the tracklist below, we can see that foreign musicians have also contributed in the creation of the album. There are Chinese and English versions of her original Korean songs (i.e. "ID; Peace B" and "Sara") to cater to a wider audience, but not enough to penetrate the Japanese market. The Chinese songs have a "Chinese version" label, indicating that it came from an existing Korean song. However, some of the songs composed by Japanese musicians, whose lyrics were originally written in Japanese, have been translated into Korean (in bold letters).

Title Track	Lyricist	Composer
Don't start now	Yoo, Young-jin	Peter Rafelson Jeff Vincent
AGAIN	Park, Jeong-ran	Kang, Won-seok
DESTINY	Original lyrics by mihara maki Korean lyrics by Kim, ki beom / Yu Youn wook	Harada Ken
Love letter	Kim, Jong-sook	Jung, Jae-yoon
Love hurts	Seo, Yoong-geun	Seo, Yoong-geun
POWER	Original lyrics by Mihara maki Korean lyrics by Kim, Kibum/ Yoo, Yeon-wook	Harada Ken
Let U Go	Original lyrics by Mihara Maki Korean lyrics by Kim, Ki- bum/ Yoo, Yeon-wook	Harada Ken
Don't Start Now (English version)	Peter Rafelson Jeff Vincent	Peter Rafelson Jeff Vincent
ID; Peace B (English version)	Brian, Jeena Kim, Esther	Yoo, Young-jin
Sara (Sara) (English version)	Jeena Kim	Kang, Won-seok
Dreams Come True	Original lyrics by Mihara Maki Korean lyrics by Kim, Ki- bum/ Yoo, Yeon-wook	Harada Ken
Bimil Iyagi (I'm Sorry) (Chinese version)	Sijie, Fairy	Lee, Hyun-jung
ID; Peace B (Chinese version)	Sijie, Fairy	Yoo, Young-jin
Sara (Sara) (Chinese version)	Sijie, Fairy	Kang, Won-seok

Table 2: Tracklist of Don't Start Now

On 30 May 2001, BoA released her debut single in Japan “ID; Peace B”, which translated into Japanese. “Dreams Come True,” which first appeared in her mini-album in Korea was also translated in Japanese. There was neither code-switching nor any mention of a Korean word in the songs. Furthermore, the fifth track in the single is the English version of “ID; Peace B” only; not the Korean or Chinese versions. For the title track itself, despite being originally a Korean song, there was no label that it was a “Japanese version.” There was no indication that the single was a Korean record in the first place.



Figure 2. Cover Art of Japan single “ID;Peace B”

Tracklist:

1. ID; Peace B
2. Dreams Come True
3. ID; Peace B (Instrumental)
4. Dreams Come True (Instrumental)
5. ID; Peace B (English Version)



Figure 3: “ID;Peace B” MV (Korean)



Figure 4: “ID;Peace B” PV (Japanese)

A different music video was also created to promote “ID; Peace B.” One thing that can be seen in the Japanese version is the scene where BoA is in a classroom, and the Japanese lyrics was written on the screen. Without knowing about BoA’s background, she can be misperceived as a Japanese native.



Figure 5: “ID;Peace B’s” PV Features Japanese lyrics

Furthermore, the direct English translations of the Korean and Japanese versions of “ID; Peace B” are different. For the Japanese version, the translation is:

今 始まる Peace B is my network ID	Ima hajimaru Peace B is my network ID	It's starting now, Peace B is my network ID
震えてる心 勇 気に変えて	Furueteru kokoro yuuki ni kaete	I'm gonna turn my trembling heart into courage
夢ひろがる Connecting is my never land	Yume hirogaru connecting is my never land	My dreams are broadening, connecting is my Neverland
チカチカチュー 笑顔あげるか ら	Chikachikachuu egao wo ageru kara	Chikachikachuu, and give you a smile

Table 3: English Translation of ID;Peace B (Japanese Version)

The translated Korean version is:

난 내 세상있죠 Peace B is my network ID 우린 달라요 갈 수 없는 세계는 없죠 하나로 담긴 세상 connecting in my neverland 추카추카추! 이젠 멈출 수가	Nan nae sesangijyo Peace B is my network ID Urin dallayo Gal su eobnun segyenun eobjyo Hanaro damgin sesang Connecting in my neverland	I have my world Peace B is my network ID We are different There is no world we can't explore The world to be filled as one Connecting in my never land
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없어요	Chuka chuka chu! Ijen meomchul suga eobseoyo	Choo ka choo ka choo Now we won't stop
-----	---	--

Table 4: English Translation of “ID; Peace B” Korean Version

Having the same titles and music, but having been given different meanings through the use of different languages, “ID; Peace B” becomes both a J-Pop and K-Pop song at the same time.

In BoA’s succeeding releases in Japan, there will occasionally be English versions included in the singles, but never the Korean and Chinese versions. In BoA’s Korean CDs, on the other hand, the Korean album can have Chinese and English versions, but never the Japanese versions. Just from how the songs have been translated and released in Japan and Korea, an unwritten rule is apparent. In Japan’s case, only English and Japanese are the acceptable languages in their music industry – the languages of the centers of popular culture in the regional and global level. In Korea’s case, Korean singers do not sing in Japanese, but Chinese is fine.

In 2002, BoA released her debut album in Japan, *LISTEN TO MY HEART*, together with the CD single “Every Heart ～ミンナノキモチ～”. The latter was worth to mention because it was used as a theme song of the *anime* series *InuYasha*, and also appeared in the *anime*’s soundtrack releases, wherein BoA can be assumed by *anime* fans as a Japanese singer.



Figure 6: *LISTEN TO MY HEART*’s Cover Art album encapsulates BoA’s pan-Asian features



Figures 7 and 8: Screencaps of the “LISTEN TO MY HEART” PV

The tracklist also indicates that the album is a Japanese record, especially with some of the song titles being written in kana and kanji.

Track Title	Lyricist	Composer
1. LISTEN TO MY HEART*	Natsumi Watanabe	Kazuhiro Hara
2. POWER	Maki Mihara	Ken Harada
3. Every Heart ~ ミンナノキモチ ~ *	Natsumi Watanabe	BOUNCEBACK
4. Don't start now*	Yoo, Young-jin Yuko Ebine (Japanese lyrics)	Peter Rafelson Jeff Vincent
5. 気持ちはつたわる* (Kimochi wa Tsutawaru)	Chinfa Kang	BOUNCEBACK
6. Share your heart (with me)	Yuko Ebine	Tetsuya Muramatsu
7. Dreams come true	Maki Mihara	Ken Harada
8. Amazing Kiss*	BOUNCEBACK	BOUNCEBACK
9. happiness	maho fukami	maho fukami
10. ID; Peace B*	Yoo, Young jin Mai Matsumuro (Japanese lyrics)	Yoo, Young jin
11. Nobody but you	Natsume Watanabe	Kosuke Morimoto
12. Nothing's gonna change	BoA, Natsumi Watanabe	BoA
13. Bonus Track: LISTEN TO MY HEART (Hex Hector Main Mix: English version)		Remix Produced by Hex Hector for Ground Control Productions
14. the meaning of peace	Tetsuya Komuro	Tetsuya Komuro

Table 5: Tracklist of *LISTEN TO MY HEART*

In *LISTEN TO MY HEART*, all the songs released as singles (with the symbol *), except for “ID; Peace B” and “Don't start now”, were originally created as Japanese songs. In this album, three songs have been translated to Japanese from BoA's previous Korean albums (in bold letters). Again, there was no “Japanese version” label.

BoA then returned to Korea and released her second studio album *NO. 1* on April 14, 2002, which became her breakthrough record there.



Figure 9. *NO.1's* Cover Art features BoA's consistent image and style she has been sporting in Korea and Japan

Track Title	Lyricist	Composer
1. NO.1	Kim, Yeong-ah	Ziggy
2. My Sweetie	Yoo, Young-jin	Yoo, Young-jin
3. 늘.. (waiting..)	Kangta	Kangta
4. Tragic	Ahn Ik-su	Ahn Ik-su
5. Shy Love	Bae, Hwa-yeong	Go, Yeong-jo
6. Day	Son, Nak-hee	Son, Nak-hee
7. dear my love..	BoA	BoA
8. 난 (Beat it!)	Kangta	Kangta
9. P.O.L (Power Of Love)	Nam, So-yeong	S.Y.M
10. My Genie	Im, Soo-cheol	Kang, Won-seok
11. Pain-Love	Yoo, Chan-mo	Yoo, Chan-mo
12. Happiness Lies	Park, Jeong-ran	Dennis Verrios/Ben Bellamacina/Jemma Joyce/Jamie Hardwick/Bruce Elliot-Smith
13. Realize (stay with me)	BoA	BoA
14. Azalea	Kim, Mi-seon	Kim, Mi-seon
15. Bonus Track: Listen to my Heart	Korean lyrics by Jo, Yoon-kyung Original author: Natsume Watanabe	Original composer: Kazuhiro Hara

Table 6: Tracklist of NO.1

Looking at the tracklist, we can see that a lot of (foreign) composers contributed to the album. Only “Listen to my Heart” came from her Japan record, but was translated into Korean. In this case, a “Korean version” label wasn’t considered, which can be misperceived that it was originally a Korean song.

The MV of the title track “NO.1” is also notable because it features BoA performing with the Tokyo Tower as the backdrop, followed by her dance footage being shown all over Shibuya, and a bevy of paparazzi at her heels. This particular video, which targets the domestic (Korean) audience, highlights BoA’s success in Japan and also possibly K-Pop’s success since the song is Korean.



Figure 10: “NO.1’s” MV shows BoA performing with the Tokyo Tower as a backdrop



Figures 11 and 12: Screenshots of BoA’s “NO.1” MV showing her dance footage in Shibuya



Figure 14. Covert Art of *Miracle*

Tracklist:

기적(Miracle)

Every Heart

Valenti

Feelings Deep Inside (마음은 전해진다)

Share Your Heart (With Me)

Happiness

Snow White

Nobody But You

Next Step

Nothing's Gonna Change

Bonus Track: Listen to my Heart

Another record worth to mention is the Korean mini-album *Miracle*, for *Miracle*'s tracks are originally from BoA's Japanese records, which have all been translated to Korean, though there were minor changes to the titles. For example, “奇跡” (Kiseki/Miracle) as it appeared in her Japanese release became “기적 (Miracle),” transliterated as “Ki joek (Miracle).” “Every Heart” also lost the ～ミンナノキモチ～ katakana title in this album. Also, her Japanese single “気持ちはずたわる (Kimochi wa Tsutawaru)” was also translated to English and Korean, respectively, as “Feelings Deep Inside (마음은 전해진다),” transliterated as “Feelings Deep Inside (Ma-eum eun joenhaejinda).” Another strategy in the tracklisting is seen here - when the songs written in Japanese characters are translated and released in Korea, Japanese characters are omitted, and are sometimes replaced with its English translation and/or Korean characters. Also at this point, a number of BoA's Korean songs are Koreanized versions of her Japanese releases. As the songs were officially released in albums with its own cover arts and live performances, they have become both J-Pop and K-Pop in their own right.

To promote *Miracle*, a music video for the Korean version of “VALENTI” was released. The MV of the Korean version of “VALENTI” is exactly the same as the Japanese version's. To make it a Korean song, the lyrics were translated to Korean and the length of the introductory beat and the instrumental part at the bridge of the song was shorter than the Japanese version.



Figure 15: MV of “VALENTI” (Korean) Figure 16: PV of “VALENTI” (Japanese)

Furthermore, the Korean media (Pops in Seoul, 2013) introduces “VALENTI” as BoA's hit single in Japan, but what BoA performs in Korea is the Korean version, which is technically not the hit song in Japan per se.

BoA went back to Japan and released her second and best-selling studio album in Japan *VALENTI*. The album is created mostly by Japanese musicians and only “NO.1” came from her Korean album. Despite being a big hit in Korea, “NO.1” was still translated to Japanese.

At this point, the extent and the frequency of these song appearances are so high that it has become confusing which version of the song has been released first in what country. BoA’s original songs in Korea often appear as b-side tracks in her Japanese CD singles, remix albums, or studio albums, while her original Japanese songs also appear in her Korean singles and mini-albums. With this strategy, BoA’s records pave the way for her J-Pop fans to be introduced to her Korean songs and in K-Pop in general, and vice versa. In this light, BoA can really be called *Asia’s Star* as she becomes the model of and gateway to J-Pop and K-Pop. However, by having same song titles, the Korean media facilitate the notion that her success in Japan is mistakenly attributed to the success of her K-Pop songs there.

Another strategy observed is that when original Korean songs are released in Japan, they will have different music videos. It shows that when a record is to be promoted in Japan, the music video has to be an original production and not merely a copied version from its Korean counterpart. On the other hand, when original Japanese songs are translated and released in Korea, no changes are made in the music video. In this strategy, the Korean industry purposefully uses Japan’s product and adds its own meanings (through the replacement of a Koreanized song) to claim it as its own. From these different styles of music video productions and song releases, we can see how cultural industries in Japan and Korea re-create the songs and images of BoA in both countries in a way that she becomes both a J-Pop and K-Pop star at the same time, which can confuse audiences as they search for her songs and videos online as both versions appear in search engines without indication that it’s a Japanese or Korean version.

In 2012, BoA released her 7th studio album in Korea entitled *Only One*. Its title track “Only One” topped all music charts on the day of its release. And again it was translated and released in Japan as a single, with a different music video. However, the single failed to chart in the top 10 of the Oricon Chart – at a time when K-Pop was said to be the hype in Japan.

Conclusion

The transbordering activities of BoA in Japan reveal the extent of the adjustments and negotiation that had to be made in the image of the Korean artist, her songs, CD tracklists, CD cover arts, and music videos. As this study presented, BoA has undergone extensive preparation to localize her in the Japanese music industry and Japanese society. This has heavily compromised her identity as a K-Pop artist in Japan, but at the same time, this venture has made her, as the media have depicted, a *Hallyu* Star and an *Asian Star* back in Korea. Despite the dilution of her Korean origins in her J-Pop songs, BoA’s frequent transbordering activities has served as a gateway for her J-Pop fans to be introduced to her K-Pop songs, while her K-Pop fans are also introduced to her J-Pop songs.

BoA's debut in Korea and Japan was also serendipitous as it coincided with developments in the postcolonial relationship between the two countries. When she was recruited by SM Entertainment in 1998, South Korea had just lifted the ban on the entry of Japanese cultural products in the country. In 2002, when she had topped both charts in Japan and Korea, the two countries co-hosted the 2002 FIFA World Cup, which facilitated more cultural exchange between the two countries. In 2003-2004, the Korean drama *Winter Sonata* swept Japan by storm. During that time, BoA has also been topping the charts in both Korea and Japan, which is why she has often been considered as part of *Hallyu*. In other words, BoA's activities and success as a transbordering/*Hallyu* artist is also contingent on the evolving political, economic, and socio-cultural relations of Korea and Japan. This claim and the hybridized nature of the Korean cultural production practice go against the dominant discourses in *Hallyu* characterized as "predominantly essentialistic, homogenized" and has a "reductionist sense of culture, which is highly problematic and at best one-dimensional" (Lee, 2008, p.182).

Furthermore, at present, *Hallyu* stars still employ the strategies mentioned in the discussion, such as releasing original songs in Japanese, translating Korean songs to Japanese, creating new music videos for the translated song, and performing Japanese songs in Japan, while also translating Japanese songs into Korean when the songs are released in Korea. This shows that despite the claim that a paradigm shift is happening, wherein K-Pop has become "the epicentre of pop culture in Asia," a *Hallyu* star's commercial success in Japan is still the legitimizing factor for their "Asian" and global star status. This is evident in BoA's case, wherein despite topping the Oricon Chart with her Japanese songs, the Korean media still refer to these songs as the success of K-Pop or *Hallyu*. Thus, in the cultural hierarchy in Asia, Japan is still the standard in the region. The researcher then locates Korea and K-Pop music in the middle, while China and other Southeast Asian countries are below. This is justified by the extensive localization and adjustments that K-Pop artists do to become J-Pop artists, while they promote and maintain their K-Pop songs and artistry while promoting in China and other Southeast Asian countries.

It is also said that the Korean Wave's peak has already passed. In the post-Korean Wave and with the tension arising between Japan and South Korea brought about by territorial disputes and lingering colonial memories, it is interesting to focus on how it will still affect and will be affected by the transbordering activities of BoA and other *Hallyu* stars.

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Reversed Realities: National Pride and Visual Coding

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Abstract

This paper examines the historicity of Siam/Thailand and shows that the contacts that took place between Siam and the European other in the mid-nineteenth century, which has been seen as the start of the modernization period, paved way to for the synthetic notion of what it meant to embody Thainess. This paper also focuses on the power relations affecting how the conception of Thainess was engendered. In order to tackle this history, we must study the counter history of the remnants that were *selectively* left for us, the new generation. Following Thongchai Winichakul's (1994) analysis of the historical Siam map, the geopolitical framing that was introduced from the West itself, we can see that it signifies a code that interpellates numerous sentiments relating to patriotism, pride, and nation building. This particular notion of visual code is transcribed once again on the body of the 1965 Miss Universe. From these two cases, I argue that what it is to be Thai (with a special focus on Thai woman) is a conceptualization that is symbolically constituted and enunciated, forming a synthesis of contacts with both the real and the imagined West.

Keywords: Thainess, farang, siwilai, femininity, performativity

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Introduction

How do visual representations play a part in determining our identity or the sense of belonging to a nation? How is the notion of Thainess constructed and embedded in the representations that are glorified by the state? Following the analysis of Thongchai (1994)'s exemplary work on the historical Siam map that constitutes the geo-body of Siam,¹ I look at the constitution of Thainess that Abhasra, in the beauty pageant, had to perform through her embodiment of Thai femininity. Her title, 1965 Miss Universe, centers on the body of a woman and specifically how she performs that embodiment. Both the geo-body of Siam and the Thai woman's body analyzed here signify and interpellate the discourses of nation building, modernity, anti-colonialism, and unique Thainess.

Through the analysis, I conclude that the ruling elites play an integral part in determining the norm to define Thainess. I also argue that the preoccupation with the images projected both for the West and against it result from the need to keep up with the new world order and to ensure the state's independence in the face of Western imperialism and its asymmetrical power relations with Siam. While the people of Siam/Thailand² may or may not know what these constructed images and codes of Thainess signify to a global audience, the elites nonetheless have always determined the sense of unique Thainess. Western influence is carefully incorporated in the constitution of Thainess, but only to the extent that the elites see fit. In other words, the construction of national cultural identity is a process that Chatterjee (2010) calls "selective appropriation" (as cited in Winichakul, 2010, p. 138). This paper overall reveals that inexorably both the imagined and the real West assist the establishment of the national cultural identity that is Thainess.

The paper consists of four sections. It touches briefly on the dawn of the modernization period, before analyzing the transculturation process as symbolically represented respectively in the geo-body of Siam and the body of the Miss Universe, and concluding with an explanation of how the constitution of Thainess largely exists as a cultural response to the Western other. My emphasis is to reject its acclaimed authenticity and instead focus on how such a synthesis reveals the performative nature of Thainess.

Disavowed Transculturation

During the period European imperialism starting in mid nineteenth century, the kingdom of Siam adapted and adjusted to the new world ethos that was European civilization. In response, Siam which had been immediately affected by European imperialism both politically and economically, later developed the cultural concept of *siwilai* or civilization as described by Winichakul (2000). The discourse of *siwilai* comprises solely the element the Siamese ruling class or the elites had championed in order to keep up with the "New World Order" (Winichakul, 2000, p. 532). In the following analyses, we will be able to recognize that Siam/Thailand determined to uphold the unique sense of Thainess yet discerningly adjusted to the new world order.

¹ The historical atlas map was disseminated within the country during Field Marshal Phibun's regime (1939-1944).

² "Siam" is used to refer to the period up to 1939 and "Thailand" from 1939 onward.

The adjustment was conducted in the form of the conceptualization of the discourse of *siwilai*, which truly was (and plausibly is) an ambivalent one. Thongchai Winichakul (2010), Peter A. Jackson (2010), and Rachel V. Harrison (2010), to name only a few, conclude that the knowledge and practices reflecting *siwilai* discourse were already part of a transculturation process despite the elite's claims regarding Thai uniqueness.

Siamese *siwilai* discourse was engendered because of two main reasons. The first was the coming into contact (in what Mary Louise Pratt (1992) calls the "contact zone", as cited in Winichakul, 2000, p. 529) with the West since the mid nineteenth century, most evidently in the form of the extraterritorial rights given to the British in the Bowring Treaty of 1855. Another evidence of the transculturation process results from the insecurity or threats felt by Siam during Western imperialism because of its dominant power and its modernized status. As a consequence of the contact and encounters with the Europeans, the Siamese elite felt it necessary to protect the independent Siamese state and maintain the sovereign rule. Or what Winichakul (2000) terms "royal dignity" (p. 539), of the Chakri monarchs. The ruling class also needed to keep up with the west that was the new world order at the time as expressed in *The Quest for Siwilai* that the elites had the "anxiety to keep up with the world" (p. 534).

Both the apprehension to maintain Siam's independence against the colonial threat and the eagerness to keep up with the new world order result in the strategic response by the Siamese elites. They selectively incorporated Western elements into Siamese ways of life and culture during the modernization period or administrative reformation,³ which began in the mid nineteenth century during King Mongkut's reign (Rama IV, 1851-1868). The King recognized the superiority of the Europeans yet disavowed the Siamese status. Such mentality indicates another justification that was similarly experienced by postcolonial countries when we considered Bhabha's strategic recognition and disavowal process. Other consequences resulting from this line of mentality pave the way for the emergence of the epistemological demarcation to which Winichakul (2010) gives the term "Material/Spiritual Bifurcation" (p. 140). This closed intellectual regime refers to how the ruling class of Siam/Thailand chose elements from the West that assisted them to represent Siam as a modern state. Specifically, it refers to how the Occidental perspective was performed by the Siamese elites (Kitiarsa, 2010) to justify its rule over and action towards the Siamese subjects.

Mapping and Constructing National Cultural Identity

Arguably, the most evident way Siam portrayed the modern state was through the historical Siam map. Thongchai Winichakul (1994) finely delineates the work of the map as a construction aimed at interpellating various kinds of nationalist sentiments and stabilizing the opposition between us and them (or *farang*).⁴ The map defines a

³ In *The ambiguous allure of the West*, various authors describe in detail the discourse of modernization in the mid nineteenth century as a process where the elements from the West had been localized so much that it was "always the Thai-ized West" (as cited in Harrison, 2010, p. 36).

⁴ The term *farang* can disclose negative connotations, a disdainful attitude, as it is "a 'usually ill-defined' Thai 'reference to otherness', an adjective and noun referring to

clear political body and represents a progress away from the pattern of overlord and tributary state. However, in practicality, “Siam had its first geo-body and its representation made, filled, and shaped, at least in part, by Western powers” (1994, p. 128) since the late nineteenth century.

The constructed historical Siam map and the emergence of the modern geo-body then are products of the transcultural process which was first constituted by a Westerner and was later widely circulated during the military regime of Field Marshal Phibun (Winichakul, 1994). The map symbolizes and visually represents the modern polity. It was not created through the orthodox meaning of representing something that already existed: Winichakul (1994) eloquently points out that “Siam was bounded. Its geo-body emerged. Mapping created a new Siam—a new entity whose geo-body had never existed before” (p. 130). The new geo-body of Siam and the map bring discourses of nationalism, anti-colonialism, and interpellation of Thainess to the forefront. Most importantly, it spurred the anxiety for the territories lost to France in the 1893 annexation.⁵

The dissemination of nationalism and the grief over the lost territories were espoused by the ruling elites. This “negative identification” (1994, p. 5) is fundamental and considered an integral strategy by the state that allows us to define ourselves. Consequently, it is the other that is often a crucial element that makes us recognize who we are. Through the visual code of the map, sentimental feelings of grief and mourning over the lost territories, as well as the positive politics of belonging, can be achieved when the Thais identify themselves with such a code.

Along with the mapping process, the constitution of the self versus the external other—*farang*—is evidently manifested. Such binary opposition not only points out the way in which Siam was colonized consciously, i.e., by incorporating Western elements into its polity, way of life, culture, and so on, but also, how the Siamese ruling class colonized its own subjects.⁶ Winichakul (1994; 2010) points out that the strategic responses that include epistemological demarcation, the “enunciation” (1994, p. 130) of the modern geo-body of Siam, and the centralized governmental administration are similar to that of colonial rule. In a way, the self versus the external other does not constitute binary opposition alone. At this point, various scholars, in particular, Thongchai Winichakul (1994; 2000; 2010), Peter A. Jackson (2004; 2010), Rachel V. Harrison (2010), have concluded that Siam was a semi-colonial state where the discourse of the distinct Thainess could never be originated without the western other against whom it was defined. Likewise, the map is a transcultural product created to elicit the discourses that conserve its independence and a response to the new world order.

The visual code of the map is an instrument used to exhibit the nation’s face or desired image both at the national and international levels. The exhibition of appropriate images—modern yet uniquely Thai—for the eyes of the west had always

Western people without any specification of nationality, culture, ethnicity, language, or whatever” (as cited in Kitiarsa, 2010, p. 61).

⁵ See Winichakul (1994), especially chapters 7 and 8.

⁶ See Jackson (2010), especially the Afterward, for an elaborate discussion of the negotiation process of the colonial rule.

been Siam's preoccupation. Images portrayed on the world stage can be performed but this does not mean that the images are not true in themselves, rather the images that signify codes of Thainess lead us to question the engrossment of self-representation.

Thai Femininity and Its Mobility

Another code that the ruling elites project on the world stage is through the body of the 1965 Miss Universe, Abhasra Hongsakul (nicknamed Pook). Abhasra comes to signify something similar to the code of the historical Siam map. The point is that the ruling elite's preoccupation with the images is presented along the discourses of nationalism, unique Thainess, modern self, and Thai femininity through Abhasra's embodiment and performance. People could identify this victory, especially, Thai women and indeed all the Thai people as a whole, with Abhasra. *The Bangkok Post* (1965) wrote on the day of her success that it was "a great day for the women of Thailand" ("Miss Universe Supplement," 1965, "A Great Day").

Suphatra (1993) writes in *Sen thaay naay naam* that the changes in socio-political and economical determinants all contribute to the social mobility of Thai women (p. 2). Diachronic study shows that since the period of modernization (at its full force during the reigns of King Rama V until King Rama VII) was comprised of encounters with the West which was present in Siam both physically and ideologically. Unavoidably, Western values and ideologies were introduced into the state via mass media such as prints, advertisements, and moving pictures (Barmé, 2002, p. 2).

Thai women's mobility was perhaps most notable during the early twentieth century. During this period, the women's education, concerns regarding women's garments, socialization etiquettes, values of beauty standards, and even hairstyles became Western oriented.⁷ Woman can be a major instrument for self-representation and a public image of the country during post-absolutist period and amid the intensified relationship between Thailand and the US. It was undeniable that since Miss Thailand competition first originated in the 1930's, the beauty pageants were incorporated into the social responsibility of representing the country as being modern and progressive, a move away from the absolutist reign.⁸ Still they were to present values from the Thai tradition which, I suggest, was a realm where Thai femininity and the separation of private and public spheres were upheld to the standards of Thai patriarchal (and at the time militaristic) society (Callahan, 1998, p. 48).

The discursive knowledge concerning gender, sexuality, and the sexes was governed by the patriarchal ideology of Thai society at the time. This internal factor was paired with the external influence (or sometimes threat) coming from the West, so that both were accepted and clashed against one another. This coming into contact certainly represents another transcultural product and one significant attribute for the beauty

⁷ See Kopkitsuksakul (1993) for a thorough explanation of the factors causing the change in Thai women's roles and the effects that emerge from the Miss Thailand competitions.

⁸ Field Marshal Phibun stated specifically that Miss Thailand ought to employ and utilize her title to benefit the country (Kopkitsuksakul, 1993, p. 17) and to manifest the modern Thai self.

pageants where values from the West are both endorsed and rejected at the same time. Parallel to the influences and novel conceptions from the West, some normative gender expectations, roles, and ideal Thai femininity are kept and exerted by the state through the woman's body. Examples are female virtues in preserving one's purity, mastering domestic tasks and duties, and becoming decent daughters, wives, and mothers, to name only a few.

Suphatra (1993), Van Esterik (1995; 1999; 2000), and Karim (1995) claim that in agricultural society, differences in genders and sexes in Southeast Asian region are of their own distinct character. In the case of Siam/Thailand, the modernization period during King Mongkut's reign onward was considered the period where Western influences started to flow into the state. Since then, Siam entered into economic expansion and gave away extraterritorial rights to the British. This certainly formed a milestone and originated the alteration for Thai women's roles and social status to keep up with the rest of the world and to represent itself against the overwhelming imperial power. The Siamese needed to represent an appropriate image to uphold Western standards of gender relations, and the modern state, and to redeem itself from the contemptuousness exhibited towards Thai women (Kopkitsuksakul, 1993, p. 32).

The Sixties: Thailand's Promotion

Abhasra Hongsakul (Pook) earned the Miss Universe crown in 1965 as a delegate representing Thailand. Her victory does not mean that her beauty and intelligence certify the standard of Miss Universe alone. As Suphatra (1993) and Callahan (1998) write comprehensively in their diachronic studies, the year Abhasra won the title reflects a crucial stage in world politics—that of the Cold War. Van Esterik (1996) suggests that Abhasra's performance, as a Thai beauty delegate on the world stage, is heavily interlaced with the politics of self-representation and the appropriated image of Thai women. As *The Bangkok Post* (1965) wrote, “when our Miss Thailand, Abhasra Hongsakul, was named Miss Universe yesterday, it wasn't just a compliment paid to Pook—though it was justly deserved—it was also a compliment to Thai womanhood” (“Miss Universe Special Supplement,” 1965, “For when,” para. 3). Her entrance to Miss Universe was one of an obligation, a duty: both the “Miss Universe Special Supplement” (1965) and Callahan (1998) portray Pook as a dutiful daughter of the military General who complies with the family's desire for her to enter the beauty competition all “for the good of the country” (p. 44).

Indeed, in the 1960's under the rule of the militaristic reign of Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn (1963-1973) Thailand espoused the values concerning the country's reputational promotion (Kopkitsuksakul, 1993; Callahan, 1998). It was inevitable that Thailand had to promote itself during this crucial time of world politics. The well-established relationship between Thailand and the US existed since the predecessor of Field Marshal Thanom—Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat (1958-1963). Thailand was preoccupied with the conceptualization of free trade, capitalism, and the Western-oriented tourism promotion. Furthermore, the profound tie between Thailand and the US was enhanced throughout the militaristic regimes in which Thailand received support socially, militaristically, educationally, and so on. Altogether, such affiliation was to keep Thailand ally with the anti-communist block. With the political bond in the picture, the ruling elites were more conscious than ever regarding what images

would appropriately portray Thailand to be both Thai and modern despite the silences forced on many groups as they attempted to make political statements.

Certainly, the beauty pageant could be read as a code for national promotion, or rather, the body of the beauty pageant functions as a code that signifies the whole nation. She is an expedient instrument that signifies two types of image considered appropriate by the state and deemed as the ideal Thai woman.⁹ Such an image constructed through the embodiment of Thai femininity is traditional to Thainess. The other is what the ruling elite considers apposite for the west to see i.e., a Thai woman representing the modern Thai state when in fact at the time the internal politics was quite disordered (Callahan, 1998). Suphatra (1993) writes that internally, there were outbursts from emerging political groups such as the Students' group who opposed and lambasted the Western materiality overflowing into the country because of the political ties. Another was the feminist movement that chastised the purpose of beauty competitions as mere objectification of female bodies, engendering the standardization of beauty, and the idealization of normative femininity. I will now turn to analyze the discourse of gender and the constitution of Thai femininity as a code embodied by the beauty pageant.

Mapping National Pride on the Female Body

In this section, I propose that Judith Butler's (1988) concept of performative acts is fitting to employ in analyzing the embodiment of ideal femininity embedded in the beauty pageants. Butler argues that performing gender can be compared to performance or acting in a theatrical sense. She emphasizes one of the speech gestures—illocutionary speech act—that it is the characteristic of speech filled with effects on the deeds at the precise moment when the speech is performed. Butler writes that not only John Searle's 'speech acts,' "refer to speaking relationships, but [it also] constitute[s] a moral bond between speakers" (1988, p. 519). With speech act theory as her foundation, Butler extends this to explain how "social reality" (p. 519) can be constituted when least expected by simple speeches, etiquettes, or manners that govern ourselves.

I suggest that Abhasra performs and delivers the state-mediated ideal of Thai femininity on the Miss Universe stage. On the path to becoming Miss Universe, "Miss Universe Special Supplement" (1965) writes, she was chaperoned by M.L. Kamala Sukhum who coached Abhasra on how she was to perform Thai femininity and visually represent Thainess "through a *stylized repetition of acts*" (Butler, 1988, p. 519). The ideal of Thai femininity she was to enact through her body included even physical appearance as "[t]here were plenty of ups and downs as many interested persons tried to show Thailand's representative the best way to win" ("Miss Universe

⁹ Suphatra (1993) writes that Abhasra's victory signifies two things which are: first, respectability for Thai women and their beauty, and second, the fact that Abhasra as a visual code was portrayed to the Western other to display recognition and revered image for Thailand internationally. Lt. Gen. Chalermchai comments that Miss Universe could enhance international relations better than sending diplomatic delegates abroad as follows: Miss Universe "has done the work of ten goodwill missions...[the Americans] are now all interested in Thailand" ("Miss Universe Supplement," 1965, "Pook's win," para. 3).

Special Supplement,” 1965, “It wasn’t easy,” para. 2). Her performance of subtlety, grace, and humility was finely executed on the world stage. The ideal Thai femininity that she embodies meets the conditions of “performative accomplishment” (Butler, 1988, p. 520): when she won the title Miss Universe, *The Bangkok Post* (1965) presented the news in a section entitled “‘Pook’s win stirs new interest for nation’”, suggesting that her portrayal of femininity went beyond personal grace and encompassed that of the women of Thailand as a whole. It stated that “Abhasra won mainly because of her femininity and other qualities of ‘Thai women.’ ... These stood out in this contest for young, modern, beautiful women” (“Miss Universe Special Supplement,” 1965, “Opinions,” para. 2).

Why does the body of a woman become so much more than a female body? Her performance is clearly restricted in the scope of what is expected as part of the Thai gender normativity. Her body becomes one with the nation. Abhasra’s performance can determine the face of Thailand as it is scrupulously constructed for the world audience. In this way, a woman’s body is political because it bears meanings over time in specific socio-cultural contexts. The body that performs its gender correctly and in accordance with its essentialist view of biological sex is considered natural and socio-culturally sanctioned. When Butler argued that “gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo” (1988, p. 520), this might suggest that the nature of gender that is socio-culturally expected by our cultures is restricted to performance alone.

Peter Digeser (1994) writes in response to the theory of performativity that Butler’s ideas raise the problem of continuity and the unity of experiences within her theory. In contesting Butler’s theory, Digeser points out one that speech acts are not only constituted by the performative effect of utterances. J. L. Austin’s speech act theory also includes the notion of the “constative” (Urmson & Sabisà, 1975, p. 3). Constative utterances deal with the qualities of being descriptive, truthful, false, and even historical at times (Urmson & Sabisà, 1975), though we tend to make the mistake of taking as “straightforward statements of fact utterances which are *either* [...] nonsensical or *else* intended as something quite different” (p. 3). Thus, Digeser’s response to performativity theory makes us question the subversion of the natural or essentialist notions of the correlation between sex and gender and whether or not we should discard the essentialist notion entirely. As he suggests, “Butler assumes that the constative elements, found in prediscursive conception of the body, can be overcome once we see that even the sexed body is merely a performative” (Digeser, 1994, p. 663). Butler’s argument that the mundane performances, manners, and actions carried out by social subjects are what make up their gender—similar to that of the performative utterance—is what Digeser finds most polemic.

It is significant for us to consider the realm of truth and falsity—constatives—as Digeser writes in response to performativity theory. Austin’s *How to Do Things with Words* explains an indivisible tie between the constative type and performative type of utterances that we often “assume without realizing that for many purposes the outward utterance is a description, *true or false*, of the occurrence of the inward performance” (Urmson & Sabisà, 1975, p. 9), which means that we cannot only consider the characteristic in which gender is successfully or unsuccessfully performed because the successful gender performance must be believed by the socio-cultural formation i.e., as truthful or false according to one’s sex. For if with Butler

we theorize the performative sequence of gender acts and expectations alone, this would lead us to believe that performativity theory manifests the neglect of gender normativity of each society at a certain time regardless of its constructedness in nature.

Because the construction of gender expectations relates with the historicity that is believed and upheld over time, it is then sadly inevitable that men and women are expected to perform and act out their gender a certain way where their actions are socially accepted. The implication is that both constative and performative characteristics should be acknowledged in order to recognize, criticize, and ultimately move beyond this gender constructedness. Similarly, Thai femininity incorporates certain truthful and false actions as expected by the society. Especially, at the particular chaotic time of both external and internal politics in the 1960's, women were expected to take part and play their role to bring respectable recognition to the country, as Suphatra (1993) and Callahan (1998) describe. Both constatives and performatives attest to the analysis of Abhasra's body as a site where the politics of beauty and the embodiment of gender expectations through the performance intertwine. Her Thainess that includes Thai femininity is constructed and most importantly the ideal Thai femininity is projected through her body as being both of modern and traditional Thai women.

The arbitrariness lies in the ideal Thai femininity where modern and traditional gender aspects are concerned. To what extent can a woman's body be "modern" and how much should she remain "conservative"? The Thai state at the time certainly kept up with the attraction of the world order that was the US. Abhasra's expected gender role of an obedient daughter is acutely expressed in *The Bangkok Post* (1965). Her sexuality is finely scripted within the socio-culturally accepted norm on maintaining one's virtue of virginity. *The Bangkok Post* wrote, "Pook and Akadej [her boyfriend] have never been out together alone. They usually meet at each other's house, or take along their brothers or sisters on dates." ("Miss Universe Special Supplement," 1965, "Study," para. 4). The performativity theory allows us to analyze the performance and construction of gender through the performance and embodiment of such expectations in women.

Butler writes that "because gender is a project which has cultural survival as its end, the term '*strategy*' better suggests the situation of duress under which gender performance always and variously occurs. Hence a strategy of survival gender is a performance with clearly punitive consequences" (1988, p. 522). The "duress" Butler explains clearly as relating to what the society accounts as "correct" performance. It puts pressure on women to perform, thus achieving their gender expectations; because Abhasra does meet such social expectations the news portrays the "reception would make the welcome home official and signify recognition of all the people of Bangkok's beautiful daughter" ("Miss Universe Special Supplement," 1965, "Big Welcome," para. 4).

All in all, by studying performativity theory and paying attention to the nature of constatives, we can see that Abhasra's performance is "embodied and disguised under duress" (Butler, 1988, p. 522), the duress of Thai socio-cultural discourse on gender that is closely related to Thainess. Digeser's (1994) claim, that "constative statements are obstacles to our ability to break free from the prevailing dichotomous roles of gender and sex" (p. 663), confirms the socio-cultural sanction of gender and what acts

are deemed culturally correct and vice versa. We must remember that acceptance, judgments, and criticisms arise from the descriptive nature of constatives, for if Abhasra was not to meet with gender expectations, she might be faced with such punitive consequences. Thus, constatives mean so much more and are historically relevant.

Conclusion

The analysis of both the historical Siam map and the 1965 Miss Universe reveal the particular relations Siam/Thailand had with the West and its preoccupation with its self-image. Such relations were time and space conditional and contingent and affect the ambivalence of Thainess. Dominant discourses such as nation-building, anti-imperialist power, and modernity can be theoretically examined from the circulation of the historical Siam map and the news of Abhasra's victory. The notion of Thainess, I suggest, is fluid, unstable, and time-space contingent. Socio-economic factors play an integral part in its construction regardless how the ruling elites' anxiety for "surface effects" (Jackson, 2004, p. 220) may intervene with the possible hybrid identity. Yet, the elites are sufficiently knowing to employ some elements in their strategic negotiation to the asymmetrical power relations with the West so as to protect their independence, royal dignity, and gain acceptance. Hence, the construction of Thainess seems valid and justified with "internal history" (Rhum, 1996, p. 351) but at the same time, representing itself as modern due to "reference to other societies" (p. 351).

The discursive knowledge that constructs Thainess and Thai femininity analyzed in this paper shows the ambivalent characteristic and in-between space of such discourse (Thongchai, 1994). The recognition and disavowal process has a deep root in Siam/Thai mentality and epistemology. However, we cannot deny that it is the presence of the real and imaginary West that contributes to the constitution of Thainess. Both the map and the embodied of Thai femininity are transcultural products. It is crucial that we do not take cultural products for what they represent. Siam/Thailand's demarcation between private and public images (Jackson, 2004) is one such point that needs thorough analysis. The relationship between outward appearance and interior knowledge is part of the Thai polity's uniqueness, where the state has always acted as such a strong monitor over what is deemed representable and vice versa. This could be clearly manifested in the woman's body that is being restricted and connected to the nation. Thus, analyses of cultural products can reveal much about the Thai polity and its ability to conduct its performative Thainess on the world stage.

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A Few Good Men : Identity and Representation of Museum Volunteer

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Abstract

Most people usually value benefaction of donating to the temple, only a few appreciate to do in the museum. Being museum volunteer is another kind of donation. This article aims to answer two questions: 1) How museum volunteers define and value the goodness? 2) How museum volunteers present the goodness through museum activity? The research applies Jean Baudrillard's concept of "consumption of sign" as a conceptual framework. The data collecting methods are focus group discussion and in depth interview of museum volunteers. The research finding shows that the identity of 'good people' is people who like to do social goodness that returns them sentimental values especially in educative merit making and delightfulness. The representations of good people are donation, labor dedication and knowledge providing. These identity and representations can transform to the valuable cultural and social capitals of the museum. Therefore museum is an ideal type for cultivating community of goodness.

Keywords: museum, volunteer, donation, fund-raising, capital, goodness, identity, representation, sign consumption

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Introduction

Museum is the institution which starts from antique storage and turns into learning center. The place that we can discover the various and deep meaning of the story in the limited time and conditions. Museum is the place that you can get at least a little inspiration, discover something new or at most you can get the wisdom from the main point of museum story. So we can state that now the essential of the museum is providing the life-long knowledge.

Aside from the main role of museum as a wisdom place, museum is also have a role as a non-profit organization or social enterprise. They have duties of managing and developing their organization for providing products and services to the public.

The type of museum can be defined by its administration such as national museum, local museum, organization museum, private collection museum.

We can claim that now fund-raising is a core function in museum administrations. Because museum cannot working without the amount of money and the quality cooperation. To earning more administration capital.

Fund-raising is a profitable strategy of the non-profit organization. Besides, museum can reach more target in public by fund-raising activities. The raising funds are not limited only the money or in-cash capital, but there are included the in-kind capitals. So museum not only pursues profits but also networks of stakeholders, these networks can be the alliance for sustainable operation and interesting or acceptable activities that can apply to actuate museum mission and goal.

This study has the specific assumption that museum is a few good men or philanthropists community. The museum is connected to the alternative community in contemporary world.

Volunteering and donation in museum are also the terms of goodness, most of people always do the goodness to temple, disadvantage people or other urgent issue. But only a few will do in museum. Museum can turn crisis into opportunity since Museum philanthropists can be defined as the community of the alternative contemporary lifestyle.

Since an important mission of the museum is providing knowledge, participant in museum donation and volunteer activities to support activities such as educational programs for people, is also the goodness. Accordingly, museum is a place of goodness and the people who do good things in the museum is a good men community.

The network and relation formation must be generated by attending the trends of social interests, behaviors and values that always change by context and time. Doing goodness in museum is corresponded with lifestyle of people who is concerned with supporting money and labor for education or other goodness in museum. This is the fact of the sample of philanthropists that museum practitioner should understand their way of life and cultural practice.

This article is a part of the individual study “An action research for museum fundraising of Cultural Anthropology Museum, the research institute for languages and cultures of Asia (RILCA), Mahidol University” which is supported by The Thailand Research Fund (TRF). The study aims to understand condition in practices of a group of people who identify and represent themselves through the museum. The synthetic extents for perspective summarization to answer the research questions are the representation of goodness through capitals (economic, cultural, social and symbolic), the identity of good men (museum donor and volunteer) and the representation of good men through the museum activities.

This article aims to analyze and prove identity and representation of the community of goodness through examples of fund raising activities. As donation and volunteering activities are the satisfied exchange of both museum and participants. Consideration of fund (in-cash) and capital (in-kind) raising with Boudrillard’s concept of “consumption of sign”. This is the cultural performance that reflects shared values, tastes and sentiments of people and museum as the community of goodness

Cultural Anthropology Museum

Cultural anthropology museum or RILCA museum is an interactive university museum of RILCA, the museum opened since 24th December 2001. The Research Institute for Language and Culture of Asia and ASEAN Institute for Health Development have a responsibility to research and promote knowledge in social and public health. As a result, the two Institutes have cooperated to set up Cultural Anthropology Museum and Public Health Project in order to present information on geography, civilization and public health in South East Asia.

SEA is one of the most important regions because of its abundant natural resources and biological diversity enabling its in habitats become economic producers and consumers. Also, a variety of ethnic groups have also settled around the region whose cultures and lifestyles are based on traditions handed down through time. We research South East Asia in many fields including archeology, anthropology, history, culture, medicine and public health in order to obtain new knowledge. This Museum is the first educational resource for Thais in geography, civilization and public health in SEA.

Now, the museum will open only for appointment or special occasion. The content of museum is about history and mission of the Research institute for languages and cultures of Asia, Mahidol university in the issue of ethnicity languages and cultures research and museum also exhibit the story of minority groups in Thailand through the imitate ethnic village and the visitors can interact with every museum objects and details.

Now this museum do not have sufficient facilities and staff to take and run this museum. So this museum is running by the Cultural division, the special cultural places-caring unit of the RILCA. The cultural division initiate to do the meta-plan for developing the museum to be the learning and participatory activity center of university and school student in local area.

The most important mission of the cultural division is museum fund-raising for improving and developing the museum and uprising the RILCA to be the center of research and study about museum studies, and also furthering to be the center of public services as museum clinic.

To pacing along this mission, the museum have to earn more budget. Fund-raising is the main role in museum potential budgeting and operation. Cultural anthropology museum must to create the fund-raising activities, including in-cash fund and in-kind capital such as relations, partners, and network to support running effective social activities and can be the cultural entrepreneur. So the fund-raising activity is the challenged step for adaptation and working within limited conditions of governmental organization.

Museum funds and sponsorship

Funds is the important part of museum budgeting. According to Genoways and Ireland (2003), funds are used to separate revenue and resources within an organization for certain activities and objectives and museum can separates funds into 5 types as

- *The general fund* which may also be called the “current” or “operating” fund that holds the money used, at the museum’s discretion, to provide activities related to the organization’s primary mission.

- *Capital funds* are designated for the purchase of fixed assets, such as equipment and building. This fund may also be called “fixed asset” or “plant” fund in some organizations.

- *A restricted fund* designated the revenue or investment income earned from revenue that must be spent according to stipulations placed on the income by a donor or a governing body. Another fund, the *debt fund*, donates money set aside to retire debts such as bond issues or mortgages.

- *Acquisition fund* refer to the amount reserved for the purchase of objects for the collection or for expenses associated with acquisitions such as shipping, insurance, and appraisal.

- *Endowment fund* are donated monies that are invested; the income from unrestricted endowment funds may be used for operations or other legitimate purpose, whereas earning from restricted endowment funds are earmarks for specific aims, such as acquisitions, exhibits, or seminars. The *endowment principal* is that portion of the fund that remains invested and untouched and continues to earn income. Only the interest or other income earned from the principal should be expended for appropriate purpose. (p. 92-93)

According to Genoways and Ireland (2003), The private sector is also a potential source of revenue. When museum interests individual giver, museum also have to interests in a potential donor’s interests and match them to the appropriate exhibition or program. A careful consideration of the museum’s mission and it’s commitment to intellectual integrity will ensure an appropriate mesh of donor wishes and museum need. Museums that offer donors significant input into program content will find themselves subject to constituent criticism at the least, if not editorial castigation in the media. And the similar consideration should occur when approaching foundation. Actually, local foundation will be more interested in the activity of the local museum than foundation in other area. (p. 285)

As capital fund and acquisition fund are the kind of capital that museum can derives from donor, volunteer, participant in museum activities. When the partners correspond with the museum, they can support the operation even using no money.

Consumption of sign

According to Baudrillard (1981), consumption as a logic of significations, the empirical “object,” given in its contingency of form, color, material, function, discourse and aesthetic if it is a cultural objects, is a myth. The object is nothing but different type of relations and significations that coverage, contradict themselves, and twist around it, as such the hidden logic that not only arranges this bundle of relations, but directs the manifest discourse that overlays and occludes it.

Value of symbolic exchange, in symbolic exchange of which the gift is our most proximate illustration, the object is not an object but it is inseparable from the concrete relation in which it is exchanged, the transferential pact that it seals between two persons. The object given has symbolic exchange value. The paradox of the gift is relatively arbitrary of the given object, it can fully signify the relation. On the other hand, once it has been given, the gift is unique, specified by the people exchanging and the unique moment of the exchange, it is arbitrary and absolutely singular.

As distinct from language, whose material can be disassociated from the subjects speaking it, the material of symbolic exchange, the objects given, are not autonomous, hence not codifiable as signs. Since they do not depend on economic exchange, they are not amenable to systematization as commodities and exchange value.

What constitutes the objects as value in symbolic exchange is that one separates himself from it in order to give it, to throw it at the feet of the other, under the gaze of the other; one divests himself as if of a part of himself, an act is significant in itself as the basis, simultaneously, of both the mutual presence of the terms of the relationship, and their mutual absence or distance. The ambivalence of all symbolic exchange material such as looks, objects, dreams and excrement, derives from this: the gift is a medium of relation and distance; it is always love and aggression.

From symbolic exchange to sign value, the moment when the exchange is no longer purely transitive, when the material of exchange is immediately presented as such, can reified into a sign. Instead of abolishing itself in the relation that it establishes, and thus assuming symbolic value for example the gift, the object becomes autonomous, intransitive, opaque, and also begins to signify the abolition of the relationship. Having become a sign object, it is no longer the mobile signifier of the lack between two begins, it is ‘of’ and ‘from’ the reified relation as it is the commodity at another level, in relation to reified labor power. As symbol refers to lack or absence as a virtual relation of desire, the sign object only refers to the absence of relation itself, and to isolated individual subjects.

The sign object is neither given or exchange: it is appropriated, withheld and manipulated by individual subjects as a sign as coded difference. As the object of consumption, it is always of and from reified, abolished social relationship that is “signified” in a code.

What we perceive in the symbolic object such as the gift, tradition, ritual and artisanal object, is not only the concrete manifestation of an ambivalent and total relationship of desire; but through the singularity of an object, the transparency of social relations in a dual or integrated group relationship. In the commodity, in contrast, we perceive the opacity of social relations of production and the reality of the division of labor. The object of consumption is revealed in the contemporary profusion of sign object, is precisely this opacity, the total constraint of the code that govern social value: it is the specific weight of sign that regulates the social logic of exchange.

The object-become-sign no longer gathers its meaning in the concrete relationship between two people. It assumes its meaning in its differential relation to other sign. Somewhat like Levi-Strauss' myths that sign-objects exchange among themselves. Thus, only when objects are autonomized as differential signs and thereby rendered systematizable can one speak of consumption and of objects of consumption.

And also the leisure, "conspicuous abstention from labor becomes the conventional index of reputability." Productive labor is degrading, it is the reinforcement as social differentiation increases in complexity. In the end, it takes on the axiomatic authority of an absolute prescription of reprobation, even alongside the moral probation of idleness and the reactive valorization of labor so strong in the middle classes. The affected servitude of devotedly worked is the reaction-formation proves, to the contrary, the power of leisure-nobility value as deep-seated, unconscious representation.

Leisure is thus not a function of a need for leisure in the current sense of enjoying free time and functional repose. It can be invested in activities, provided they do not involve economic necessity. Leisure may be defined as any consumption of unproductive time. This is an activity, an obligatory social phenomenon of the moment of a production of value, of an invidious production of status, and the social individual is not free to escape it. No one needs leisure, but everyone is called upon to provide evidence of his availability for unproductive labor. The consumption of empty shows that free time is a material of exchange and signification. Then the leisure is the locus of this symbolic operation.

The style of contemporary leisure provides a kind of experimental verification, the conditions for creative freedom at last realized, the man of leisure looks desperately for a nail to hammer, a motor to dismantle. Outside the competitive sphere, there are no autonomous needs. Spontaneous motivation doesn't exist. But for all that, he can't permit himself to do nothing. At a loss for something to do with his free time, he nevertheless urgently "needs" to do nothing or nothing useful, since this has distinctive social value.

Even today, what claims the average individual, through the holidays and during his free time, is not the liberty to fulfill himself. He must verify the uselessness of his time, temporal surplus as sumptuous capital, as wealth. Leisure time, like consumption time in general, becomes emphatic, trade-marked social time, the dimension of social salvation, productive of value, but not of economic survival.

"The canon of honorific waste may, immediately or remotely, influence the sense of duty, the sense of beauty, the sense of utility, the sense of devotional or ritualistic fitness, and the scientific scene of truth."

Sign exchange and the twilight of value can generalize that everything is “recuperable”, but at first there are needs, authentic values, etc., and later they are alienated, mystified, recuperated or what have you. If everything is recuperable, it is because everything in monopoly capitalist society such as goods, knowledge, technique, culture, men, their relations and their aspirations, is reproduced, from the outset, immediately, as an element of the system, as an integrated variable.

The truth is and this has been recognized for a long time in the area of economic production that use value no longer appears anywhere in the system. The determining logic of exchange value is recognized as the truth of the sphere of “consumption” and the cultural system in general. In other words, everything even the artistic, intellectual, scientific production, innovation and transgression, is immediately produced as sign and exchange value (rational value of the sign)

A structural analysis of consumption is possible to the extent that “needs” consumption behavior and cultural behavior are not only recuperated, but systematically induced and produced as productive forces. Given this abstraction and this tendency toward total systematization, such as analysis is entirely possible, if it in turn is based on an analysis of the social logic of the production and generalized exchange of signs. (p. 63-87)

The consumption of sign portrays the general concept of need and exchange of the sign through the product or even the service. As in this case we can critique the museum activities as the productivity of the value and sign exchange among the specific group of people. And this exchange can operate the museum volunteering and donating activity to be the effective action and stakeholder can achieve things more than money and labor.

Hunting a good men

This study has two methods to gather the good men and goodness from museum activities

1) Focus group discussion: 7museum volunteer, museum practitioner and museum activity participant brain storming7to gather the information, ideas and experiences about participation, education, fund raising activities to do the better museum activities in the future.

2) Participatory activities: fund raising and volunteering activities. Running the little tour guide training project at Tai Dam Na Pa Nad Community, Loei province. 7this project is a part of the research and RILCA museum activities to train the children of Tai Dam community to be the presenter of best their culture through the eyes of youth and to raise awareness and pride of their culture and to preserve the unique ethnic culture in Thailand as long as we can. And also creating the fundraising product such as iculture T-shirt to represent the unity of the culture-lover volunteer with the best contemporary letter - I. And more products are the ethnic handicraft such as Karen bag, paper doll in ethnic dress to represent their simple but precious way of life.

Findings

The study of action research: focus group discussion and participatory action activity justify the identity of good men, that the “Good men” the people who willingly do goodness with no returns. A few good men is not the sense of an individual but togetherness. Actually, the good men can do goodness only in the appropriate situation such as only in the limited condition such as right time, right place, and right job with right partner. Museum volunteer and donor is also the identity of the well-educated upper and middle class in the society who show their specific identity as their duty for society.

The representations of goodness are goodness is the defining of a good action with on returns but happiness or good feeling. Goodness can be done by many ways such as giving money, things, labor, knowledge, inspirations or good feeling. Providing knowledge or education is one of the most valuable giving, since knowledge or education can become the wisdom of the lifetime. Goodness is also the representation of the leisure to people, who always separate their free time from their working time. As they devote their leisure time to do the public services.

Museum as the community of good men can summarize from the fact that “a few good men” can make “a lot of good good men” by the good process such as good invitation, good story telling and good investment. Museum volunteers will not get only happiness but good relationship, good connection and the good society in return. Even museum volunteers do not want something in return, but museums should give them some privilege. A little pay-off is still the great encouragement for everyone to be the better men.

Conclusion

Museum fund-raising is the relation and negotiation between individual and institution. Donator and volunteer can consume the sign from museum product and service that can return museum the capitals. Identity is a meaning that transform into sign and representation is an action that transform into capital

The concept of consumption of sign is the explanation of the alternative community that adhere the shared internal value than the external factor in contemporary lifestyle. But in some aspect the consumption of sign cannot explain some value in the sense of the museum progression. Because the correspondence of museum stakeholders with their little of returning or benefit is rarely appear in the contemporary capitalism world, especially in the place that not directly concern with the main factors of human living (food, cloth, home and medicine) as the museum. Apparently, museum volunteer is a kind of good men, who do goodness as giving good attitude, inspiration, knowledge and wisdom or even at the least as only good feeling.

Sometimes the in-kind capital is quite important in running creative and valuable museum activities not less than the in-cash fund. The in-cash fund or money seems to be the equipment and the in-kind fund or partner seems to be the labor. It is hard to work without either one or another. But sometimes people said that you can work with no money but a lot of friends as the quote “Volunteer will get you through times of no money better than money will get you through times of no volunteers.”

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Otaku Pedestrians in Tokyo: Fan Consumption and Urban Politics of “Visuality”

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Abstract

This paper investigates the circulation of otaku media commodities in East Ikebukuro's Otome-Road (Tokyo) in order to question both the definition of media mobility and the subcultural representation of fan communities established in Cultural Media Studies during the past decades. Mapping methods inspired from Infrastructural Studies of the city are used to address the various issues surrounding the pedestrian aspect of otaku culture and therefore unravel the stakes of its visible transparency in the urban and cultural landscape of contemporaneous Japan. In other words, it is the visibility created by our methods of inquiry, crystallizing specific representations of media mobility and social agency, that are discussed under the question of how we can frame the ambivalent and mobile aspects of fan pedestrians.

Keywords: Otaku, Infrastructures, Media Mobility, Visibility, Agency

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Introduction: Rethinking media mobility when observing otaku culture

This paper explores the notion of media mobility through the material circulation of otaku media commodities in Ikebukuro (Tokyo, Japan). The principal motivation is to unravel traces of media mobility revealing an intimate relationship between local urban infrastructures and pedestrian mobility in otaku culture. If otaku tourism has recently become a theme in academic studies (Okamoto 2013), urban space as such still does not represent a current notion in studying otaku culture: both Northern American and Japanese scholars agree on the predominance of moving images as the organizational logic of commodity production and reception practices. The otaku phenomenon is therefore frequently studied as the reception of anime as an industrial cultural production. As such, and since its development from the mid 1970's, otaku culture has been articulated as various aspects of the reception of anime series: *dôjinshi* (fanzine) has been conceptually framed as a secondary simulacrum fan production repeating anime (Azuma, 2003, p.41), while otaku fans build their identities as cultural subjects through the mediation of anime or manga and their paraphernalia (Miyadai, 2007, p.25). In that regard, media mobility in otaku culture is consequently conceptualized as a medium specificity emerging from techniques of animation.

In recent years Marc Steinberg (2012), inspired by the example of the collectible chocolates Bikkuriman (Otsuka, 2004, p.235), gave a definition of anime's media mix as the emergence of an inter-commodity relationship through image mobility (p.29). Other fundamental texts on otaku culture such as Thomas Lamarre's "*The Anime Machine*" (2009) or Ian Condry's "*The Soul of Anime*" (2013) also tend to describe Japanese limited animation series as an industrial production and a visual apparatus to build representations of otaku publics. In my opinion, the focus on images and text mobility often exacerbates a certain vertical logic of industrial and auctorial institutions, limiting the notion of media mobility to image circulation and transmedia text production. The conceptualization of the everyday uses of otaku media is therefore always described vertically as "secondary uses" subjugated to "official" media production. However, in the latest translation of his book, Marc Steinberg (2015) notices how speaking of otaku culture has become a pedestrian outcome because of its obvious material presence in the everyday life, stressing the importance of the cultural daily practices surrounding the circulation of otaku commodities becomes a crucial issue in theorizing media mobility (p.7). As such, otaku culture reassembles the two meanings of pedestrian: it is both present when walking in different parts of cities and it is almost too utterly ordinary to be noticeable.

The physical circulation of the media commodities sustaining the development of specific territories of otaku culture is nevertheless never presented as a topic of research. Paraphernalia mobility is never thought of as a social mobility occurring when transportable objects are used in various places of common cultural practices of consumption. Anime visuality is never seen as a social visibility delimited by a tangible material environment of commodities circulating in physical space because we lack vision concerning the urban territories occupied by otaku culture. We tend to think more about the mobility within techniques of animation, rather than the mobility of otaku commodity inside cities. In most "otaku studies" the too obvious notion of urban space constructing the material conditions of social interaction mediated by media commodity circulation is missing: everyone knows how a cultural phenomenon

is a part of everyday life so we fail to discuss “when” and “how” it occurs. Stephen Graham and Marvin Simons (2001) address a similar interrogation in “*Splintering Urbanism*”, arguing that Cultural Studies often fail to adequately understand the urban aspect of modernity because the invisible infrastructural space is taken for granted and discussed through images of modern cities (p.31). Media and Production Studies of otaku culture also tend to elude this question of the formation of a urban space of media circulation because they focus on moving images’ specificity, considering media mobility as an intrinsic logic of sight, and media circulation only as the organization of industrial commodity distribution.

Subsequently, the mapping of urban otaku media environments still represents an underused method of inquiry. However, beneath the evident presence of otaku culture in Japanese cities, lie specific practices of circulation, sociability and communication. The hybridization of animation techniques transformed into media commodities makes sense of urban space as infrastructures of cultural production and media circulation. This specificity therefore asks for the meeting of Cultural Media Studies with Infrastructure Studies in order to enlarge the questions surrounding media mobility: anime and game paraphernalia, fanzine, cosplay and other media commodities are mobile landmarks in the landscape of local, regional and national cultural production. Social interactions of visibility and agency are negotiated at different urban scales by otaku fans as they interact with transportable media commodities that can be exchanged, resold or altered: more than a common experience of sight, otaku culture is a common experience of “localized” urban intimacy in a material environment of collectible, transportable, and fragmented media commodities. Considering cultural phenomena in an evolving media environment unravels “inter-local” practices of fan mobility making sense through cultural production of “local” urban infrastructures and social bounds. Otaku mobility is also a socio-cultural dynamic of occupying urban infrastructural space with the constitution of repeated practices of media commodity circulation.

In this paper, I make a case for otaku “pedestrianity” as a notion unifying various nuances of media, human and cultural mobility in the urban space of the everyday life. Keeping in mind otaku media commodities as transportable objects, I map the territories of their circulation in the “anime sanctuary” Otome Road (East Ikebukuro, Tokyo) to render visible the emplacement of otaku cultural practices in cities. Media mobility in sanctuaries is enacted by fan mobility: moving across the city ensures various mediated social experiences in theaters, shops, restaurants, parks and other leisure spots. The cyclical interactions with urban infrastructures of cultural commodity circulation demonstrate how subject mobility is mediated by socio-cultural practices of local differentiation materialized into media commodities as delimited material environments. Furthermore, anime sanctuaries reveal how recycling and interacting with media commodities represent an intimate yet collective sense-making process of repurposing urban space through cultural production. Reframing cultural production as a social event taking place in urban infrastructures reminds us of the recent re-emergence of national tourism practices in Japan and questions how space and identity are negotiated through cultural production as a social practice mediating cities.

To continue, the mapping methods of media circulation respond to the conceptualization of the everyday otaku life in less limited socio-political terms. As such, otaku history points at the evolution from devalued subcultural practices of

social interaction through mobile images to a tolerated subaltern position of urban visibility: otaku agency acts as an *infrapolitical* agency walking in cyclic and episodic events of local cultural production, and justifying its existence in the cultural horizon with recognizable economical weight and urban occupation. Although otaku identity is mostly thought as a static one, romanticized in various subcategories of subcultural niches (Hikikomori, Akibakun, Fujoshi), the paradoxical mobility of otaku fans across urban and social infrastructures and the exacerbated “localness” of social relations and media disponibility points at the growing importance of cultural practices in creating visible difference across urban spaces for transparent communities. How can we understand this need to be visualized in urban space while being an invisible pedestrian?

Otaku are pedestrians: Recycling shops, seasonal events, fanzine and walking in Ikebukuro

This section elaborates on media mappings to visualize the mobility of otaku media commodities in East Ikebukuro’s infrastructures. Because the circuits of otaku product circulation are connected with various local media productions, I will stress the importance of fan mobility (walking) as the unification of an urban territory of cultural production. A typology and localization of otaku media commodities in Ikebukuro will be sketched to explore otaku culture as a common intimacy with material space emerging through the transportability of media commodities. I will then explain how the cyclical logic of media circulation has become apparent in the recent history of Ikebukuro to emphasize on otaku phenomenon as mobile practices making sense in social terms of the time and space of local urban infrastructures using cultural production as a goal and a calendar.

Media	Format	Distribution Area	Recycle Area	Connected Events
“Tokuten” limited reservation gifts proposed by distributors to attract clients	Any	Official Distributor Cafés	K books Lashinbang	Fares Official Release Musicals Exhibits
Drama CD Situation CD	Audio plus some images	Stella Worth Animate	K books Lashinbang	Rejet Fest Animate Girls Festival
Books	Manga Magazine Novels	Animate Stella Worth K books Toranoana	K books Mandarake Fromage	Fanzine Events Summer book fares
DVD	Anime Live Events Musicals	Animate Stella Worth	K books Lashinbang	TV release
Accessories Poaches Bracelets Clear files Rubber Straps Acrylic Straps Metallic badges	Plastic Metal	Official Distributors Hand Made shops Game Centers Cafés	K books Lashinbang Caramel Cube Mandarake	Animate Girls Festival Fares Fanzine Events Musical Live and Concerts Lotteries
Dolls Towels	Fabric	Game Centers	K books Lashinbang	Lotteries Crane Games

Figure: Media Commodities in Ikebukuro

Across the various amounts of textual and material specificities of these media commodities, their places and modes of distribution point at three recurring qualities:

otaku media commodities represent a paradoxical mass production of limited, transportable, collectible items. From fanzine to official production, otaku media commodities are limited in number when it comes to a specific object. The majority of Ikebukuro's media commodity circulation is moreover represented by small accessories released as limited-series, lottery items, randomly dispatched collectibles or hand-made products. In the case of mass media production such as books or DVD, official distributors often propose a unique production of reservation gifts (*tokuten*) to artificially recreate a certain rarity of broadly distributed products. The limited access to singular commodities describe a map of ephemeral disponibility across Ikebukuro spotted in specific places: as such, media distribution differentiates various "localities" inside urban infrastructures. On the one hand, the principal aspect of such media commodities is to be present in a specific location during a limited time (Animate café, theatrical release). On the other hand, otaku commodities are portable enough to be transported outside of their originally delimited distribution territory.

Otaku media commodity therefore demonstrates an ambiguous limited ubiquity in the city. Because limited media disponibility is fixed by short schedules, random modes of collection and hyper specific distribution sites, media circulation in cities like Akihabara, Nakano, or Ikebukuro, is characterized by the presence of recycle shops where one can search for particular items outside of official distribution circuits (1). As Map 1 suggests, in the case of Ikebukuro, the vast selection of amateur and official media commodity production induces a dynamic between places of periodic official release (Animate, fanzine event in the Sunshine City) and the recycle shops of Otome-Road (K books). In other words, a single item may draw multiple contexts of (in)direct social interaction when transported across Ikebukuro: one can use Twitter to exchange collectibles sold in Animate in the nearby parks, then resell them in a second hand shop of Otome road before someone else finds them. Therefore, Ikebukuro's media circulation represents an interactive actualization inside urban infrastructures of a shared material environment of transportable media commodities (2).



Official distributors :

1. Animate
2. P. Parco
3. Stella Worth
- 4a. Toranoana (fanzine)
- 4b. Toranoana (girls' shop)
5. Pokémon Center
6. Jump Store

Leisure spots :

18. Taito Station
19. Adores
20. Adores Girls
21. St. Tropez
22. Karaoke no Tetsujin
23. Sunshine Cinema

Recycle shops :

7. Lashinbang Jump
8. Lashinbang Audio
9. Lashinbang Character Goods
10. Mandarake (fanzine)
11. K books (fanzine)
12. K books Characters goods
13. K books Games, CD, DVD
14. K books Musical
15. K books Anime Idols
16. Caramel Cubes (handmade items)
17. Fromage (fanzine)

Coffee shops, event halls :

24. Animate Cafes
25. Anime Plaza
26. Namjatown
27. Sunshine City
28. Parks (official cosplay spots)
29. Swallow Tail
30. Nico Nico Douga

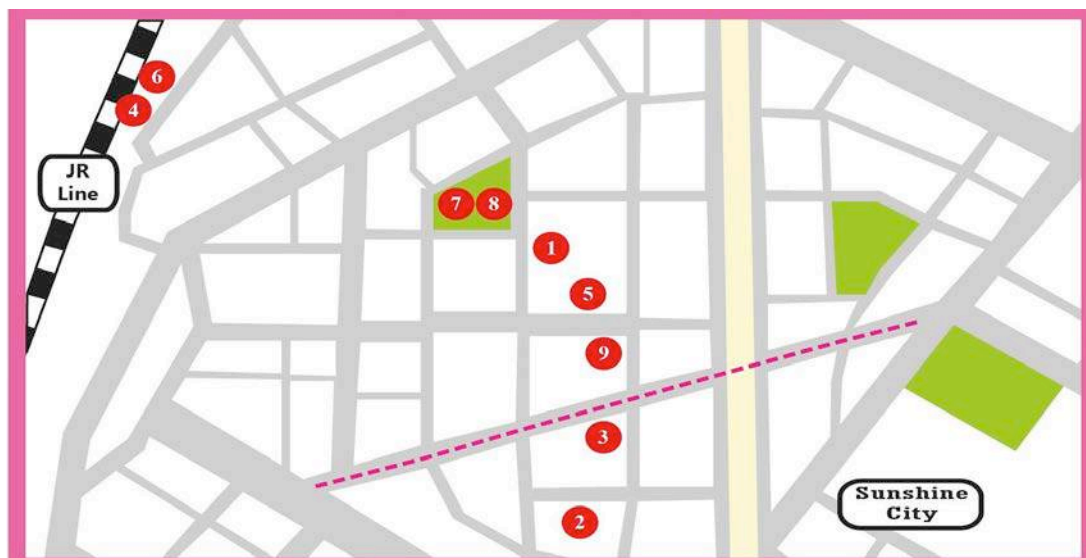
..... Cosplay walking area

Map 1: Infrastructures of media commodity circulation in Otome-Road.

In that regard, media commodity disponibility and transportability highlights “walking” as the unifying logic of an infrastructural network of territories mediated through the consumption, recycling and performance of otaku media. Because such interactions with media commodities polarize different scales of everyday life that can also be traced out of sanctuaries as such, I propose to understand the uses of otaku media commodities as mobile landmarks in cities’ material space, delimiting zones of

specific interactions. Acting as an otaku appears as a way to regulate sociability and intimacy by interacting with the material environment emerging from the circulation of media commodities. As the transportable yet static state of otaku products is associated with hyper-specific infrastructures of cultural performances, fans are embedded in a walking-static dynamics as spectators in theaters, consumers in shops, gourmets in cafés, performers when dancing or singing in a karaoke box, or invisible pedestrians moving across the city.

In other words, walking in Ikebukuro impels navigation tactics in between seasonal “fairs” (promotional events), monthly fanzine and cosplay meetings, and weekly sales in second hand shops. Shops, parks and other leisure spots represent fixed points in East Ikebukuro’s infrastructures colored by a calendar of official and informal “events” announcing a new wave of media commodities to interact with. Walking becomes moreover essential to collect exchange and transport fragments of collections that can be continuously enlarged or resold during successive events. There is therefore a strong bound between the in situ sociability delimited by the consumption of limited (in number, access and occupied space) commodities and the material aspect of transportability of otaku media. As map 2 suggests, the common intimacy with the urban infrastructures of “anime sanctuaries” like Otome-Road comes with the repeated frequentation otaku fans experience during “cultural events” taking place inside the city: the intimate relation to collectible commodities is lived as various group experiences grounded in local infrastructures. “Cultural” events, such as the Reject Festival or Animate Girls Festival, bring a specific temporality into urban infrastructures through cultural production, giving a physical meeting point to a large range of fans from random strangers to preformed social groups.



Rejet Collaboration 2015 in Ikebukuro :

1. Animate: Rejet tokuten distribution Aug. 11th - Sept. 1st
 2. Stella Worth: Rejet bromides (small photos) distribution Aug.
 3. Adores: Rejet badges in crane games Aug.
 4. Rejet Shop (in P.Parco department store): fan letter distribution, limited collection of badges Aug. 15th-31st
 5. Karaoke no Tetsujin: Original Rejet drinks with premium coasters Aug. 8th - Sept. 30th
 6. Rejet Cafe in Nico Cafe: Original Rejet food with premium coasters Aug. 20th - Sept. 30th
 7. Live Stage: Rejet live performance Aug. 15th-16th
 8. "Traditional" Japanese Festival: Limited premium accesories booth Aug. 15th-16th
 9. Bus Tour Anitentokkyu: Roundtrip bus service to the Comic Market with Rejet music and design Aug. 14th-16th
- Rejet Decorations

Map 2: Mapping the infrastructures of Rejet Fest 2015.

How did this logic of events as moments of limited cultural production and social intercourse become a part of Ikebukuro? The origins of media circulation funding the present logic of pedestrian mobility in Ikebukuro started to appear in the mid 1990's with the opening of the first K-books store (a fanzine recycle shop). As the anime paraphernalia distributor Animate was implanted in front of the Sunshine City since 1983, otaku commodities (mostly school accessories) were already present in the neighborhood. The progressive implantation of fanzine and character goods recycle shops next to Animate in the following decade highlights both the expansion of fanzine events hosted in the Sunshine City and the start of anime paraphernalia recycling in Ikebukuro. As it is suggested in Map 1, the cultural practices of recycling content in fanzine and recycling media commodities in recycle shops created a long standing navigation logic in between the JR Station and the Sunshine City: also it used to be a otaku male oriented area, Ikebukuro's otaku communities also possessed a strong female population, sneaking into recycle shops for school accessories and old fanzines, frequenting fanzine events with friends from their school clubs and studying in the nearby Sunshine cram schools. At the beginning of the 2000's, Ikebukuro's female otaku community took over the city with the proliferation of more specialized second hand shops and "only girls" fanzine events. The sanctuarisation of Ikebukuro as "the girl's road" after 2005 results of the accentuation of official and amateur limited production of media commodities during delimited events feeding the circuits of pedestrian mobility and recycled commodity circulation. The latest stage of this local coordination is represented by Map 2 with the promotional campaigns

orchestrated by the conjoined forces of the Toshima prefecture, the local shops association, and fanzine associations (3). This emergence of limited spaces of cultural production matches the definition of subculture in Japan given by Marc Steinberg (2010) as a niche market, niche meaning in the case of Ikebukuro a spatial delimitation of cultural production as a mode of limited sociality inside a restricted urban space (p.1).

As such, Ikebukuro's case affirms the importance of otaku culture as a set of cyclic cultural practices making sense of urban interactions that occurs with the exchanges of transportable commodities operating as a landmarks polarizing specific social interaction between connoisseurs. The interaction of otaku fans with media pushes to the creation of a common infrastructural network of media mobility delimited in limited areas of social interaction: Ikebukuro, Akihabara, Nakano and other small "otaku" cities across Japan all recreate the same media ecosystem functioning as a space of social and media recursivity performed through recycling interactions. The transformation of urban space into "sanctuaries" focused on limited collectible media commodity seems to emerge from a repetitive relationship to urban space building on cities infrastructures to develop a temporality of recursive social interactions between people sharing the same intimacy of material space.

In this section, I mapped Ikebukuro's network of commodity diffusion to examine what is beneath media circulation; revealing under the infrastructural organization of commodity mobility the invisible mobility of fans walking across the city. This displacement of the notion of media mobility as driven by cultural actors that gives media commodities a social value of interaction was described as a localization process of cultural events, highlighting the creation of a common material space through the transformation of urban infrastructures into networks of commodity circulation. But is this form of socio-cultural recursivity a particularity of otaku culture? How can we frame this urban dynamic of circulation inside a wider cultural landscape?

Becoming pedestrian, recovering agency: consumption, cultural events and social transparent visibility

In this section, I confront the notion of subculture often applied to otaku culture with the urban space occupied by otaku media commodity circulation. The aim is to develop a nuanced definition of otaku culture as a subaltern regime of visibility inside urban everyday life.

In her 2012 article, Rie Tadaï points at how cultural production has been used since the late 1990s in different prefectures of Japan to build a cyclical social bond focused on the revaluing of local urban infrastructures (p.157). As the decentralization in 2000 (*Chihô bunkenikkatsuhô*) asked some localities to regain their sovereignty, annual festivities were gradually used as an occasion to occupy urban space (Tadokoro, 2014, p.95). Cultural events therefore make sense of the relative stability of urban infrastructures in terms of particular moments of sociability emerging from cultural production (4). To regain visibility and a sort of self-sufficiency, localities must therefore perform their differences during repeated events of cultural production. In that regard, the otaku case specificity is to be embedded in a high speed calendar of such local "festivities", with urban infrastructures changing their cultural production

depending on the flows of multiple industrial and amateur media production schedules. We nevertheless face the issue of the paradoxical pedestrian ubiquity of otaku culture, occupying more and more urban space and yet still considered as a minor phenomenon. If the notion of subculture in Japan is almost a synonym for “niche market”, how can we make sense of this “invisible” proliferation of a specific intimacy in terms of community visibility and social agency?

The previous section described the particularity of otaku culture as a cyclical relationship with urban infrastructures: otaku cultural events generate differences between urban infrastructures singularized by specific media commodity production and circulation. In that regard, the ‘subcultural’ aspect of otaku culture slightly differs from the shocking texture of subculture described by post-war Subcultural studies. Subculture is often understood as a form of conscious resistance to hegemonic taste, disrupting its codes to create a new order in cultural landscape (Hebidge, 1979). The urban aspect of otaku culture however points at a pedestrian and transparent visibility of media commodity circulation that does not combine with an aggressive definition of subculture. There is therefore a gap between the discourses of Subcultural Studies or Area Studies focusing on otaku culture as a scandalous, hyper-sexualized (if not pornographic) textual production and the materiality of otaku culture that can be observed in mapping its territories. It seems therefore highly reductive to focus on media commodities only as texts. One recurrent understanding of Fan Studies gave by Northern American academics follows the evolution of Henry Jenkins’ work from the conceptualization of fan culture as a textual culture (*Textual Poachers*, 1992) to transmedia narratives converging across media (*Convergence Culture*, 2008). The history of Ikebukuro nevertheless reveals how fan communities also emerge from media circulation as an interactive edification of a common material environment delimiting specific urban territories. Furthermore, the territorial aspect of otaku culture does not fit with the notorious American representation of the subjugated relation of fan culture poaching the industry’s popular texts to communicate: recycling practices of otaku media circulation reveal how otaku culture becomes a milieu, a semi-transparent media-ecology between cultural actors.

Otaku media circulation nevertheless draws a visible ensemble of interconnected urban niche markets. Niche as a “limited” reception, does not intend the same publicity as participation culture or mass culture would. The specificity of the Japanese case is profoundly embedded in the exacerbation of otaku culture as everyday life practices of precise commodity consumption implying limited cultural performances in restricted spaces. Niche as “subculture” therefore intends a small urban space with little publicity. The history of otaku sanctuaries moreover points at the ephemeral installation of niche urban spaces in Tokyo: if Shinjuku, Nakano or Hachijōji used to be important otaku sanctuaries, few of these agglomerations have survived over time. The question of the singularity of a niche territory implies replacing it inside a network of various localities, giving sense to each other because they produce different organizations surrounding the production and circulation of media commodities. In other words, otaku culture differentiates places of circulation inside urban infrastructures, just like a mechanism of geo-localization delimiting regional specificities. In the case of Nakano it is anime antiques, Akihabara is the touristic spot of anime *moe* and electronic products...Ikebukuro on the other hand, is growing as the concentration of various infrastructures inviting pedestrian mobility and fan performances across only shop franchises (Pokemon Center, Jump),

broadcasting channels (NicoNico), performance events and “girls” targeted media commodities such as Boy’s Love fanzine and Otome games. Such a niche is however an ambiguous space growing in affluence when attracting flows of pedestrians while remaining “minor”. The comparison of niche markets eventually happens in pedestrian terms: as every place is singular, they comparatively become a part of an evident landscape.

This emergence of a network of limited territories inside the national cultural landscape is furthermore crucial to speak about recent otaku culture: what does it mean to be visible but pedestrian for a niche community? As French sociologist Michel Maffesoli (2000) elaborated on the amount of “energy” social groups need to produce in order to perpetuate their existence, he concluded that most communities “barely” produce the strength to assure their survival (p.38). The repetition of recycling and cyclical practices demonstrates how cultural production and commodity circulation has become a tool to generate this social energy in and across otaku sanctuaries. In other words, otaku social recursivity emerges from media recycling as a limited action inside an intimate territory. As otaku media commodities draw up a cartography of various direct and indirect zones of interaction and intimacy shared through their exchange, they also tend to federate a recognizable and tolerated mode of consumption: otaku culture became a “pedestrian” culture, in between urban areas and a “pedestrian”, a common part of the landscape.

If we however take “the” otaku identity roughly intended as a fixed subcultural subject, it rapidly crumbles under the multiplicity of times and spaces when a person “acts” as an otaku. In that regard, otaku agency becomes ambiguous because it is always in flux and in-between communities, places and media: it is somehow visible as it takes place inside cities, and invisible because it tends to become pedestrian and anonymous enough to be a normative part of the landscape. This visible transparency of otaku culture has historically rose from the enlargement of the intimate material space of otaku media commodities presence in cities: as a discriminated subculture in the late 1990’s otaku culture struggled to find its acceptance as a market in Japan’s cultural landscape (Otsuka, 1990, p.41). The shift of the mid 2000’s emergent otaku niche market did however characterize otaku agency as an *infrapolitical* public (Scott, 1979) not acting to change a specific social sphere but acting to be recognized a part of Japan. In that regard, the largest fanzine convention (Comic Market) editorials started to respond to censorship, pedophilia accusations, and other discriminations, by referring to fanzine events as “*matsuri*”, using the connotation of the term “festival” as a recurrent, non dangerous annual practice (5). This lexical rapprochement of otaku events with local festivities foretells how grounding cultural production inside urban infrastructures and a cyclical calendar delimited the fan communities as minor threats. Otaku events started to draw limited yet repeated occupations of urban space that were enough self-regulated and economically beneficent enough to be normalized. Using the interconnected small windows proposed by dispatched urban infrastructures, otaku culture became pedestrian as a movement connecting urban space and as a landscape of cultural commodities. In conclusion, the limited exception of otaku festivities emerging from limited media production and circulation eventually gave birth to an everyday routine.

As such, otaku agency appears as an ambivalent subaltern position inside urban space. In her book, “*Unlearning the City*”, Chattopadhyay Swati (2012) investigates urban

infrastructures as spaces of public performance while resisting against deterministic definitions of infrastructures as structures delimiting human action in social stasis. Chattopadhyay therefore defines subalternity as tactics of occupying urban infrastructures to leave visible traces of infrapolitical formations while remaining invisible. The recent development of otaku culture somehow reminds of her analysis of street art and cricket in India (p.52): it occupies urban space in visible ways and yet stays sufficiently pedestrian and ephemeral to give privacy to its participant. According to Chattopadhyay, subalternity is a material place inside hegemony (understood as the structures of infrastructures) but where social mobility is elsewhere because subaltern agency does not fit the visual regime of political representations. The otaku case nevertheless slightly differs from Chattopadhyay's work because its subcultural aspect as a niche demands a specific territorial visibility in order to become an accountable form of market, building visual regime inside a space usually understood either as neutral or hegemonic. The complexity of the otaku agency relies on its dependence on specific urban infrastructures monopolized by transportable commodities. As such, otaku fanzine and commodity circulation as a practice is fighting neither against the hegemony of industrial copyright nor for a specific community's rights. It is the practice of a limited public, using urban infrastructures in order to exist in hegemony with the synergic power of recycling and cyclical practices invading the pedestrian space of urban everyday life.

The questions of otaku pedestrianity moreover transcend the academic epistemology of walking inspired from Michel De Certeau (1990) with notions of poaching as trespassing: if walking in between events tends to be an invisible pedestrian action, it is also delimiting a recognizable market place translating infrapolitical agencies into consumer agency. Ikebukuro became a sanctuary because it gave visibility to fluid communities occupying urban space through various cultural practices of media commodity circulation and therefore offered an ecological feedback to segmented industries. If Chattopadhyay's demonstration reminds us of how cultural practices are a negotiation in between power structures and everyday life, the otaku festivities reminds us how cultural practices reunite social energies in making sense of a specific place as a space of visible interaction. Future researches on otaku culture need to develop a vocabulary of media mobility that reminds of its pedestrian complexity. As the "environmental" tendency of otaku culture continues to expand, the gaps between images based commodities become a spatial distance that has to be understood as social, economical and therefore political interactions.

Conclusion: Methods in between mobility and stasis, pedestrians

Behind visibility as a method of the enquiry of mobility lies the question of what is unseen when we focus on anime as a vertical cultural production determined by the techniques of animation. As such, the walking mobility of otaku pedestrians delimits blurred moments of subjectivity in between various social places where people gather to enter in interaction with otaku media commodities. Breaking the static characteristics of subcultural groups as a mode of (mainly textual) representation demands seeing the material circulation in between the colorful images of animation. The media mapping of urban infrastructures mobilized by the cultural practices of collectible sociability nevertheless opens another questioning about power structures of sight and stasis because urban infrastructures are mostly understood as clusters for

community regulation and planning. The ambivalence of otaku culture then emerges from the media circulation observed in cities like Ikebukuro: the mobility of media commodities inside urban space highlights the co-penetration of technological, urban and economic structures of industrial institutions with the transportability and intimacy of invisible pedestrians occupying a subaltern place paradoxically inside and outside of the economics of mobile media. Therefore, I would argue that it is pedestrian but crucial to think of otaku culture as a technological milieu of transportable media commodities with its communication practices, rituals and interactions. If thinking of otakus as people interacting with each other through cultural practices is fundamental to reach divergent definitions of media mobility, outside of the pre-delimited authorship and official agency drawn by anime as a technology, it is also important to consider how otaku is a non exclusive form of subjectivity taking place in a specific context of social interactions polarized by transportable media commodities. The notion of mobility applied to otaku culture has to be “environmentalized” from its history of the normalization of fan practices as it becomes a part of various local niche media ecosystem, to the political representation of its community walking across zones of visible and invisible agency. Because otaku culture is a set of static and mobile contradictions, mass yet pedestrian, local yet everywhere, rare yet ubiquitous, we need to take a closer look at the relations of material space to transportable commodities to unravel larger questions about the formation of communities of cultural practices and their imbrications in concrete spaces of everyday life.

1 The intimacy with one particular object in a collection is indeed heavily linked to famous characters. I however insisted on the randomization of commodity disponibility through blind packages and lotteries to reveal how the limitations of official circulation induce fan mobility in the city and exacerbate second hand circulation. The transformation of distribution practices into localized events and the inflation of *tokuten* and collectibles seems like a heavier argument that the presence of characters to explain the pedestrian aspect of fan mobility.

2 Most shops are well aware of the pedestrianity of their customers and actively build relationships to federate “tour” logics in between official distributors and recycle shops with collection or bag decoration contests.

3 Recent “fairs” mobilizes all of the different levels of official and fan organization as the Rejet Summer Matsuri 2015. The most influent event is however Animate’s AGF.

4 In Tadai’s article both commodity production and cultural performances such as dancing and acting are described as cultural production; another possible mapping of otaku practices could be focused on such ephemeral practices of cosplay and performances.

5 The term is heavily stressed from Comic Market 81 Pamphlet of December 2011.

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***Human Traffic: The Fashionably and Unfashionably Marginalized
in the Korean Cultural Context***

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Abstract

This article will propose the novel terms ‘fashionably marginalized’ and ‘unfashionably marginalized’ to outline particular limits of description in cultural studies (broadly defined) of topics that are more easily and less easily discussed through the predominant vocabulary of the Humanities. This is not an attack on the aims of cultural studies and theorists. Instead, it will help to identify marginalized groups whose cause and advocacy require more consilient, interdisciplinary involvement to intersect public policy, theoretical discourse and media coverage in order to assist or give voice to groups of people who themselves may not have the means or wherewithal to address their own plight in the public sphere. We will outline the case of Korean elderly recycling collectors and how the academy has largely ignored them, despite these people being a significant percentage of the Korean population, and then we will contrast this with two other marginalized groups, Korean shamans and the LGBT community, groups which the academy has paid much more attention to, despite being smaller demographics. We will use these contrasting groups as unfashionably and fashionably marginalized examples. We hope to demonstrate how the adoption of cultural theory’s vocabulary in the Korean academy illustrates areas where cultural theory may fall short of its proposed goals as a symptom of the broader tendency in the Humanities.

Keywords: marginalization, Korea, cultural theory, policy, recycling
Word count, main body: 5047

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“Estimate of the value of any proposed policy is held back by taking the problem as if it were one of individual ‘forces on one side and of social forces on the other, the nature of the forces being known in advance. We must start from another set of premises if we are to put the problem of freedom in the context where it belongs”

John Dewey, 1939, ‘Culture and Human Nature’

Part I

In Seoul, you see the figures moving through the busy streets, backs bent and angled like question marks, pulling carts by hand, carts piled with cardboard and Styrofoam and plastic, recyclable odds and ends. These carts are pulled by the elderly most of whom are of retirement age, near it, or far past it and amid the busy rush of traffic they seem echoes of the past, of a harder and antiquated way of life. The elderly citizens of Korea, having endured a war in their childhood, and then years under a dictatorial regime, emerged in the 1980s with democracy and the promises that such a government brings, but the means of social change and safety were never fully established, and now, many of Korea’s elderly population find themselves precariously close to total poverty, their meager monthly pensions barely able to cover the most menial costs of food, shelter, water, electricity. Many of these people have been forced back into work, despite being over retirement age, collecting recyclable materials among the trash all around Seoul. It is estimated that there are approximately 1,7500,000 trash collectors in Korea, mostly composed of the elderly over the age of 65 (Koo).¹ Since there are no direct statistics on the recycling collectors (this number is estimated from the number of neighborhood recycling centers by an NGO), the percentage of the elderly currently engaged in this activity could be between 15 and 35%, which is approximately 3.5% of the total population. The number of people over the age of 50 who are working and/or applying for jobs in 2015 surpassed 10 million individuals, with a third of retirement age individuals working in manual labor (Cho Sang Hee). Seeing that the poverty rate among the elderly above 65 is 49% –the highest rate among OECD countries (Koo)- it is not surprising to see them in need of extra income, and they are very often reduced to spending their days working, hunting around the city for recyclable materials, for which they make the equivalent of a couple hundred dollars a month (Um). In 2010 when digital media overtook pulp printing, these recyclers lost the vast majority of their possible revenue in the form of paper recycling. Since then, their wages have declined and no strong governmental support has been offered to offset any potential loss. In fact, many of these elderly people, cut off from their families for whatever reason, are still considered under the care of these families with whom they have no contact, and thus are often disqualified from further governmental assistance (Lee Yena).

Seeing that such a large number of elderly citizens live on the edge of total poverty, it should be reasonable to expect that this issue has been taken up by the political and academic communities, as well as the news media. Preliminary research into the recycling collectors in Korea led to several news articles and some policy debate, with several online articles in English cited in the previous paragraph. However, the topic had been totally ignored by academics in the Humanities. Searches among databases turned up only a few policy debates in particular journals (to be discussed later), and no articles on the subject from the perspective of the Humanities in cultural

studies.¹ Considering the large percentage of the population that these recycling collectors constitute, the lack of attention by the academy and cultural studies came as a surprise. Simply walking around Seoul in any district, one will find these people, nearly all past retirement age, pulling carts as if they were no more than a dray horse, and with no more dignity or concern given them than a horse might receive. How could the larger academic community somehow be blind to this issue? If the general aim of cultural studies is to give voice to those marginalized communities lacking discourse in the collective consciousness, then how have they failed to even mention these elderly citizens who have endured more than should be asked of any group and who are still subject to indignities one might expect of a third world nation, not one of the most educated, sophisticated and prosperous countries on the planet?

The answer to these questions is manifold. One reason that the elderly recyclers have been unfashionably marginalized by the Korean academy is that their identity is not abstractable into linguistic components or definitions. This linguistic move has loomed large over philosophy and cultural theory in the twentieth century, but has taken more and more radical turns in the past 40 years with the ascendancy of postmodernist and poststructuralist debates in the academy and in the Humanities. To address the socio-economic status of a marginalized elderly population as a function of policy failure requires a much more consilient plan for action, one that draws on theory, policy and news media actively. To return to Dewey's prescient essay from 75 years ago, he says:

Were it not for the inertia of habit (which applies to opinion as well as to overt acts) it would be astonishing to find today writers who are well acquainted with the procedure of physical science and yet appeal to 'forces in explanation of human social phenomena ... [These authors] know that reference to electricity or heat, etc., is but a shorthand reference to relations between events which have been established by investigation of actual occurrences. But in the field of social phenomena they do not hesitate to explain concrete phenomena by reference to motives as forces (such as love of power), although these so-called forces are but reduplication, in the medium of abstract words, of the very phenomena to be explained. (685)

When the discourse about any marginalized group remains abstract or subject to forms of linguistic reduplication that dismisses other social forces as contingent or irrelevant then what may result is a situation like the elderly in Korea. Replace Dewey's 'motives of forces (such as love of power)' with any spotlight word (privilege, *différance*, discursive practices, the Big Other) in cultural theory of the past 30-40 years and it is indefinitely reduplicable. One cannot abstractly redefine what poverty is and what it does, especially from a critical cultural perspective. For example, the Humanities in Korea have been importing the language of cultural theory since the late 1980s. The general vocabulary, being relatively new there, has found a wide range of applications as an analytical and critical tool for examining literature and culture. Though mostly rebranded in America (for the lately more fashionable vocabulary of Foucault), the vocabulary of theorists like Derrida and Lacan and their disciples have found new audiences in the Korean academy. Papers published recently in Korea attest to this, often doing little more than explaining Lacanian concepts in relation to general cultural concepts. The vocabulary of Theory

¹ Cultural studies and cultural theory as labels will be used interchangeably along with 'Theory'.

has suffused much of the discussion in the Korean academy and has provided much in the way of academic jobs without providing much in the way of actualizing social or political change. Just this year in the Korean governmental elections, there was a large debate about an Anti-Discrimination Act that would outlaw discrimination against individuals based on their gender, sexual orientation, or political affiliation. What was most surprising is that there was almost complete agreement on both sides of the normal political divisions of conservative and liberal to not pass this bill. On either the conservative or liberal sides of the government, 81.7% of the National Assembly members were affiliated with parties directly against the anti-discrimination legislation (Paek). That such uniformity exists in support of active discrimination against vulnerable groups and minorities is symptomatic of deep social divides. Of course, marginalized groups in any culture and society actively need champions who can give them a voice in larger cultural and political arenas, but that support for the LGBT community & the elderly is notably lacking in Korean politics, despite the former being fashionably marginalized and the other being unfashionably marginalized. What should be a large and vigorous debate between political activism on one hand and the academy on the other through the news media and journals has not even risen to the level of discourse in the political arena because the language spoken by each group is not a vocabulary compatible with the others.

To be fashionably marginalized is to be part of a marginalized group whose identity may be rendered into linguistic terms, into those 'motives as forces'. Here, we do not mean that such groups are more or less entitled to all forms of dignity, fairness before the law and equality of representation. Rather, we mean that certain groups will, by the very nature of their plight, be more amenable to cultural theory's methods and approach, while others will be less approachable, and thus will become unfashionably marginalized. Again, this does not mean that fashionably marginalized groups somehow have less claim to equality or that cultural theory (broadly) is somehow to blame for ignoring those unfashionably marginalized. Much good has come of cultural theory, especially in the way of applied education, dissemination of cultural practices and their overlaps with other cultures, and with the growing acceptance of gay rights. The questions that need to be asked, however, "are questions that demand discussion of cultural conditions, conditions of science, art morals, religion, education and industry, so as to discover which of them in actuality promote and which retard the development of the native constituents of human nature" (Dewey 1939/1981, 686). To cloak issues in generally slippery language that will morph later into another term or phrase with a related referent and valence may serve certain issues and needs, but this methodology will not cover the wide gamut of injustice done to voiceless.

We put forth these two terms: the fashionably marginalized and the unfashionably marginalized. Our critique is meant to fit locally on one particular issue –the elderly recycling collectors- in contrast with other marginalized groups, such as those more easily framed in the social constructivist debate. We see this failure of the academy in Korea paralleled with earlier debates in, for example, the American academy. An essay from 1996 by Richard Rorty describes this loss of hope and loss of agential relation. He frames his debate about 'philosophy' here to mean the sterilizing turn in the Academy toward language and away from the possible building of a Utopic vocabulary of inclusion and fairness. Rorty says:

I think this turn toward philosophy is likely to be politically sterile. When it comes to political deliberation, philosophy is a good servant, but a bad master. If one knows what one wants and has some hope of getting it, philosophy can be useful in formulating redescriptions of social phenomena. The appropriation of these redescriptions, and of the jargon in which they are formulated, may speed up the pace of social change. But I think we are now in a situation in which resentment and frustration have taken the place of hope among politically concerned intellectuals, and that the replacement of narrative by philosophy is a symptom of this unhappy situation. ('Globalization, the Politics of Identity and Social Hope' 1999, 232)

It is precisely this intellectual abandonment identified by Rorty 20 years ago that has led to increasing disparities in the American cultural and political lives. On one hand, gay rights and more talk of egalitarian ways of life have increased, but so too have corporate rights, plutocracy and moneyed interests' clear sway over policy and law become entrenched political realities. Moving back to Korea, this disparity between the fashionably marginalized and the unfashionably marginalized, may well lead to some progressive change, as we certainly hope it will. But, it also creates vast chasms of attention on very real and very large subsets of the population that desperately need help, attention and a voice, both from intellectuals and policy makers. The elderly recycling collectors are not the only group like this in Korea, but they are symptomatic of the problem we identify in the academy.

Part of the problem on the academic left and the use of theory, at least considered in general, is the issue of praxis. Because cultural theory focuses primarily on language and grants agency to the 'motives of forces', as Dewey noted earlier, very often there is a wide gulf between praxis (or practicable application) and the articles and books that crop up decrying the lack of public action in regards to inequality or injustice. Roger Scruton has outlined the failures of many of the principle theorists of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, often coming down on this same issue again and again, namely, that of praxis. He says of the failure of liberal academics and theorists, "Occasional lip service is paid to a future state of 'emancipation', 'equality' or 'social justice'. But those terms are seldom lifted out of the realm of abstractions, or subjected to serious examination. They are not, as a rule, used to describe an imagined social order that their advocates are prepared to justify ... It is as though the abstract ideal has been chosen precisely so that nothing actual could embody it" (273). Scruton's own politics notwithstanding, his pronouncement here reiterates what Dewey saw in 1939 that lacking a viable praxis, theory alone does little except to reduplicate abstractions and redefine terms without realigning the social, cultural and political conditions that create them. Certainly, as in the case of the Korean elderly recyclers, a marginalized group may have millions of individuals. Or another group may have but a few. Numbers alone should never be designators for public and civic attention. The Korean academy's silence on the recycling collectors is certainly a complex interrelation of causes, but that silence may well be due to the adoption of the language and methods of cultural studies, making these vulnerable elderly unfashionably marginalized.

Part II

At a more general level, this article addresses the incongruity born when cultural theory is introduced to different cultural realities as an abstracted discourse, irrespective of that culture's specific socio-political contexts. To inspect the full gamut of Korea's contexts is a task that extends well beyond the aim and capacity of the current project. Yet, to simply hedge the paper around a preliminary discussion and wait for a larger audience to heuristically respond to the questions raised in this article—that would be to repeat the fallacy the paper initially sought to tackle. This is why we attempt to delineate, albeit in broad strokes, some of the pressing domestic circumstances that have eluded the abstraction of theory, thereby addressing the difficulties that any society will face in integrating abstract theoretical systems to the specificities of its time and place. This is similar to the task that Meera Nanda (2003) took up in her book *Prophets Facing Backward*, wherein she outlines how the Indian Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has conveniently appropriated post-modern critiques of “scientific objectivity” since the 90s to revive Hindu nationalism. As a result, the social relativist movements of the West in the mid 20th century that challenged “any claim of autonomy or the self-grounding of science” (p. 22) ended up serving the ideological basis for obscurantism and anti-realism by late 20th century India. While this paper does not purport to match either the scope or the methodological rigor of Nanda's project, it certainly shares in its spirit and concerns.

A good point to begin with is the historical context of Korea's rapid industrialization from the 60s onward. Over the span of thirty years (1960-1990), the real GDP of this war-torn nation jumped from 3.89 billion US dollars to 263 billion (Nation Master). The fact that the period of Korea's highest economic growth coincides with the nation's two most notorious dictatorships leads to a rather uneasy acknowledgment that higher education in the country itself was in part only possible through a highly hierarchical, Confucian, and totalitarian culture as its fuel. As Seungsook Moon (2005) points out, post-colonial Korea in the mid 50s was faced with the two-fold demands of modern democracy and militarization, the combination of which would eventually lead to the paradox mentioned above. On the one hand, the national narrative of modernity was heavily indebted to the ideals of “a strong military and high productivity.....that conservative nationalist leaders of the Chosun Dynasty had imagined at the end of the nineteenth century” (p. 2). This militaristic and authoritarian state narrative found historical justification in the persisting threat of North Korea from the 1950s until the current day (p. 9).

Such historical circumstances of the mid-to-late 20th century is one of the factors responsible for Korea's ongoing generational tension, in which the political and social demands that the younger generation makes—such as gender equality, a post-patriarchal social structure, or fair working hours—are often seen as a denial of the virtues and the sacrifice that the older generation thinks even made possible the emergence of such discontents in the first place. Jae-Heung Park (2010), in his article on Korea's generational conflict, discusses the sharp discrepancy between Korea's birth cohorts of the 60s, 70s, and 80s. Those born in the 60s were the “standard-bearers of Korea's democratization movement that culminated in the recovering of the direct presidential election system in 1987” (p. 87, translation ours). Their epoch marks the watershed of Korea's modernization that led to the birth cohorts of the 70s,

which Park summarizes as an era of “economic growth, post-ideology, post-cold war, globalization and information” (p. 87).

The rather fantastic and disturbing consequence of Korea’s hyper-express modernization is that it took only a decade for the next cohort to reap the tumultuous and blood-ridden sacrifice of the previous decade. When the historical transformations from one decade to the next is as drastic as to bar a common ground of experience between different generations, it is not all too surprising that intellectual liberalism runs the risk of coming across as a form of ingratitude. On top of that, Korea’s ethnical homogeneity and the industrial mass-mobilization of the 60s and 70s allowed modernizing Korea to overlook discourses of diversity or equality in favor of a linear sense of progress. As NPR brought up in a recent article, immigration is still a relatively new concept in the country. Foreigners make up about three percent of the population and can be legally barred from bars or restaurants, as there is no anti-discrimination laws to protect them against such measures (Hu, 2016).

The Crisis of the Fashionably Marginalized

These are some of the wider historical circumstances that we believe have contributed to the current gap between Korea’s academic (theoretical, to be more precise) and political scene. On the one hand is a political culture increasingly aware of problems of inequality that have been overlooked until now—problems that are often first acknowledged and promulgated by intellectual liberals—but a culture ill-equipped with a language to address those very issues. Throughout the debate over the Anti-Discrimination Act, the majority of the political sector coached its hostility against religious/sexual minorities in an overtly eschatological language,ⁱⁱ the psychological subtext of which does not seem too far off from the fears and anxieties underlying popular zombie/virus apocalypse films.

Against this milieu, an article was published by one of Korea’s most influential LGBTI rights organization that identified the opponents’ militant hostility to same-sex intercourse as a “repulsion against the anal, which occupies the position of the abject as an excretory organ” (Kim, 2015, p. 34, translation ours). Another article from the web magazine “너랑 나랑 우리랑 (You, Me, and We)” examined the controversy surrounding exhibitionism in Korea’s annual gay parades, advocating it as “a political commitment before an erotic statement, as a questioning of the criteria that dictates which body is obscene and which is not” (Woong, 2014, pg. 15, translation ours). Both articles addressed one of the most sensitive agendas surrounding the promotion of sexual minorities in Korea, i.e., the ideological and rhetorical coupling of the subject-hood of sexual minorities and their sexual experience. As interesting as the overall contents may be, the language employed in both cases only serves to overlook the more important contextual causes that fuel the crisis, such as the socio-political dominance of radical Christians in Korea, or the popular rhetoric that often pairs homosexuality with the ideas of sexual excess, hedonism, or even a pathological inability to restrain oneself.

I do not want to misrepresent the overall current of the LGBT debate in Korea. Their struggle has been persistent and surprisingly non-violent in the face of a conservative Christian society that will not hold back from condemning them to ‘hell fire’. However, so far as the question of language constitutes the question of strategy, there

is a need for the discourse to speak in a language that at least partially overlaps with that of the dominant political power. That is, there should be more talk about the political pressure from Christian fundamentalist groups, the discrepancy of language between younger and older generations, or the collision of a secular and religious culture. All of these require a concrete contextualization of an abstract theoretical platform. Such attempts are not absent, but they certainly could be more visible.

The injection of a new social language is integral to any social change, and Korea is much in need of it. But for better or for worse, the burden of social reconciliation falls on the reformers, as those who opt for the status quo will seldom venture to move outside the circuits of their own language. They have no need to. The grace of change will largely depend on the ability of the former to acknowledge the sacrifice of their previous generation and the values that allowed for such commitment. Only then will it be possible for the latter to recognize a better world that owes its existence to their sacrifice, and is now capable of extending its betterness and grace to those that had no place in the language of the previous epoch.

The Crisis of the Unfashionably Marginalized

From the point of the academic culture, the language of theory abstracted outside specific contexts has been disproportionately oriented towards subaltern crises that *can* be theoretically or linguistically disentangled. The upside is that Korea is becoming a country much more sensitive to language, with cultural theory lending an important and strategic voice to certain socio-political exigencies that Korea faces at the moment. From the early 90s, for example, the Korean society campaigned for the word “장애우(jangaewoo: a disabled friend)” as a new term to refer to a disabled person, instead of the conventional “장애인(jangaein: a disabled person)”. It was only in the early 2000s that the society as whole came to acknowledge the highly problematic implications of the substitute, that the term can never be used by a disabled person to refer to himself/herself.ⁱⁱⁱ

However, this increased awareness of language, coupled with a digitally overloaded society, is creating a culture more obsessed with being politically correct than looking at the deeper socio-economic injustices that require an institutional and political change. It has been eight years since the enforcement of the Disability Discrimination Act, but the number of relevant petitions against discrimination and human rights abuse has only been steadily increasing (Kim Dong Kyu, 2016). Telling someone to get their language straight is certainly easier than asking what political and social changes can be made to alleviate their conditions. Socially disenfranchised groups whose crisis cannot be solved in a “linguistic mode” tend to be pushed away for either politics or social welfare to deal with. Cultural theory in itself is not to blame for this, but it may stem from the combination of its appeal to social theorists who are solely interested in fashionable crises, the reign of the SNS culture as the modern day language police, and intellectual/civic laziness in general.

The predicament of the recycling collectors is not linguistically resolvable and requires nothing short of an extensive welfare reform. Their circumstances turned for worse when the cost of paper waste plummeted in the early 2000s, aggravated by the repeated price rigging by paper companies and the governmental indifference to such cartels (Yoo, 2015). The complexities are further heightened by the fact that the

government still has to make up its mind on how to restructure the recycling industry. As of now, it is sustained by an implicit truce between the government and the mostly illegal recycling centers at the bottom of the industry's pyramid. (Lee [Eutteum Recycling Center], Interview, April 14, 2016).

Given the socio-economic context behind the crisis of the trash collectors, it is not difficult to guess why the cultural theorists haven't been too eager to address this particular social group, whose visibility and omni-presence in Korea's urban settings should have merited them more academic attention as a metropolitan "subaltern" group. University databases yield a single article directly relevant to their cause, published in 2011 in a social welfare studies journal (Lee Bong Hwa, 2011). A similar example is the solitary elderlies—a group of elderlies that live alone in Korea, often located at what is known as the welfare blind spots. Over a million people that subsist below the poverty threshold are excluded from financial assistances, due to an anachronistic provision of Korea's Basic Living Security Act that makes it difficult for those with a lineal relative to receive governmental assistances. (Cho Kyung Wook 2014; Ministry of Health and Welfare). Elderlies that have been long out of contact with their family members are therefore non-eligible as recipients. Their issue is almost exclusively dealt with in applied sociologies, that has already formed a hermetic culture with its chain of references that do not extend beyond particular journals specializing in welfare policies.^{iv}

It is not the favoring of one marginalized subject over the other that is problematic, but the rising trend of cultural theory that runs the risk of furthering the incommunicability between different social sectors and academic disciplines, and pushing its existence out of socio-political relevance. To be fair, Korea's academic culture has not yet reached the same degree of crisis (pushing aside its other vices) that American academia has been diagnosed with in the 90s by writers such as Edward O. Wilson in his book *Consilience* (196-259). That is to say, it is still reversible. Korea is at a critical juncture at the moment, where the issues of gender, racial, economic, and social inequality are dealt in a multiple strata of language that seem incapable of converging. The chasm exists not only between the political and the academic culture, but also between the more theoretical and the applied of sociologies.

I would like to briefly introduce the case of Korean shamans here, for a side project on shamanism has yielded an appurtenant point of reference for the current discussion, both as a potential subject of the fashionably marginalized and as an instance of the crossroad that Korean academics finds itself at the moment. I say potential, for the domestic discussion on shamanism is, as of yet, neither popular nor asymmetrically theoretical. Yet, the noticeable disparity between the (older) domestic and (newer) international discourse on the subject suggests a different future. The Korean shamans are predominately female and occupy an interesting place in the country's cultural fabric. Their domestic discussion, however, tends to cluster around a handful of sociological journals dedicated to the aim of preserving local shamanistic traditions. Most of the articles focus on the shamans as the practitioners of local traditions, discussing the specific rituals and theologies behind the shamans of different regional backgrounds. With the exception of a few that incorporates anthropological giants such as Claude Levi-Strauss, the overall scholarly discussion is devoid of a wider theoretical framework.

The international discourse (composed of Korean scholars writing in English, usually with a graduate background in the US) shows a marked contrast. Already from titles such as “The Mudang: Gendered Discourses on Shamanism in Colonial Korea” or “Shamanism in Korean Hamlets since 1990: Exorcising Han”, one witnesses the shift from descriptive-oriented studies of local tradition to theory-oriented studies of identity. The disparity is suggestive of what would happen once Korea’s cultural analysts turn their eyes towards this fertile ground for theoretical abstraction, or when there is a wider interest and demand from the international audience. The patent contrast between the domestic and international articles seem to foreshadow the crisis of incommunication that has already befallen other discussions of the fashionably marginalized.

It is neither feasible nor compelling to argue that social studies or cultural studies should take it upon itself to tackle an issue from all conceivable angles. A good starting point, however, would be to increase the number of journals with a more conciliated vision, instead of encouraging different academic disciplines to submerge themselves into small islands of professional territories. What should be encouraged is not necessarily a polymathic academic culture, but rather the understanding that the mutual indifference between the theoretical and applied studies can only be sustained at the expense of certain social groups whose crisis cannot be successfully integrated to either paradigm. And this is a suggestion perhaps most imminent to cultural theorists, whose most compelling contribution has been the insight that the structural condition of any discourse involves the exclusion of those who precariously exist at the fringe of that very discourse.

When Noam Chomsky (2006) spoke of intellectual progress as articulating a “clearly formulated, abstract theory which will have empirical consequences” (p. 13), he was speaking more or less in the context of the history of science. But it is certainly a relevant question for anyone whose aim is to outline the very margins of a society—i.e., what are the empirical consequences of my task? If an article that brings to light the conditions of disenfranchisement has no empirical consequences of challenging those very conditions, then its mission must be renegotiated as being infinitely more pertinent to itself than its avowed subject. Even the hope that a discussion will trigger a societal change of perception requires the existence of someone else to be that change; and the primary concern of this article is that the current breach across different social sectors may very well prevent that someone from understanding which language you are speaking in and whose cause you are speaking for.^v As this article was written in the name of that hope, the weight of the concern is meant to fall most heavily on itself.

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ⁱ Coote places this number at 1.4 million while Um places it closer to 2 million.

ⁱⁱ The 2016 election campaign flooded with comments such as that “homosexuality is the strategical temptation of the Antichrist and the heretics”(Lee Jee Hee, 2016) or that “the infiltration of Islam and homosexuality will dismantle the Kingdom of God” (Noh, 2016).

ⁱⁱⁱ Even up to 2002, an official middle-school textbook will refer to 장애우 (jangaewoo) as the proper designation for disabled people, laying out the chronological evolution of Korea’s “political correctness” that finally culminated in this term. (Son, 2002).

^{iv} Law enforcers Seong Jo Yang and In Soon Nam recently (June, 2016) hosted a panel discussion on Korea’s Basic Living Security Act, inviting law enforcers, legal experts, and professors with a legal or cultural studies background to discuss the matter. It is a positive example of an integrated discussion on social policies that should be more encouraged. (Gongam Human Rights Law Foundation)

^v Foucault, in 1971, identified the “real political task” as criticizing the seemingly neutral and apolitical operation of institutions through which political violence “has always exercised itself obscurely” (Chomsky and Foucault, 2006, p. 41). This article by no means disputes the validity of such tasks; only that a criticism written in a language as obscure as the political mechanism of the selfsame institutions easily defeats its own goal.

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 concentric, slightly offset arcs. The outer arc is a light blue color, and the inner arc is a light red color, creating a ring-like effect around the text.



Hidden Biases of Cultural Schema

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Abstract

Communicating efficiently involves having an assumed set of knowledge underpinned by a learned system of cultural values, or what can be called cultural schemata. The American cultural self, for instance, is underpinned with the schemata of existentialism, individualism and competition. Schemata create hidden biases in the way we behave, make decisions and judgements. Most often, it greatly aids in the communication and interpretation processes by allowing us to simplify and predict others' behavior. However, in cross-cultural context, schema based interpretations can be problematic and may have long term repercussions. The aim of this short paper is to present and discuss the author's research of how cultural schemata are formed and cause hidden biases that are in turn used to interpret behavior in different ways leading to both recognized and unrecognized cross-cultural friction.

Keywords: Culture, Schema, Bias, cross-cultural, communication, misunderstanding

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1.0 Introduction

How we understand the world and the assumptions we make about it are the product of “received wisdom” of what we have learned from elders, social groups or media (Robbins, 2014). The point that stands out is that much of this type of received wisdom is readily accepted as being true despite the fact we have not experienced it first hand. In order to make sense of the complex web of information threatening to overload our senses, we need to continuously classify, organize and simplify in order to function efficiently. If the context of communication interaction is less known, the simplification process becomes even more important and we become more reliant on our received wisdom to understand events in our daily life. This is why biases, such as assimilation bias, occur where we try to fit what is happening in the real world with our learned point of view. Our values and norms are strongly underpinned by received wisdom giving a long-term stability to national culture despite the dynamic nature of cultural adaptability, which gives us the capability of “getting by” in unfamiliar cultural contexts.

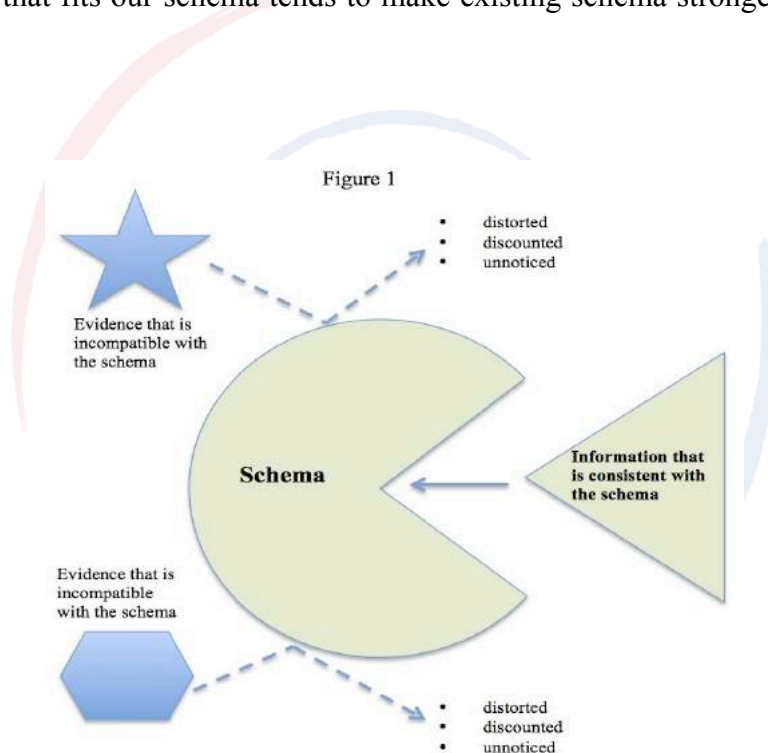
The way we construct the meaning of things in our lives is heavily influenced by things such as nationality, social identity and the physical geography of where we live or were raised. Issues that some people in one place accept as unproblematic and acceptable are considered completely unacceptable and wrong in others. What is it that causes these differences in viewpoint and interpretation? Why can two people from different places see the same thing but have a different interpretation of it? A starting point to begin answering this question is geography. Geography is the foundation that fosters the formation of a shared culture of traditions, norms and values among a community. Culture, defined as a system of learned meanings shared by a community, as a manifestation of geography of living space and social interaction, is the root of how we learn to find meaning in symbols, sounds and behavior.

Yet, we tend to ignore or underestimate the affect that cultural norms and values can have in our daily lives and much less so when interacting with different cultures. Banaji and Greenwald (2013) describes how hidden biases guide our behavior without our being aware of it. The mind is said to be an automatic association-making machine which we use to make decisions and interpret the external world. The authors describe examples such as how a small change in language can produce a significant change in what is remembered - called the *misinformation effect*. (2013, p. 37). This has shown to have significant ramifications in legal (e.g. false confessions) and medical contexts (e.g. right to know). Clearly biases have a strong affect on thinking and perception but also on decision-making.

2.0 Schema and Biases

To better understand hidden cultural biases, it is necessary to investigate the deep cultural structures that underpin our communication norms. To communicate efficiently, we need to take mental shortcuts and simplify the complex world of stimuli surrounding our busy journey through daily life. Taking mental shortcuts to increase efficiency in thinking and communication involves the use of schema or schemata (pl.).

Schemata are mental representations that organize our knowledge, beliefs and experiences into easily accessible categories. Research has shown that our behavior is connected to the type of information we store in our brains (Nishida 2005, p. 402). Thus, schemata provide a structure or framework of interpretation to our mental biases. Nishida (2005) identifies eight types of cultural schemas: fact-and-concept schema, person schema, self schema, role schema, context schema, procedure schema, strategy schema, and emotion schema. These schema activate preexisting knowledge such as problem solving strategies and social role expectations. Each framework greatly aids in making sense of complex information and guide us to be able to efficient communication. However, schemata, because of their simplified framework, also result in unconscious biases that have great potential be harmful to understanding in the communication process. Schema bias represent our core (cultural) beliefs and are resistant to change. This resistance creates hidden biases that influence how we interpret communicative behavior among other things. Information that does not fit tends to be unrecognized, ignored, rejected or distorted while information that fits our schema tends to make existing schema stronger (see Figures 1).



As Figure 1 illustrates, existing schema tends to be resistant to conflicting new information because it takes more mental effort to incorporate it. We tend to be lazy and allow information that already fits with our preexisting set of knowledge to make decision making easier and more efficient. Because individuals construct their subjective reality on their biased interpretations of input, a cognitive bias is formed that affects behavior and decision making. Although cognitive bias enables faster “lazy” decision making and efficient information processing, it is highly dependent on the preexisting knowledge of schemata.

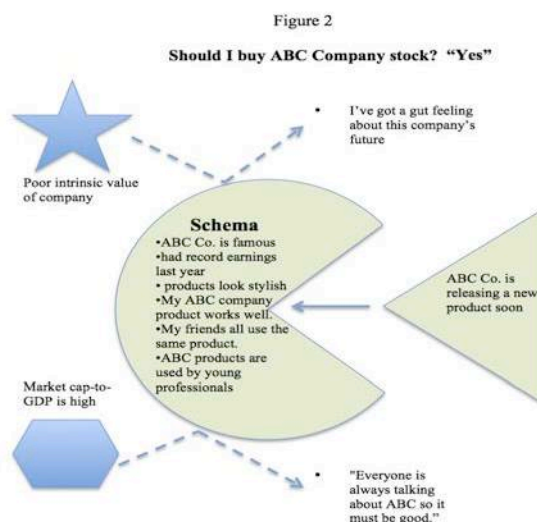
3.0 Cognitive Bias

The complex amount of new stimuli, forces us to simplify and choose which stimuli are important or and which are less so. The result of this phenomena is labeled **cognitive bias**. “Because we are not capable of perceiving everything in our environment, our focus is automatically drawn to the most prominent or “eye-catching”- that is, perceptually salient - stimuli” (Shiraev and Levy, 2013, p. 69). The result of his tendency is to try to explain behavior of other’s based on internal factors rather than the external situational context. This results in what is called fundamental attribution error and would seem to be especially strong in Western, egocentric, cultures. Hidden biases, along with the schema that forms them, can be particularly problematic for cross-cultural interaction. For example, native English speaking business people and teachers have a tendency to misinterpret the Japanese listener as being shy and unmotivated (internal factors) because of their lack of outspoken participation in the a meeting or classroom. Western cultures, especially in the US, interpret individual behavior through an existentialist schema. That is, an individuals position in society and immediate future is self-determined; we are solely responsible for the choices we make. Notice that this in an internal or egocentric value. As a result of this tendency, many Americans have difficulty accepting that hidden biases can influence their decision-making and behavior without being cognitive of it. This existentialist tendency encourages *motivational bias* of mistakes in thinking that come from trying to satisfy our own personal needs. Therefore, fundamental attribution errors seem more likely by Western English speakers in cross-cultural communication with their sociocentric counterparts in Southeast Asia.

3.1 Intuitive Heuristics

Social psychologists such as Tversky and Khaneman (1974) have attempted to describe how the process of simplification thinking works. They have labeled it as *intuitive heuristics* - taking mental shortcuts in order to solve complex, time-consuming tasks in an efficient manner. When we are faced with a complex question that takes mental effort we tend to default to our existing schema so that we can justify or simplify to answer the question. Psychologists use intuitive heuristics to explain how when we are, “faced with a difficult question, we often answer an easier one instead, usually without noticing the substitution” (Kahneman, 2011, p. 12).

Khaneman’s research in this area led to a Nobel Prize in economics for showing how investors make irrational choices based on mental biases. Perhaps one of the most interesting findings was the idea that when we are faced with question that is complex and difficult to answer, we substitute it for an easier one. For instance, if an investor was faced with the question of, “Should I buy ABC stock?”. The laborious process of answering this question would involve a complex analysis of price-to-earnings ratios, product development, materials production and a host of other difficult questions. Instead, via intuitive heuristics, the investor would probably substitute the original question of, “Should I buy ABC Company stock?” with “Do I like ABC products?” or similarly, “Will ABC release a new product soon?” As a result, the investor is able to make timely decisions based on an efficient formula of oversimplification, or rule of thumb, to arrive at the answer of yes or no. Adapting from the schema model in Figure 1, Figure 2 illustrates how this may work.



Kahneman calls this type of fast but lazy thinking as System 1 thinking (2011, p. 22). It is a spontaneous search for an easy solution or interpretation. This type of thinking does not engage our slow thinking or our more effortful System 2 thinking (2011, p. 24). However, this tension between fast and slow thinking creates a paradox between accuracy and efficient thinking. System 1, our automatic and efficient way of thinking, is based on learned experiences of culture allows us to quickly make decisions and have smooth communication but leaves the door open for hidden biases to color our interpretations. System 2, on the other hand, takes mental effort and time, slowing our thinking process, allowing us to bring hidden biases to the conscious level but at the risk of missing stimuli that would normally not be overlooked. However, the final word goes to System 2 : "Most of what you (your System 2) think and do originates in your System 1, but System 2 takes over when things get difficult, and it normally has the last word" (Kahneman, 2011, p. 25). This is how we can "get by" or adapt to different cultural contexts and cannot maintain this consistently until the thinking patterns become part of our System 1. How long this enculturation may take and with how much effort is dependent on a variety of complex factors but would certainly take sustained effort and long term exposure to the target language and culture - time that few business people, sojourners nor diplomats can afford. Thus, it is worthwhile to target specific types of biases that particular cultures have a tendency to make.

4.0 Hidden Biases

In the following sections, several hidden biases are discussed that are particularly salient to cross-cultural communication between high and low context cultures (e.g. Japan and the US) are defined and discussed.

4.1 Assimilation Bias

One way schemata form biases is by coloring our perception of reality to make them consistent with what we already believe (Shiraev and Levy, 2013, p. 59). This is called *assimilation bias* in cross-cultural psychology (Piaget, 1970). Examples of how we modify the data we have to fit with our schema are easier to see in cross-cultural

contexts because the type of data is often in stark contrast to our native culture. For, example, after decades of living as an expat in Japan, I am almost always offered beef as a first option at any dinner with Japanese colleagues. The schema of “Americans like beef” is a widely held belief and so becomes a hidden bias assimilated in to the subconscious of food preference.

Assimilation bias is the precursor to what is called the *belief preservation effect* which is the tendency to cling to a particular set of beliefs and interpretations where new information is assimilated to fit our bias leading us to “freely distort, minimize or even ignore facts that run contrary to our reality” (Shiraev and Levy 2013, p. 50). Some observers have suggested that this is why many voters in the recent American presidential race supported Donald Trump. Information that does not fit with the positive bias of Mr. Trump is minimized or simply ignored in order to preserve a belief system that is linked with social identity. This form of bias thinking is not completely bad however as it allows us to achieve goals that otherwise may not been accomplished without this distorted belief system. On the other hand, if we fail to think critically and apply this to people, we then risk stereotyping and miscommunication, making tolerance and acceptance increasingly difficult.

4.2 Anchoring Bias

Anchoring is a psychological term used “...to capture the idea that the mind doesn’t search for information in a vacuum. Rather, it starts by using whatever information is immediately available as a reference point or “anchor” and then adjusting” (Banaji and Greenwald, 2013, p. 45). In a cross-cultural context, the anchor held down by our native cultural norms with the result is that we may interpret the same behavior or event differently. For instance, upon arriving in Japan for the first time many years ago, I attended a Sumo tournament. I noticed that each Sumo wrestler would scoop up a white substance in the ring before their match and throw it in the air. Now, the received wisdom from western media quickly led me to conclude that this white substance was rice.

A schema script may look similar to this:

(ANCHOR : Japanese eat white rice---> (NEW STIMULI) Japanese person, white substance, ritual ---> (SCHEMA) Japan, Sumo, food, rice ---> (INTERPRETATION) white rice

The received wisdom after all was that Japanese eat white rice everyday and is part of their culture and regular diet. This erroneous and embarrassing conclusion was realized when my Japanese host informed me that it was in fact salt. Having little background knowledge of Sumo much less of the salt purifying ritual of Shintoism connected with the ritual, I had used received wisdom as a stereotypical anchor draw an erroneous conclusion. Although this example was harmless, one can easily imagine contexts where this type of psychological phenomenon may be harmful to productive cross-cultural communication.

It is worth noting that biases are often based on stereotypes that often clash with our won closely held personal views. For instance, “A father and his son are in a car accident. The father dies at the scene and the son, badly injured, is rushed to the

hospital. In the operating room, the surgeon looks at the boy and says, “I can’t operate on this boy. He is my son.” (Banaji and Greenwald, 2013, p. 177)

Many people would be confused by this gender bias situation while others would soon figure out that it is the wife who is the surgeon. “Without giving it a moment’s conscious thought, we use a stereotype of the group as a starting point for our perception of that person” (2013, p. 181). Schema allows us to form categories in which we associate things, places or people with so that they can be readily recalled and used for efficient communication. Often times these categories are highly simplified consisting of stereotypes of groups of people because we have so little background knowledge or first hand experience with them.

4.3 Availability bias

To communicate efficiently it is necessary to draw off of readily available schema to answer questions of frequency. Psychologists call the use of this type of bias availability bias. We can easily see the lazy thinking of System 1 at work here. The easier it is to retrieve from memory, the more likely you are to judge a particular behavior or action as being a more common occurrence. National media tend to focus on news stories that are likely to catch people’s attention to increase sales and circulation. This results in a large frequency of repetition and occurrences of similar types of news being reported creating an availability bias in its readers. In recent times, terrorism committed by Muslims has created a lazy availability bias of, “Muslims are terrorists” partly due to the huge amount of media coverage and conflict between Muslim dominated countries in the Middle East.

4.4 Representational bias

Representational bias occurs when we judge a person to be in a particular group based on how similar they are to a typical member. For instance, if you see a young man who is really tall you may be likely to judge him to be a basketball player. In cross-cultural contexts, we may misjudge someone based on what country they come from. Americans tend to be outspoken and friendly while a French person is probably less outgoing but more artistic. These types of representational biases that are projected on to people and can be dangerous as conflicts throughout world history have proved.

Both availability and representation biases seemed to occur after the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013 when many Americans understandably confused the Czech Republic for Chechnya (the country of ethnicity of the bombers) and then social media trended wildly with the name of the wrong suspect (Moodie, G. Boston bombings: social networks and the flow of misinformation). The satirical online newspaper, The Onion, bemused that Americans did not yet know enough about Chechnya to even form a stereotype but when told it was predominantly a Muslim country that they would be, “pretty good to go from there” in forming a stereotype. This is sadly amusing because it holds some truth, not just about the situation being referred to, but about how and why humans have a need to make oversimplifications to interpret complex events and then make judgements based on them.

4.5 Naturalistic Fallacy

Imagine that you are attending a business meeting for your job. You quickly notice that one young male coworker is not participating and remaining silent in contrast to everyone else in the room. This divergent behavior is judged to be atypical and, therefore, inappropriate because it is not normal for this context. Thus, a *naturalistic fallacy* is a bias in thinking where we equate the divergent behavior as not normal and what is abnormal as being bad or strange. That is, “we equate what *is* with what *ought* to be” (Shirayev and Levy, 2013, p. 78). In the conversation from the author’s previous research (see Table 1 below) in intercultural communication (Ryan, 2007, p. 78), 47 Japanese and Americans were asked how they would behave in their first meeting at a new job.

Table 1

Situation: You have just graduated from college, have a new job, and are attending your first meeting. There are about 15 other co-workers in the room. What actions would you probably do?	
a) [] I would introduce myself to everyone.	J: 32.1% A: 51.1%
b) [] I wouldn't say anything.	J: 5.7% A: 4.3%
c) [] I would try to occasionally contribute to the meeting by making relevant comments.	J: 14.3% A: 57.4%
d) [] I would wait until I was spoken to before saying anything.	J: 16.4% A: 21.3%
e) [] I would keep quiet and only listen to everyone attentively.	J: 44.3% A: 19.1%
f) [] I would try to ask as many relevant questions as possible.	J: 12.1% A: 29.8%
g) [] I don't know/ other:	J: 4.3% A: 8.5%
J=Japanese respondents average A=American respondents average	

One can imagine American and Japanese managers having culturally bound interpretations to this behavior. For the Americans, one is expected to participate actively in the meeting by making relevant comments when possible. For the Japanese, a new person is expected to remain quiet until directly asked their opinion. Observing the hidden bias of social hierarchy is the norm for high context cultures. What is perceived as normal behavior or communication allows us to exist in our lazy System 1 thinking mode but also may result in erroneous judgements of others whose System 1 thinking is based on unique deeply held cultural values. In extreme cases, System 1 thinking can lead to the type of logic that justifies slavery, human sacrifice, child labor or other abhorrent behavior.

5.0 Discussion

Hidden biases have a profound effect on the communication process and behavior. These biases are even more magnified in cross-cultural communication because of the received wisdom of deep cultural differences in thinking and verbal and non-verbal behavior. We tend to underestimate their affect on behavior and communication because our biases exist at the unconscious level. Despite our good intentions to communicate effectively with someone from another culture, comprehension difficulties that lie below the surface of our immediate understanding can easily result in confusion, misunderstanding and negative stereotyping in critical areas of

interaction such as in health care, international business (see Ryan, 2007) and diplomacy (see Ryan, 2015) context. A first step in successful long-term cultural understanding would be to develop a meta awareness or growing our understanding of “knowing what we don’t know” as we interact with others from cultures other than our own. Thus, intercultural education and training along with a healthy dose of humility and self-awareness would move us further down the road to acquiring more tolerance and patience when dealing with unfamiliar communication norms.



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“Unsuccessful” Story of Futaba Nursery School as a Pioneer

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Abstract

It is true that Futaba Nursery School was one of the pioneers for children's rights and mothers' protection, and developed its practices in accordance with the situation. However, this does not indicate that its history is a simple heroic tale of the founders. The Futaba Nursery School, which was established in 1900 for children living in Tokyo's slums, is known as a pioneer in social welfare. As per the analysis of the principal and the founders' ideas through annual reports, Futaba Nursery School is a success story. However, I argue that there is another aspect that can be discovered by studying the records of attendance. In other words, I insist that Futaba Nursery School could not always meet the demands of the poor. Furthermore, the analysis of the questionnaire survey of retirees that was carried out in the 1970s showed that some of them could not always accept the founders' philosophy, and the clashes of viewpoints resulted in teachers quitting the school in some cases. Some others quit jobs against their will because of personal reasons; the environment of the workplace was not suitable even though they agreed on the principle of the Futaba Nursery School. Some retirees established or worked at another nursery school by using their experience in Futaba Nursery School. It means that not only one charitable work, Futaba Nursery School, but also several other activities helped children and mothers. In this study, I reexamine the practices of Futaba Nursery School including the “unsuccessful” facts.

Keywords: Nursery School, Records of Attendance

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Introduction

The Japanese government did not guarantee equal welfare until 1947, when the Constitution of Japan was enforced. Before WWII, private charitable societies worked as welfare organizations for children and mothers. In this context, the Futaba Nursery school in Japan often receives much attention. This school was established in 1900 for children living in Tokyo's slums, and it still runs several nursery schools. The Futaba Nursery School is one of the pioneer institutions for welfare of children and mothers, but it does not mean that its history is a simple heroic tale of the founders. The practices followed in the school did not always work well and included many "failed" experiments. In this study, I have focused on these "unsuccessful" experiments to show not only the limit of this institution but also its ripple effect on other charitable works and nursery schools.

Analysis of Records of Attendance

In this study, I have analyzed the records of attendance to reveal the unknown actual condition of the Futaba Nursery School from 1928 to 1931. This information can be an essential clue to understand what worked well and what was impossible in private charitable works before WWII. The annual reports of Futaba Nursery School, which have been used in previous studies¹, listed out its education and operations to contributors, but these narratives might have been glorified by writers or teachers. In order to analyze the actual condition in the nursery school, it is important to consider other documents as well. I found the records of attendance from 1925 to 1943 except some missing papers. In this study, I have focused on the records of 1) Baby Class, the youngest class in 1928; 2) Yuri (Lily) Class, the second youngest class in 1929; 3) Kiku (Chrysanthemum) Class, the second oldest class in 1930; and 4) Ichijiku (Fig) Class, the oldest class in 1931 because there is a list of graduates in 1931 who had written about their family situation though most of these lists are missing. I used the list of graduates to determine the children's information.

These records of attendance and the list of graduates show the basic system of the Futaba Nursery School. The nursery school levied a small amount of school fee in order to prevent for depending too much because annual reports announced². The analysis of the attendance records revealed the details of the school fee. The sum of the fee had basically three grades: full, half, and exemption. The school fee of the children was of the same grade, but there was a case of temporary reduction when a child was sick. I found a pattern in the payment of fees. Some children paid the fees every time they came to school, and others paid the fees on a monthly basis. There were some children who paid the fees for a few months and then cleared off their dues when they could raise money. Even if the children did not pay the fees, they came to

¹ For example; Norihiko Yasuoka (1999) *Kindai Nihon no Kaso Shakai: Shakai Jigyo no Tenkai (Lower Class in Modern Japan: Development of Social Works)*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten. /Takeo Shishido (2014) *Nihon ni okeru Hoikuen no Tansyo: Kodomotachi no Hinkon ni Idonda Hitobito (The Birth of Nursery School in Japan: People Who Struggled against Children's Poverty)*. Tokyo:Shindokusha.

² Futaba Nursery School, ed., (1985) *Futaba Hoikuen 85 Nen Shi (85 Years History of Futaba Nursery School)*. Tokyo: Futaba Nursery School. p58.

school as before. The records show that the Futaba Nursery School did not intrude their standard one-sidedly on every child and family and tolerated irregular payments.

The records of attendance included not only attendance and fees but also the sums of savings. This revealed the number of children who had participated in the savings project for children, which is one of the characteristics of the Futaba Nursery School. If the children brought their fees and a little extra money for savings to the school in the morning, the teacher gave them postage stamps as same as the sum of their money and the children pasted it on the notebook and stored them. The savings project seemed to be successful. However, according to the savings' records in the record of attendance, most of the children could not attend the savings project. Only 7 children out of 42 graduates participated in the savings project from 1928 to 1931. Particularly, only three children continued to save money for more than one year. There was the gap between the ideal of teachers and the fact. Even though this savings project was a good idea for the children, its effect was limited.

There was a range of living standards among the children. According to the list of graduates in 1931, 8 out of 42 graduates lived in Hahano-Ie (Mother's House), which was a dormitory for poor mothers and children that was established in 1922 by the Futaba Nursery School. When mothers and children, who lost their father for any reasons, could not rent an apartment because of their poverty or some other reasons, they relied on this cheap dormitory. They worked as cooking staff or cleaning staff in the dormitory, Futaba Nursery School, or other cooperative institutions. This indicates that these 8 children and mothers belonged to the poorest category. The annual report in 1922 introduced that the rent of the dormitory was from 3.5 to 4 yen. In contrast, the highest rent among graduates was 38 yen, which was about 10 times the rent of the poorest.

In addition to payment of fees and participants of savings, the way to organize classes was revealed by the records of attendance. The age-specific education in separate classes and the school term beginning in April, which were generalized in Japan, had not been organized strictly; however, in the nursery school, even if there were four classes by age, their graduation was held in March. For example, the entrance and promotion of older class were not always held in the month of April. In many cases, the promoting time was April but 7 out of 42 graduates, i.e., Boy C, Boy L, Boy N, Girl A, Girl G, Girl N, and Girl Q, changed classes irregularly. This may be due to their birthdays. Girl A, whose birthday was in December, was promoted in January from the second youngest class to the second oldest class in 1928, which means that she was promoted earlier than others, but she moved to the oldest class in

		Boy C	Boy L	Boy N	Girl A	Girl G	Girl N	Girl Q
		the number of attendance days						
1929	April				5	15		
	May		22		4	11	13	
	June	25	24		20	24	24	
	July		26	10	21	16	25	
	August	10	27		20		25	
	September	21	24	16	17	20	23	4
	October	22	24	17	23	24	25	20
	November	21	21	18	24	23	24	21
	December	21	22	16	21	16	22	22
	January	5	21	12	21	13	22	15
	February	10	22	3	22	5	21	9
	March	10	20	5	20	8	19	5
1930	April	24	24	22	24	23	23	21
	May	25	26	17	24	22	27	26
	June	25	25	8	21	7	25	24
	July	17	17		17		17	16
	August							
	September	25	25	16	25	20	25	18
	October	25	25	17	22	17	25	24
	November	24	24	20	22	20	24	23
	December	23	23	15	20	17	23	5
	January	21	21		18		21	12
	February	22	21		22		23	15
	March	20	19	6	17	8	17	20
1931	April	23	24	17	21	17	24	24
	May	22	17	20	14	21	26	26
	June	26	23	19		21	26	26
	July	22	15	6	15	7	27	26
	August	26					26	12
	September	25	18	21	25	20	25	19
	October	26	2	20	25	20	26	26
	November	23	11	13	23	18	23	23
	December	26		14	21	15	26	26
	January							
	February							
	March							

Figure 1
(Colored boxes are months when children's class changed.)

April next year as same as others. Similar situation was also found in the cases of Girl G, Girl Q, Boy C, and Boy N. Furthermore, the period for the same class was not always one year. Some children belonged to a particular for a few months and changed their class, others studied in the same class for two years. Thus, children of different ages were mixed in one class. In other words, the Futaba Nursery School considered the development of each child instead of their age.

The school tried to accept various situations of the poor family with respect to the payment of fees, entrance, and changing classes. Nevertheless, many children dropped out every year. This means that the school could not respond to all the requests of the poor who hoped to commute. For example, in the second youngest class in 1928, 14 out of 42 graduates belonged to the nursery school. During this school year, 41 children quitted and 23 out of them commuted to the nursery school for only less than 10 days. In the second oldest class in 1929, 25 children dropped out later. In the oldest class, 17 children dropped out. Moreover, one of children belonging to the second oldest class, died due to unknown reasons after he commuted the nursery school for 20 days. The younger were the children, the more was the number of withdrawals. Although several children or parents tried to connect Futaba Nursery school seeking for help, all of them could not agree with the principle or activities followed in the school.

On the other side, graduates tended to belong to the Futaba Nursery School for a long period. Thus, children who arrived at graduation could adapt to the nursery school without dropping out and continued to receive supports for a long time. The number of such children who studied in the school for less than one year is 8, for less than two years is 13, for less than three years is 14, and more than three years including just three years is 7. In the longest case, Girl L, who lived in Hahano-Ie (Mother's House), continued for three years and three months. Even though the Futaba Nursery School opened its gates for all the poor families, only a part of them could connect with its supports.

Studying in the Futaba Nursery School did not always mean complete rest for the children. In June 1931, eight children had been affected by measles, and three children were sick in the oldest class. They were probably infected in the Futaba Nursery School. An annual report shows that one nurse was stationed in the nursery school every day, and the teachers were allowed to take the children to a nearby hospital. Access to medical treatment was another characteristic of the school. Nevertheless, children suffered from diseases in the nursery school. The nursery school tried to prevent such misfortunes and also managed access to medical care, but it does not mean that such a consideration always succeeded.

Analysis of Questionnaire Survey of Retirees

I found that not only children and parents but also teachers could not always accept the founders' philosophy or environment at work. According to the questionnaire survey of the retirees that was carried out in the 1970s, some of them who worked in the nursery school before WWII declared certain discords among the teachers, which resulted in the teachers quitting the school in some cases. Teacher A, who worked from 1934 to 1935, said that "I could not agree with why a private charitable work had to support the fact such as poverty and illness, which continued to accumulate,

and I could not stand (this job) for a long time.” Teacher B said, “I always felt that unless I devote my all life to the nursery school, this job was unfit for me and I quit because I could not do that.”

Others quit jobs against their will due to the following reasons; marriage, move, overwork, illness, and low wage, even though they agreed to the principles of the Futaba Nursery School. This suggests that teaching in the nursery school was a hard job, which sometimes caused overwork and illness among the teachers and was not suitable for married women.

Some retirees established or worked at other nursery schools by using their experiences in Futaba Nursery School. This means that not only one charitable work, i.e., Futaba Nursery School, but also several activities helped children and mothers. Teacher A, who quit her job because of disagreement with the principle of charitable work, said “after all, I joined a social movement. I believe that its basis was established in Futaba Nursery School” and “Futaba Nursery School is my home with which I cannot morally break off.” In this case, even if she had gone against the principle of Futaba Nursery School, she had great impact through her job and eventually came back to another social movement. Teacher C, who worked from 1927 to 1934, retired because she established another nursery school in Yokohama city. Teacher D, who worked from 1927 to 1930, went to the United States to study at the National Training School, which was the Methodist persuasion and a girl’s college of social work, after she quit her job. Teacher E, who worked in 1931, has been the Director of various nursery schools and kindergartens. In this way, although some teachers did not choose to continue their work at the Futaba Nursery School, they kept contact with charitable works or education in their own way. Futaba Nursery School was one of the important career pass for them.

Conclusion

It seems that the Futaba Nursery School, as a famous pioneer, had a perfect success history. However, the nursery school did not respond to all of the poor’s needs. Some children could form the habit of going to the nursery school and saving money and try to improve their life with teachers. On the other hand, it was impossible for many children and parents to accept the rule or something of the nursery school and hence, they dropped out. Although the nursery school tried to come through their needs, it was difficult to meet all the demands.

However, the teachers who retired from the Futaba Nursery School for other personal reasons tried to cultivate their skills in the area of social works and nursery schools: established new nursery school, studied abroad for social works, or devoted their lives to other social works. These actions lead the next stage of the social work field. The “unsuccessful” aspect of Futaba Nursery School has left room for improvement, and many actors could participate in its development. The Futaba Nursery School had been never complete as static and stable charitable work, but it was always variable and produced the hint to improve.

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Constructing the Hong Kong Nation: the landscape of emerging nationalism in Hong Kong

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Abstract

The handover of sovereignty to China has not made Hongkongese the true master of their city as promised by Beijing. Rather, the recent years have witnessed an increasing influence of the Chinese government in Hong Kong affairs, the shrink of freedom and the violations of values embraced by Hong Kong people. Resultantly, on top of the burgeoning amount of protests, nationalistic thoughts began to sprout. Against this background, this study attempts to dissect the discursive constitution of Hong Kong nationalism. This paper compares two main branches of Hong Kong nationalism, each consists of a distinct narration of Hong Kong's history and culture: The Hong Kong City-state Theory exhibits a tint of cultural nationalism and holds that Hong Kong's cession to Britain and the resulting separation with China rendered the colony a *de facto* city-state, which allowed the "authentic Chinese culture" to be preserved while it was destroyed by the communist state in China. Rather than challenging China's sovereignty, it suggests Hong Kong should protect its autonomy by founding a confederation with China. In contrast, the Hong Kong Nationalism Theory resorts to the rhetoric of civic nationalism and defines Hong Kong as a nation bonded by shared values and the common wishes to "flee totalitarianism and pursue freedom". The advocates also sought to construct an alternative origin of the Hongkongese by resorting to the ethnic groups situated on the edge but beyond the reach of the Chinese empire. They demand for national self-determination and consider independence one of the viable options.

Keywords: Hong Kong nationalism, Hongkongese, civic nationalism, cultural nationalism

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1. Introduction.

After 140 years of colonization, Hong Kong was handed over from the United Kingdom to China in 1997. It was followed immediately by the endeavours by the government to instil a sense of Chinese nationalism among Hong Kong people (See Vickers, 2011; Tse, 2007; and Mathews, Ma & Lui, 2008). However, these initiatives did not bring Hong Kong closer to its new sovereign master. On top of the outbreak of a series of protests with an anti-China tint, the recent years witnessed a rise of Hong Kong identity and the demise of its Chinese counterpart, as the percentage of people who identified themselves as Chinese fell from 38.6 in 2008 to merely 17.8 in 2014 while 42.3 per cent of the respondents identified themselves as Hongkongers in the same year (HKUPOP, 2015).

Against this background, there was a rise of “localism” organizations that champion the idea of “native Hong Kong people come first”. Partially triggered by the further escalation of the Hong Kong-China conflict, public intellectuals started to produce theories of Hong Kong nationalism and uphold a distinguish Hong Kong identity. Although the term Hong Kong nationalism has become more and more popular in the media and public discourse, few have explored its content and identified different branches of the thought. This paper aims to dissect the discursive constitution of Hong Kong nationalism and compare two main accounts, each consists of a distinct narration of Hong Kong’s history and culture.

2. Background

It is believed that the colonization has separated Hong Kong from China, politically and socially, while the “one country, two systems” originally sought to prolong this separation. However, following the official initiatives that aims to foster integration with the new sovereign master, the separation is in the shadow of its demise. Most importantly, it has sparked a range of fears and conflicts. The current literature suggests that the people’s grievances have at least 4 socio-political roots.

i. Scepticism towards mainland immigrants

Each day, 150 mainlanders would get a one-way entry permit to live in Hong Kong, officially for family reunion purposes. Since all of the permits are issued by the Chinese government without prior screening of the Hong Kong government, it is feared that the system would be abused. The fear is not entirely ungrounded, as the Panama Papers revealed that at least seven relatives of top Chinese political figures have obtained Hong Kong resident status (Cheng, 2016), while it is also reported that local pro-Beijing organizations have been making efforts to organize the Chinese immigrants into loyal voting blocs (Hung, 2014). These have also given rise the fear of Tibetization of Hong Kong. As Martin Lee, a long-term opposition leader, expressed the fear that the migration policies would turn the native Hongkongers into a minority in the long run and destroy Hong Kong’s core values and culture (Lee, 2012).

ii. Influx of mainland tourist

The Individual Traveller Scheme was introduced in 2003, allowing mainlanders to visit Hong Kong independently without joining any tour. The Scheme was meant to boost tourism and consumption in Hong Kong so as to help the city to recover from the SARS epidemic. However, as the number of individual tourists rocketed tenfold from 4.3 million in 2004 to 47 million in 2014, the massive influx of tourists eventually sparked new social tension (Ma, 2015). First of all, a large amount of mainlanders came Hong Kong to purchase luxury goods, including jewellery and brand name products, causing the mushrooming of high end boutiques and that in turn drove up rents and eventually knocked small local shops out of business (So, 2016). Apart from luxury goods, basic necessities such as drugs and milk powder were also affected. Believing that Hong Kong had better quality control, mainlanders stormed drug stores and supermarkets and created temporary shortages. The “hot money” from the mainland also pushed property prices to record high, rendering many workers and middle-class professionals unable to afford buying houses (So, 2016).

iii. Competition of scarce resources

The fear for the competition of scarce resources also fuelled the hostility against mainlanders. For many years, ten of thousands of mainland mothers came to Hong Kong to give birth so as to take the advantage of the better medical facilities and to make their children eligible for all the welfare benefits accorded to permanent residents in Hong Kong. The large amount of children born of non-Hong Kong parents has led to outcry about the invasion of mainlander and the fear that they would drain public resources in the future.

iv. Violations of rights and freedoms

Scepticism against the Chinese government was also strengthened by its increasing influence of in Hong Kong affairs, repeated denial of genuine democracy, and the shrink of freedom and liberty in Hong Kong. On 1 July 2003, more than 500,000 people has taken the street and it eventually caused the government to shelve its pending National Security Ordinance. However, after that, Beijing has ended its laissez faire approach and decided to intervene directly in Hong Kong affairs (Cheng, 2009; Ortmann, 2014). China’s dominant role was further reaffirmed in Beijing’s recent white paper, *The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, as the paper claims that the Beijing government has "comprehensive jurisdiction" over Hong Kong and required officials, including local judges, to “love the country”, which was widely conceived as an interference on judicial independence (Ortmann, 2014).

Furthermore, despite the large amounts of pro-democracy protests since the handover, the demand for democracy has repeatedly been denied. One of the major frustrations in the recent years is the Umbrella Movement in 2014, a 79-day citywide occupation and blockage demanding genuine universal suffrage. However, till the end of the movement, no comprise had been made by the government and no progress toward genuine democracy was achieved. In addition, press freedom also declined as many pro-democracy figures have been forced out of Hong Kong’s traditional media as the

media has generally become more pro-Beijing while prominent firms have refused to advertise in pro-democracy newspapers (Ortmann, 2014). Also, journalists, news outlets and booksellers were harassed or even brutally assaulted. Kelvin Chun-to Lau, a well-respected journalist, were attacked with beef knife, leaving him six deep wounds on his back and legs and he was kept in hospital for almost five months (Chu, 2015). In 2015, Lam Wing-kee, a bookseller, were kidnapped at the border and put through eight months of mental torture in China. He also revealed that Lee Bo, his colleague, was abducted from Hong Kong to China (Ng, Fung and Siu, 2016).

3. The two branches of nationalism in Hong Kong.

Although the rise of localism organization dated as early as 2010, it was not until 2014 did the term “Hong Kong nation” has first been used. However, Hong Kong nationalism was an extremely fringe movement at that time. Nationalists could only organize rallies of few hundred peoples, they had no representative in the legislature, there was no political figure who shows favour or sympathy to Hong Kong nationalism. The term Hong Kong nationalism was virtually unknown beyond academic circles, it was moved into the mainstream only after Leung Chun-ying, the Chief Executive of Hong Kong, condemned it in a high-profile manner in his 2015 Policy Address (So, 2016). Currently, the theories of Hong Kong nationalism can roughly be separated into two branches:

i. The City-state branch

The Hong Kong City-state Theory was proposed Wan Chin, he holds that Hong Kong’s cession to Britain and the resulting separation with China rendered the colony a *de facto* city-state. Since the establishment of Hong Kong as a British Colony, the colonial government had enjoyed enormous autonomy from London. Hong Kong has its own currency, taxation, treasury. According to Chin (2015), the financial independence and the power to sign treaties with other countries without the sovereign master’s consent have made Hong Kong a city-state with *de facto sovereignty*, like the Athens in ancient Greek (pp. 8-10).

During the 150 years of separation, mainland China has experienced a short republican rule and, most importantly, a communist rule. On the top of destructive events such as the Cultural Revolution, it has abandoned orthodox religious customs, traditional written Chinese and the classical pronunciation of local Chinese languages like Cantonese. However, these have been preserved in Hong Kong due to the separation (Chin, 2011). Moreover, during that period, Hong Kong has been a safe haven for the “explorers” and “freedom seekers”, namely refugees from the civil war and the chaos in China (Chin, 2011, p. 88; Chin, 2015, p.38). Hence, Hongkongers are portrayed as the adherents of orthodox Chinese culture, which distinguishes them from the mainland Chinese, whose culture was not the authentic Chinese culture, but, in Chin’s words, “deformed” or even “corrupted” (Chin, 2011, 43-50; Chin, 2013, p. 136; Chin, 2014, p.34-35). In this sense, the Hong Kong City-state Theory can be seen as a form of cultural nationalism as the Hong Kong nation is defined by a shared culture.

ii. The Hong Kong Nationalism branch

The premise of the Hong Kong Nationalism branch is “Hongkongese is nation that differs from Chinese”. The idea of Hong Kong as a nation was first proposed by the 2013 Editorial Board of *Undergrad*, a campus magazine of the University of Hong Kong. They maintain that the Hong Kong identity was sprouted among the Chinese elite class in the late 19th century and consolidated through a series of negative interactions with China. They resort to the rhetoric of civil nationalism and define Hong Kong as a nation bonded by shared values, namely human rights, freedom, and rule of law as well as the common wishes to “flee totalitarianism and pursue freedom” (HKUSU, 2014, p.17). They warn that the core values will be corrupted by the intervention of China and the influx of mainlanders (HKUSU, 2014, p.44-45), and arousing “local consciousness” is the only viable option for Hongkongers to safeguard their nation (HKUSU, 2014, p. 48-49).

Eric Tsui (2016) follows the civic nationalism discourse and supplies a nation myth. In a shape contrast with the official discourse that suggests Hong Kong has long been a part of China and all of the Hong Kong people are refugees from China or their descendants, he claims that Hongkongese originates from the ethnic groups situated beyond the reach of the Chinese empire, including the Cantonese, Hakka people, “Oceanic Clans” like Tankas and Hoklo people. In the writings of Tsui, these ethnic groups share certain common features of being aborigines at the edge of the Chinese dynasties, and they can be considered the antetype of Hongkongese. Tsui thus effectively provides a Non-Chinese multi-ethnic origin of the Hong Kong nation (Wu, 2016)

4. Comparing the branches of Hong Kong nationalism

i. Mobilization Frame

To borrow the concept of mobilization frame from the studies of secessionist movements, both the City-state and the Hong Kong nationalism branch employ the ethnic security frame, in which distinct history, cultural and language are emphasized and the China’s intervention and immigrants are considered threats to the preservation of national culture (See also Huszka, 2014). Hence, the demand for autonomy is presented as a means to preserve national identity and culture. Even though advocates of the both branches support democracy, they see it merely as one of the ways to safeguard Hong Kong’s interest, rather than demanding democracy for its own sake.

However, they differ in their demands. Rather than challenging China’s sovereignty, Chin believes that Hong Kong should protect its autonomy by founding a confederation with China while he plainly opposes Hong Kong independence. On the other hand, the advocates of the Hong Kong Nationalism Theory demand for national self-determination and they conceive independence as one of the viable options.

ii. Ethnicity and Culture

As mentioned earlier, the City-state branch resort to a Chinese origin of Hongkongese as the advocates claim that Hong Kong people are the decedents of Chinese refugee, and thus they portray Hongkongese as majority Han while most of the people can trace their origin to Guangdong (Chin, 2015). They therefore put heavy emphasis on

Chinese cultural elements, especially those related to the Lingnan region, including Cantonese, Tradition Chinese characters, Confucianism and local folk culture.

Instead of resorting to Chinese cultural resources,

On the other hand, the Hong Kong Nationalism branch holds a more pluralistic view and portray Hongkongese as a mix of various ethnicity, including Chinese, South-east Asian, and Caucasians. Likewise, they put more focus on the influence of the Western culture and universal values like freedom, rule of law, and human rights.

iii. Nationalism

The City-state branch exhibits the features of cultural nationalism as it defines Hong Kong as a nation characterized by its shared “authentic” Chinese culture, the rationale to isolate Hong Kong from the People’s Republic of China is thus the “distinction between Hua (civilized China) and Yi (Barbarians)” (Chin, 2014, pp.92-93), where Hongkongese are portrayed as the adherents of authentic Chinese culture and China the barbarians.

Although the advocates of the Hong Kong Nationalism branch resorts to the rhetoric of civil nationalism and defines Hong Kong as a nation bounded by shared values, they go well beyond the scope of civil nationalism and put heavy focus on Cantonese and local culture to establish the distinctiveness of Hong Kong. It is reasonable to conclude that the features of cultural nationalism also exist in the discourse of the Hong Kong Nationalism branch. Hence, rather than a pure form of civil nationalism, it is more a mixed version of both civil and cultural nationalism.

5. Conclusion

Throughout the recent years, Hong Kong nationalism as well as the political landscape in Hong Kong have undergone rapid changes and developments. The idea of Hong Kong nationalism has moved from the fringe to the mainstream, and it is gaining popularity especially among younger generations. Despite the fact that Hong Kong nationalist is still absent from the legislature, political parties in favour of the idea has mushroomed since 2014. Hong Kong Indigenous, for instance, ran for the by-election for Legislative Councilor in 2016. Although their candidate, Edward Leung, was eventually defeated, he received 66,525 votes (accountable to 15.38% of all votes), which is more than enough to secure a seat in the proportional representation election system in Hong Kong. With the 2016 Hong Kong Legislative Council election to come, it is reasonable to expect that there will be major power shifts in the Hong Kong politics.

Furthermore, there are also competition and negotiation between the two branches of nationalism. Theoretically speaking, the City-state branch tends to be more exclusive, as the it defines Hong Kong by Chinese culture and thus the non-Chinese population can easily be excluded, while the Hong Kong Nationalism branch seems to be more inclusive due to their idea that “whoever agrees with the core value of Hong Kong people can be a Hongkongese”. As Hong Kong nationalism is still under construction, which version would eventually prevail might depend on the occurrence of critical events and also the government’s response in the future.

Without doubt, nationalism is on the rise in Hong Kong, yet the velocity and direction of the development remain an unanswered question.



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***Practicing Lore within a Modern Society:
Visiting the Traditional Mitigation Effort of the Kelud People***

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Abstract

As one of the active volcanoes classified in the *Ring of Fire* of Indonesia, Kelud is inseparable from the danger of eruption. From the outsider's view point, the devastating impact of the eruption upon the people living around the slope of the volcano seems as life-threatening. Kelud inhabitants, however, regard this repercussion in different way. They own traditional ideas, values, and beliefs in facing natural disaster which are customarily manifested in communal ritual and everyday life. For this reason, this paper attempts to dismantle the result of the ethnographic study on lore preserved and followed by the traditional people inhabited the area near Kelud. Though ritual is frequently perceived as a static activity because it is typically repeated and recognizable, it dynamically changes overtimes. Inevitably, it is open for great challenges caused by the infusion of modern concepts. Nonetheless, the thorough fieldwork done in one and a half year found that Kelud folks can employ the lore wisely in any condition, that renders them to be able to live side by side with an active volcano. By applying their lore, they learn how to respect nature and get familiarized with danger, which substitutes for a mitigation effort to lessen casualties of the volcano eruption.

Keywords: folklore, modern society, traditional mitigation effort, Kelud Volcano

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Introduction

Kelud is a part of the chain of volcanoes in Indonesia, which is known worldwide as *Indonesian Ring of Fire*. This *Ring of Fire* spreads across not more than ten islands out of seventeen thousands islands of Indonesian archipelago. The islands of Sumatera, Java, both of the West and East Nusa Tenggara, West Timor, Moluccas and northern part of Celebes, are quite densely populated by active volcanoes which counts as 147 volcanoes, in total. Out of this number, 30% of the volcanoes erect in the island of Java. Consequently, looking from this geographical condition, the threat of natural disasters especially volcanic eruptions cannot be avoided. Naturally, danger and casualties associated with the volcanic eruptions are the two things which become a part of the life of Indonesian people who reside in the closest area of the volcanoes, so as Kelud. And, the main effort to reduce the serious harmful danger of the eruption is mitigation.

Mitigation activity is an important factor for people who live in a potentially perilous area to be understood and aware of, before a destructive event or disaster happens. In connection to that, mitigation always has to be executed continuously in daily situation, although there is no potential threat of disaster. In connection with this, the scope of disaster mitigation includes any kind of activities which aims to lessen the impact of disaster. These activities can be done, of course, in many ways, be it from media and modern equipments, or by empowering the traditional mitigation which is more familiar to the local community before they got acquainted to the technology nowadays.

Traditional mitigation in its relation with volcanoes meant an effort or action executed by grassroots actors: the people who experience directly the impact of eruption. This traditional mitigation involves the indigenous, or the people who inhabit certain area where natural disaster occurs. Local traditional activities, which always refer to activities on the basis of community, such as communal ceremonies held by local people, are the mirror of collective culture that put a high value of living in harmony as a supporting idea on collectivism. As described by Feldman (2003: 400), "people in collectivistic cultures emphasize the welfare of the groups to which they belong, sometimes at the expense of their own personal well-being." Nevertheless, several aspects of modernity such as social control, industrialization, global-capitalism (Giddens, 1990; Barker, 2008) lead to a sort of invasion that changes culture, including the collective traditional culture. This kind of culture – categorized as lore, is historical in its focus and is practiced by a particular group – also mentioned as folk. As a result, the traditional knowledge learned from folklore is established for time-honored (Crum, 2006).

Seeing lore in terms of traditional culture is paying close attention to ritual because ritual is not only embodying customary lore but it is also encompassing all categories of traditions. Ritual represents cultural expression which covers values, beliefs, and attitudes of particular group of society (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977; Sims & Stephens, 2005). Therefore, the objective of this study is to reveal how the Kelud people as ones living in "a unique condition – peace in danger", struggle to preserve their cultural traditions in the frame of local context within modern ideas.

Literary Review and Research Method

The research executed is concentrated on the Sugihwaras Village, the ten kilometers radius from the peak of Kelud, within the Kediri Regency on East Java Province (Figure 1). This village is situated approximately 30 kilometers from the center of Ngancar Sub-district. Based on the ethnic subdivision of Indonesia, the spread of the Javanese ethnic group members covers Central Java and East Java (Geertz, 1983; Koentjaraningrat, 1999; Haq, 2011; Endraswara, 2015). Therefore, the people who inhabit Kelud area are classified as Javanese ethnic group – taking 93% out of 3296 total inhabitants. The natives and most of the inhabitants occupy rural area and adhere to agricultural life. Hence, they learn well how to live hand in hand with the volcano.



Figure 1. The area of the research.

The people of Sugihwaras Village are a representation of Kelud community, because this village is located on the foot of Kelud, which is the most susceptible place towards the impact of volcanic eruption. On dealing with natural disaster as a part of the existence of the volcano makes the people of Sugihwaras Village construct a culture which closely connected with mitigation effort. The engagement between people and their role in shaping culture was scored by Eriksen (1993), who affirmed that culture is a basic concept of a community. Because of that, Spradley and McCurdy (2012) proposed culture as the heart of cultural anthropology study, and therefore, culture cannot be separated from ethnicity in a certain area, “learning from people”, which intimately related with the aspects of human experience. The analogy is that the culture of Sugihwaras Village people is always going through a process and constructed by the geographical condition and their history of facing the many-times of Kelud eruptions. The accumulation of historical evidence in the line with geographical condition was strongly underlined by Alan Dundes (in Bronner, 2007: 91) as a linkage to shape culture. As such, research on traditional mitigation, which inevitably builds particular culture by the backdrops of the place where people live and the experience they have, is inherently attached to cultural studies.

Setting up from the basic concept suggested by Hartley (2003), cultural studies cover the study of everyday life in modern, urban and suburban societies which means an attempt to make this kind of life sensible. And for this study seeks the meaning of values, beliefs, and attitudes of local people living around Kelud Volcano; ethnography approach is used.

As an approach which oriented to the clarification of the culture of a specific community, the aim from a study stressing on the ethnography approach is to comprehend the way of life of the studied community in the same way that community comprehend their way of life. In short, the core of ethnography is culture, and culture is the product of the construction of human experiences. Spradley and McCurdy (2012: 8-9) accommodated three basic aspects of human experience which has to be investigated in ethnographic study: “what people do, what people know, and the things people make and use.” And consecutively, these three aspects will be reflected as “cultural behavior, cultural knowledge, and cultural artifacts.” For this reason, the study on the traditional mitigation effort in Sugihwaras Village in Ngancar Sub-district, Kediri Regency, was done by observing straight to the mark about all of the socio-cultural activities in connection with disaster mitigation. Subsequently, the search for answers about Kelud people’s knowledge on life in the volcanic area and how the knowledge is applied in their daily life were also covered.

Since traditional mitigation is shaped because of the geographical condition and the historical experience of certain people; the scope of this research is culture, which is defined as the learned, shared knowledge that people use to generate behavior and interpret experience (Spradley & McCurdy, 2012). Culture is not static condition. It changes over time, from place to place, in response to social dynamics. Therefore, folklore as a part of the cultural expression can be used to underline experience and social dynamics. As “the involvement in the daily activities of the community was expected to be the medium to understand the socio-cultural reality” (Jorgensen, 1989: 83); to build up an intensive interaction with the people of Sugihwaras Village, an intermittent research within a year and a half was executed. It focused on the crucial times of socio-cultural activities. The field research was started 40 days after the eruption on February 2014 because based on the traditional astrology, Javanese divination called *primbon*, after an “unpleasant” situation occurs; the new life begins at the forty-first day. After that, the fieldwork was done, first, by exploring how communal life was expressed through folklore during recovery period: 3 – 4 months after the volcanic eruption and second, by following traditional ceremonies or rituals which were only held in certain time and place.

Interviews with six informants were done to get in-depth information concerning with a preceding event or history, and the crucial role in the continuity of the existence of the traditional mitigation. The informants, personated by local informal leaders who have spiritual attachment with Kelud Volcano, are treated as the source of knowledge of everything about Kelud, whereas interviews with 96 indigenous respondents were conducted to complete qualitative data.

Results and Discussion

Javanese socio-cultural life is kept in a highly integrated order as portrayed in their customs and traditions. Social ideals should be represented in the love for peace and life in harmony¹. Van der Kroef (1955: 27) confirmed that Javanese people “stood for the higher cosmic unity which earthly society reflected”. On this account, they unite micro and macro cosmic life altogether. Microcosmos and macrocosmos cannot be

¹ This Javanese way of life named *Toto Tentrem*, which means ordered peacefully and harmoniously.

divorced: human, nature, spiritual world and material world are viewed as a unity. Correspondingly, Javanese consider that everything happening in the material world is definitely mirrored in spiritual world. As a result, they should take into consideration on their manners and apprehend that the problems in the world does not merely relate to earthly society. This notion is underlined by Suseno (1993) that to be qualified human beings, Javanese are required to avoid taking unworthy deeds. Having good conducts means sincerely doing self-involvement to keep the everlasting balanced relation between the spiritual world and material world.

In the spiritual level, the eruption of Kelud is mythified as the work of the mountain to eliminate the evils on the land of Java. Although it appears extremely frightening during eruption, Kelud Volcano is a holy volcano in the belief of the traditional people, so much so that the effect of the eruption can cleanse all the negative things. The name *Kelud* – also mentioned as *Klut* or *Coloot* – in Javanese language means broom, or also duster, which implies the cleaner of all dusts and dirt. The traditional people of Kelud believe that since the old times, the large scale eruption of Kelud is a form of resurrection to a better condition. As it was written by *Mpu Prapanca*² in his masterpiece *Kitab Negarakertagama*, the eruption of Kelud Volcano in 13th century could destroy all evils and annihilate every malevolent. Kelud has a role of cleansing the land of Java and sending Hayamwuruk as the king of Majapahit³ who brings prosperity and glory for his people.

As handed down through generations, the inhabitants of the area surrounding Kelud Volcano believe that there is a mystical power behind the physical shape of the volcano. This belief becomes their guidance, which in turn shapes their view about their nature, even toward the impact of eruption which, for common people, is interpreted as a dangerous and harmful threat. As a myth of a holy volcano, Kelud is very meaningful to the villagers who live on the slope of the volcano. Kelud which has become the part of their life reconstructs their knowledge or about the comprehension on the natural phenomenon around them. According to Danesi (2004, p.145) “Myth provides the metaphysical knowledge for explaining the human origin, action, character, as well as phenomena in this world.” Myth is always connected to individual, public figure, or the spirit of the figures acknowledged as heroes, having great contribution, or protector – all of whom are being mythified. Besides their respected local leaders, the indigenous people of Kelud Volcano believe in the spirits who protects them especially when the volcano shows the initial signs of eruption. Because of that, the findings of the research conducted in Sugihwaras Village significantly shows the existence of metaphysical world which manifests either in the daily life or in cultural praxis, which has connection with Kelud Volcano. “Ritual practices seek to formulate a sense of the interrelated nature of things and to reinforce values that assume coherent interrelations, and they do so by virtue of their symbols, activities, organization, timing, and relationships to other activities” (Bell, 1997, p.136).

² *Mpu Prapanca* is a distinguished great poet/author during Majapahit era, centuries before the beginning of Dutch colonialism.

³ Majapahit is the biggest imperium throughout the history of all kingdoms in *Nusantara*, Indonesian archipelagoes. Its conquered areas even includes the Malayan peninsula, Thailand, and the Philippines.



Figure 2 (Left-right). a.) Communal sacred ritual near crater; b.) Banyan Tree: Mbah Bringin; c.) Private sacred ritual at Mbah Sumber.

Bronner (2007: 45) noted that “folklore is not a relic of the past, as many people believe, but an expression of the present-day issues.” This statement signifies that folklore might be an intermingled cultural expression of past and present. This supports the fact found in the today practices of Kelud people. Historically, far prior to the influence of Buddhism and Hinduism, traditional Javanese society has had beliefs of supernatural beings that are mostly derived from the mythified legendary characters. These beliefs, now, are still retained and manifested in folklore.

In rituals held by Kelud community, the implication of mythical things is essential elements determining the procession of the ritual. The attachment of sacred places associated with the myth of the village spirit has strikingly evoked the soul of the ritual procession. The timing to hold the ritual is scheduled based on the local belief which cannot be detached from Javanese astrology. The places where the ritual executed also exactly adhere to *Dhanyang*⁴. In Kelud villages, there are three *Dhanyangs* regarded as holy spirits, sacred supernatural beings, so that they are awarded the respectful title of *Mbah* (Javanese = the elder). *Mbah Sumber* is the spirit residing at the spring water at the foot of Kelud (Figure 2c), *Mbah Bringin* is a big, shady Banyan tree (Figure 2b), believed by Kelud folk as the spirit which always protects the village, as well as *Mbah Punden*. The last mentioned is the burial ground of the original founder of the village who was for the first time cultivated the land on which the Kelud inhabitants live. The ritual practices do not only serve to praise the role of each *Dhanyang*, but most importantly to remind all the present-day Kelud people that the spirits always present and endlessly guard and overlook them, hence they can live harmoniously, peacefully, safe and prosperous.

As a part of traditional mitigation, ritual performed is also connected to the existence or the formation of the volcano. One of the legends highlighted in the ritual is how the Kelud crater was formed. The massive scale of destructions when Kelud erupts is construed as the curse of Jathasura who felt betrayed by Dewi Kilisuci, a young beautiful princess from Kediri Kingdom, and the knights protecting her. Jathasura, the antagonist in the legend, is depicted as an ambitious, arrogant and greedy person who died when he made a well in Kelud Volcano, which transfigured as the crater. This legend has permeated completely to the conception of Kelud people. And for this reason, the communal sacred ritual led by the spiritual leaders is conducted at the nearest place from the crater to calm down Jathasura’s anger. From traditional

⁴ *Dhanyang* is the spirit of the dead or certain material objects believed to possess extraordinary powers.

Javanese view, it is clear enough that myths have significant role in building people's spiritual world. "Myths are clues to spiritual potentialities of human life," (Campbell, 1991: 5). For Kelud people, myths enrich moral-ethical values: how to differ between good and bad, humble and arrogant, attentive and indifferent, how to respect the past and nature, even how to convey gratitude to God in a proper way.

In semiotic framework, the myth has a key role in constructing meaning. Chandler (2007) emphasized that the myth, which is culturally understood by the people, is very helpful in forming the people's comprehension towards their experiences within a certain culture. Therefore, the myth embodies the ideology of that culture, because the myth serves as the tool to form concept of the understanding. In connection with ritual, myth can be utilized as the ground to investigate the hidden historical values.

Van der Kroef (1955: 33) identified that "particularly since the nineteenth century, the traditional Javanese world view has been subjected to various western influence". This is also experienced by Javanese traditional cultural agents. That is why local/traditional knowledge is frequently compared to global knowledge as an analogy of modernity originating from West (Nygren, 1999). Interestingly, however, visiting rituals held by traditional Kelud people discovers that the dichotomy of local-global and traditional-modern seems very fluid. Traditional Kelud people have their own strategy to place their locality in modern context. The modernized ritual which is labeled as *Ritual Sesaji Gunung Kelud*⁵ is served for the sake of tourism program. It is the National Program aiming to empower the local people's economic independence through "cultural tourism". The phrase "cultural tourism" implied that in one package there are two purposes: "selling" cultural products and "attempting" to keep local traditions alive. If the definition of folklore embraces three concepts proposed by Ben-Amos (1971) as a body of knowledge, a mode of thought, and a kind of art; the goal of government program embodies smartly the duality of Kelud people's necessariness: spiritual world and material world. Since this ritual is performed as a festival to attract tourists so transformations are needed. The concepts of popular culture such as the role of mass media: advertisement, technology: audio-visual aids (Figure 3, middle), the law of supply and demand, theme of each event (Figure 3, right), and creativity, replace the traditional concept of folklore. The notion of gender equality also infuses the sacred ritual when it represents modernized ritual. The spiritual leaders⁶ who are involved in sacred ritual traditionally must be male(s) who have a lot of experiences in facing Kelud eruption and wear a designated uniform. However, today, young female dressed in striking color can also join "the ritual" (Figure 3, left).

⁵ *Ritual Sesaji Gunung Kelud* is Javanese term used for the ritual held in connecting with mitigation. *Sesaji* = offering, *Gunung* = mountain/volcano.

⁶ In Javanese called as *Sesepuh* = elders. They are chosen by folk because of their incredible local knowledge.



Figure 3. The changes of ritual from sacred to modern.

Ritual, both communal and private, which initially is a sacred activity, becomes an open activity for public due to the purpose of generating money. Group-network, rather than bounded groups because of the sameness of traditional ideas, values, and beliefs, does their job competitively to show their modern creativity. Working for offerings which take the important part in sacred ritual, because every component is a symbol of hidden meaning, need meticulous preparation. Opposite to this, offerings used in festival are artificial and meaningless. They are only ornaments created as interesting as possible to attract the audiences. Compared to the traditional offerings which are simple but meaningful (Figure 4, upper and lower left), the offerings exposed to tourists are lavish but wonderful (Figure 4, upper and lower right).



Figure 4. The changes of the offerings from traditional (left) to modern (right).

The change of world view and the adaptation to the current condition is common in socio-cultural activity of the every day, as Toelken stated (1996: 266) “Folklore is comprised of those artistic expressions most heavily governed by the tastes of the group.” To sum up, it is difficult to find out the cultural expression individually and independently.

Nonetheless, Kelud people are by implication showing that they are traditional Javanese people who are not exempt from modernity; however, they still love their own tradition. It is not only discovered through the informants' every day culture, but also recorded from the respondents' arguments on their cultural praxis. Approximately 60% of the respondents, that is 60 people out of 96, affirm that they strongly want to preserve their traditional culture. The 33% are in swinging position between obeying the power of Kelud tourism and perpetuating local ideas, values, and belief as moral-ethical guidance for their life, whereas the remaining 4% agree with the notion of tourism as commodity, while also being abstain. This data signify that living side-by-side with volcano need thoughtful deeds. For Kelud people, folklore is considered as an arena of interaction between individual human being and social human being. Borrowing Gidden's term on surveillance, one of the powers of modernization that commonly oppresses civil society, Kelud people respond to it naturally. They do not regard the control of Government through tourism program as a threatening tremendous power. Festival elevating local traditions occupies particular space different from the space they use to express their inward experienced values and beliefs. The control of Government over Kelud folklore brings about a unique cultural phenomenon.

Conclusion

By their traditional knowledge, Kelud people are able to negotiate the power of modernism in regards to tourism program, wisely by perpetuating their local wisdom lead to a great appreciation. The dynamic cultural phenomena in this modern era, that frequently marginalize folk, never make them bereave their ideas, values, and believe in their daily activities.

Seeing the rituals done by Kelud people, both in sacred and in modern rituals, it can be said that they are a mirror of wisdom. The dichotomy of traditional-modern which is simultaneously manifested in the *Ritual Sesaji* reflects the natural praxis. There is no exact borderline separates between the ones who stand beside traditional culture and the other; except how to genuinely posit "the self" as individual and as social human beings. Kelud people are in twoness. Living under the danger of eruption is not the reason to betray their own tradition. Even though their everyday is guided by Javanese ethics on being adaptable and easily compromising with the changes, they are never out of local context. Or, in turn, they oppose the materials created by the power. Since they uphold the philosophy of living in harmony, practicing lore is grasping coextensive path: spiritual world and material world. These two actually refer to a desired outcome, which is Javanese way of life.

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Intercultural parenting: A Discussion of Power Relations and Reverse Acculturation

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Abstract

In this article, a discussion of power relations and reverse acculturation, based on findings of a qualitative study that examined cultural differences in intercultural parenting and how intercultural parents negotiated their differences is presented. In-depth interviews were conducted with fourteen intercultural heterosexual couples/parents from different racial, ethnic and faith backgrounds. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data and understand the constructions of meanings of participants' experiences. The analysis identified four major themes describing the participants' experiences of intercultural parenting. In this article, I reflect on and discuss two of the themes that are relevant to academic literature: (1) power relations; and (2) reverse acculturation. Practical implications for therapists and counsellors working with intercultural parents/couples are also discussed.

Keywords: culture; intercultural couples; parenting; power; reverse acculturation; social constructionism.

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Introduction

Globalisation, the growth of immigration, social diversity, and advances in technology has prompted an increase in intercultural marriages and relationships in Australia, including interracial, interfaith and interethnic partnership (Owen, 2002; Luke & Carrington, 2000). Consequently, intercultural parenting experience is emerging as an important issue in the Australian society. The increase in intercultural parenting brings new dimensions to the dynamics of parenting which, although primarily interpreted as challenging, is also reported to be rewarding for intercultural couples and children.

As of March 2013, 26 percent of the total population of Australia were born overseas. About 17 percent of 4.28 million Australian couples were in an inter-marriage between overseas-born and Australian-born partners (ABS, 2013). Despite these statistics, there have been no published studies about how intercultural couples/parents raise their children in Australia. Only a few Australian studies (Andreoni & Fujimori, 1998; Papps et al., 1995; Sims & Omaji, 1999) have compared parenting between parents from the same cultural background in different ethnic groups, including African, Lebanese and Vietnamese parents. Another limitation identified by the researcher in the extant literature is a focus mainly on the psychosocial challenges and conflicts of intercultural relationships. There is very limited focus in the literature on the benefits and opportunities associated with intercultural relationships and parenting.. The intention in this article, therefore, is to focus on the positive transformations of intercultural relationships and parenting based on findings of a qualitative study on the experiences of intercultural parents in Australia (Bhugun, 2016, in press).

Perspectives on intercultural parenting

Challenges impacting on intercultural couples

Challenges occur in all relationships. However, the challenges are multiplied for intercultural couples because of cultural differences and societal assumptions regarding intercultural marriages and relationships (Bhugra & DeSilva, 2000; McFadden, 2001; Seshadri & Knudson-Martin, 2013). Common concerns in intercultural relationships are described as: values, gender, religion, childrearing, money, sexuality, social class, and language (Frame, 2004). Other factors that can impact on the success or failure of the intercultural relationship depend significantly on the internal and external environment of the couples, including ethnic, social, political and economic conditions (Rosenblatt, 2009).

Other challenges for intercultural couples are described as social attitudes, ranging from encouragement and acceptance, to hostility and intolerance (Bhugra & De Silva, 2000); non-acceptance from families and cultural groups, social ostracism, and problems of adjustment in communities (Kilian, 2001b; McFadden & Moore, 2001); families of origin (Hsu, 2001); barriers to communication (Romano, 2001); transition from dual individuality to a partnership (Adams, 2004); negotiating cultural variations regarding parenthood (Bustamante et al., 2011; Romano, 2001); and stressors that differ from same-culture couples (Bustamante et al., 2011; Falicov, 1995).

Most of the literature on intercultural relationships has focused on the deficit perspectives, that is, the challenges experienced by intercultural couples. There is a remarkable paucity of understanding about the successes, opportunities and benefits of intercultural relationships and parenting. In a comprehensive study of the experiences of intercultural couples (Romano, 2001), the researcher identified the rewards of their relationships, including: developing a deeper understanding of self; cultivating an international identity; providing their offspring a richer world; and a sense of belonging to the evolving multicultural world. This current study aimed to explore the experiences of intercultural couples and parents from strength-based perspectives. The next section addresses challenges for intercultural couples/parents over childrearing.

Conflicts and challenges over child rearing

Most couples face challenges in their relationship. However intercultural couples face additional challenges as a result of cultural conflicts over parenting (Bustamante et al., 2011; Keller, et al. 2004; Romano, 2001). Sources of conflict include the other's norms, values, religious beliefs, meanings and rituals (Perel, 2000; Romano, 2001); cultural and racial identity of children (Bratwidjaja, 2007); naming of children and the language they speak (Karis & Killian, 2009); educational goals, disciplinary styles, forms of parent-child relationships, and conflicting styles of parenting (Berg-Cross, 2001); different gender role expectations and division of household labour (Gupta, 2008); and roles and expectations of the extended family members (Karis & Killian, 2009).

Most individuals also parent the way they were parented (Santrock, 2007). As such, their parenting styles may be as a result of their cultural views about children and child-rearing practices (Frame, 2004). The conflicts can have serious negative implications for both intercultural couples and their children. Bradford et al. (2007) suggest that conflict in parental values can lead to emotional disturbance in children and diminished parenting.

Negotiation of intercultural parenting differences

Although most parents have conflicts over parenting styles and practices, intercultural parents have the additional task of negotiating parenting styles and practices. In their study on parenting ethnically mixed children, Caballero, Edwards and Puthussery (2008) found that parents dealt with ongoing challenges about their own differences, and their children's sense of identity and belonging, by moving away from understanding the problem as cultural differences, favouring a viewpoint shaped more by choice than ascription. They identified three approaches in the parents' description of bringing up their children: (1) an individual approach, where children's identity is not necessarily related to their particular backgrounds; (2) a mixed approach, where children's background is seen as a rooted and factual part of who they are; or (3) a single approach, where one aspect of children's background is given priority.

According to Ho (1990), the birth of a child reignites couple's childhood experiences and beliefs about parenting. In order to reconcile differences over parenting, intercultural couples used different strategies over childrearing: (1) the power rule where one partner assumes responsibility of all decisions; (2) sphere of influence rule,

where each partner assumes responsibility for different aspects of childrearing; and (3) inertia rule, an arrangement where both parents abdicate their childrearing responsibilities. These studies do not seem to explain why intercultural couples adopt these problem solving strategies. There is a need for further studies to understand why intercultural couples select these different problem solving strategies for conflict resolution over parenting.

Methodology

A qualitative research method was chosen for this study because it provides “thick description” of the phenomena (Geertz, 1973), and accurately represents the inner experience and meanings given by individuals to events within their social context (Minichiello et al., 2004; Paton, 2002). It blended well with the chosen social constructionist epistemology, which describes knowledge as an internally constructed phenomenon that is socially and culturally decided (Gergen, 1985). The social constructionist perspective enabled the researcher to challenge taken-for-granted reality of parenting styles and practices.

A purposive sampling strategy, including criterion and snowball methods was used to select participants for this study. Fourteen couples from various cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds from South-East Queensland participated in the study. Participants were aged between 28-67; married between 4-25 years; had between one and four children, aged between 6 months to 18 years old; education ranging from primary to post-graduate level; and self-identified cultural and ethnic backgrounds including Anglo-Australian, African, Asian, Indian, Arabic, Muslim, New Zealander, and Pacific Islanders. Fourteen semi-structured conjoint interviews were carried out with fourteen couples (28 participants). Consistent with qualitative research, the general data analysis strategy outlined by Braun & Clarke (2006) was used to code and understand meaning in complex data on the experiences of the intercultural parents. This resulted in ‘thick description’ of the parent’s practices in raising their children, which was very important for the notion of transferability, given the small size of the qualitative sample (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Discussion

Power Relations

Intercultural couples/parents adopt several strategies to resolve conflict and achieve a balance in how they manage their intercultural relationship and parenting experiences. However, some form of imbalance and dominance regarding power dynamics still prevail throughout all phases of intercultural couples’ experiences. In this study, power issues among participants were apparent in areas such as parenting practices, language and communication, gender and insider/outsider status.

From a social constructionist perspective power is seemingly present in all phases of intercultural relationship and parenting. According to Pare (1996) ‘power is seen as playing a central role in privileging some voices or stories while silencing others’ (p.5). In other words, power grants the privilege to have one’s truth prevail and establish knowledge supremacy over others. This interpretation of power concurs with participants’ narratives in this current study. Two participants were absolute in the

righteousness, supremacy and privilege about their own cultural 'truth' over that of their partner's cultural values, especially regarding parenting practices. For example, one participant in particular, from the majority host culture, believed that he was 'always right' and had the privilege of his own truth regarding sleeping patterns of children, referred to as 'sleep-cry', because of parenting experiences from his previous marriage and the way it is done in the western culture. Although, the participant referred to the privilege of truth from his cultural perspective, it can be also interpreted as a power issue from a gender and personality perspective. Power therefore plays a role in any form of negotiation where individuals strive to have their voices and stories heard.

Cottrell (1990) found that intercultural couples tend to conform to the cultural practices of the dominant host culture. Seto and Cavallaro (2007) also found that the place of residence impacts on couples' power distribution in a relationship. The findings of this study support Cottrell and Seto and Cavallaro's arguments. In this study, immigrant partners perceived themselves mostly as 'outsiders' because they live in the host country and therefore the need to conform mostly to the host culture. In the context of intercultural relationships, the concept of 'outsider status' refers to the partner who migrates to the host country and lives in the partner's home country. Most of the immigrant partners experienced power imbalance, from living in the host partner's country, being isolated from their relatives, lack of extended family support, loss of their culture, and experiencing language and communication problems. One immigrant participant gave up on some aspects of her cultural values and traditional recreational activities for her children in order to minimise conflict with her host partner, who was adamant about his values. The host participants experienced insider status power dynamics from belonging to the majority population and race, speaking the majority language and having an overall knowledge of the Australian society and culture.

However, some participants also felt a sense of power from immersion in the host culture and 'belongingness' from being married to the host partner. Interestingly, this study revealed that some majority host partners in intercultural relationships can also feel the minority status phenomenon. For example, one participant felt completely ignored when his wife's extended family members were visiting and completely immersed themselves in their homeland language and traditional practices. Another participant from the majority host culture felt the same when she was visiting her husband's native country and all his relatives spoke in their local ethnic language. She felt powerless and lonely. Two other host partners described how they were the subjects of racism, rejection and ignored in the social arena because of their marriage to minority ethnic partners in Australia.

Romano (1998) stated that language barriers can create misunderstandings between intercultural couples. The findings in this study concur with Romano's suggestions. Power regarding language was manifested when some participants tried to control their partner's behaviour or thoughts. It was clear that there was a complex interaction between power and language. Two participants stated that language barriers made it difficult for them to win a plausible argument with their host partners as the latter overpowered them with the command of the language, which eventually led to frustration, emotional distress and unhappiness. Another participant found it difficult to communicate properly with her children in her first language because the children

have assimilated in the host culture and do not want to talk their mother's language. All the participants encouraged their children to learn or speak some of the immigrant partner's language so that they can communicate with their extended families and members of the ethnic minority community.

Communication style was another parallel challenge entwined with language problems. Power is most of the time present during communications with each other even if it is not necessarily evident. The intercultural partner with the most power often determined the communication pattern in the relationship. The relationship between communication and power in intercultural relationships is not often explored in the literature. In this current study, some participants had problems with their partner's communication styles which led to major misunderstanding, arguments, withdrawals and unhappiness. For example, one immigrant partner in particular, resorted to his cultural ways of dealing with problems such as silence, withdrawal, time, and thought processes, whereas his host partner wanted immediate answers and dealing with problems straightaway, thus imposing a western 'individualist' cultural value on the minority immigrant. Hall (1976) refers to this style of communication as 'high context' and 'low context' cultures which denotes inherent cultural differences between societies.

High-context and low-context communication refers to how much individuals rely on things other than words to communicate a message. According to Hall (1976), high-context cultures prefer harmony and consensus, are less governed by reason than intuition and feelings and words are not so important as context which might include the sender's tone of voice, facial expression, gestures and postures. Many things are left unsaid, letting the culture explain. Low-context cultures, on the other hand, are ones in which information is explicitly stated in the communication, explanations are expected when statements or events are not clear and meanings are not internalised by individuals but are derived from the situation or event. Hall's expression of high-context and low-context cultures clearly reflects the communication styles of participants in this study.

However, power is not always a one-directional process but is dynamic. I suggest that the exercise of power in this context can be perceived from a reverse or reciprocal perspective. The minority ethnic partner, in relation to the situation explained above, could also be exercising power over his or her partner by resorting to silence and withdrawal in the communication process. This phenomenon is yet to be explored. A full examination of the context of power regarding communication styles in intercultural relationship is beyond the scope of this study and can be the subject for further research.

Keller (2009) suggests that there is a clear power differentiation in collectivist cultures as women are defined by their allegiance to men, rather than their independent accomplishments and that gender roles are more rigid with a high degree of differentiation in the rights and obligations between males and females. This study confirms Keller's findings and goes further by revealing that power dynamics go beyond male influences in collective societies. Power dynamics also exist in intercultural relationships among men from individualistic cultures in the host society. For example, all the female participants stated that their husbands, irrespective of their cultural backgrounds, exercised more power than them regarding discipline and

socialisation processes of the children. One participant also associated gender power to males from the individualistic culture as an attribute of religious values, and described how she submitted to her husband's lack of understanding of her culture because of their common religious values where the man is regarded as the 'higher authority'.

This study also revealed another important finding, wherein male partners from the collective society experienced role reversals in the individualistic host culture. Some participants described how they lost power when, contrary to the gender values they experienced in their homeland, had to cook, wash and put women's clothes on the clothes line. The gender power was compromised in order to sustain a healthy relationship. The findings also revealed that those male partners from the collectivist culture reverted to their traditional gender roles and expectations when they returned to their homeland.

Reverse Acculturation/Enculturation

In a study of Korean immigrants in America, Kim & Park (2009) reported that Korean immigrants are reverting to what they termed 'reverse acculturation' that is, introducing the heritage culture to the host nation. Miller (2010) refers to enculturation as adopting attributes of the host culture and retaining those of the heritage culture. Both these dynamics of reverse acculturation and enculturation were apparent in the findings of this current study. The findings on reverse acculturation reported by Kim & Park (2009) and this present study bring a different perspective to Berry's (1997) and current acculturation theory (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007) that acculturation is unidirectional and that immigrants eventually relinquish their heritage culture and adapt to the host country's culture and values. Whilst this theory may be true for some immigrants, defined within contextual realities, such as running away from war torn countries and political and religious persecutions, it does not necessarily apply to migrants who immigrate to different regions of the world because of the effects of globalisation and a plural metropolitan society. The findings of this current study support the proposition. Participants from the minority ethnic group engaged in both reverse acculturation as well as enculturation processes by reinforcing their cultural heritage in the relationships and parenting practices. This was amply demonstrated in multiple domains, such as family values, language, identity, food, values and goals, behaviours, cultural knowledge and social affiliation and activities. Two particular participants also went back to their heritage country for couple of years, in the early stages of their parenting process, to inculcate and immerse their children in their heritage culture because they did not like the western way of raising children. This is a phenomenon which is beyond the scope of this study and needs further exploration and study as a discrete phenomenon.

This study also revealed another dimension of acculturation which can be termed as 'reciprocal acculturation', thus expanding the existing theoretical framework of acculturation. In the context of intercultural relationships and parenting, reciprocal acculturation can be defined as a process, wherein partners from the majority ethnic culture surrender to the positive cultural practices of the minority ethnic partner. Five participants from the majority host culture preferred and adopted their migrant partner's cultural processes. Diaspora communities were also considered as an important mechanism to sustain cultural ties with the heritage culture and local

members of the relevant minority ethnic communities (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Diaspora communities are currently matters of debate and concerns in the public and political arena in Australia and other countries embracing multiculturalism, but this should not deter from the positive contributions it makes to society in general and particularly in the context of intercultural dynamics (Chan, 2013).

Recent shifts in the global culture, towards a more cosmopolitan culture, also reinforce the concept of reverse and reciprocal acculturation/enculturation. As the participants in this study described, the willingness on their part to embrace aspects of other cultures, enhanced their lifestyle and opportunities in both the heritage and host culture.

The debates over parenting styles have been well documented over the years, with consensus, mostly in the western and individualist cultures, for the authoritative style of parenting (Beaumrind, 1967; 1971), which emphasises responsiveness alongside demandingness. On the other hand, and as described in the literature review, most collective cultures, especially Asian, African and Middle-eastern cultures, embrace and justify authoritarian parenting. However, there seems to be a shift towards an authoritative parenting style in the Australian context, among intergenerational parents and some new migrants. In this current study, in the context of intercultural parenting, participants from the African culture were found to be practising a mix of authoritative and hierarchical style of parenting. Lindahl & Malik (1999) differentiated between authoritarian and hierarchical parenting styles in that the latter does not necessarily imply unresponsiveness in the way that authoritarian parenting style does. They suggested that hierarchical parenting styles promote respect for elders, parents and authorities and strong intra-familial boundaries.

In two separate studies on African migrant families in Australia, Renzaho (2011) and Sims & Omajee (1995) found that reconciling the parenting style of their home country with what is accepted practice in Australia is a struggle for many African and Arab speaking migrant families. They explained that 'African families come from a culture based on authoritarian parenting style that centres on collective family, respect for elders, corporal punishment and interdependence' (p.1). This current study, which includes the parenting experiences of some participants who are migrants from Africa, reveals an evolving perspective on their parenting styles because of the intercultural parenting dynamic. The African participants in this study were keen to make their relationship work and as such have adopted some strategies, including flexibility, compromise and negotiating their parenting styles. In the context of intercultural parenting, within Australia, it appears that African participants have shifted from an authoritarian to a combined hierarchical and authoritative parenting style.

Four out of five participants from Asian cultures have shifted from their parents' styles of authoritarian parenting to the authoritative parenting style. It is important to note here that all the Asian participants were female and therefore gender considerations in the way they were parented may have also influenced this shift. There was no evidence in the data to support the gender consideration argument. According to the participants, the reason for the shift in their parenting style was based on (1) dislike of their parenting experiences from their parent's authoritarian parenting style, particularly regarding discipline and educational expectations. The participants described that their parents were never happy with their study results and

demanded better performances, thus making them feel sad, inadequate and lacking in confidence; (2) lack of communication about children's feelings. According to one participant, Japanese parents never say their children are the best; and (3) exposure to other styles of parenting where children seem to be happier. As one participant described, in the Chinese culture parents speak to kids like a leader or the worker as opposed to Australians who speak to children on the same level. This is an interesting phenomenon revealing current and emerging changing attitudes about parenting styles among Asian communities in the Australian context.

The findings of this current study challenge current thinking about parenting in the collectivist culture. The assumption is that the collectivist culture embraces and promotes authoritarian parenting style. This assumption, as revealed in studies by Chao (1994, 2000) bears substance in Asian homogenous collectivist societies, but may not be entirely relevant to members of the collectivist society who have migrated to other western countries. The assumption is also challenged following another study (Cheah et al, 2009) in which immigrant Chinese mothers of pre-schoolers strongly endorsed the authoritative parenting style which predicted increased children's behavioural/attention regulation abilities. This current study adds to the debate about assumptions regarding authoritarian parenting based on the findings of parenting within an intercultural context and a western society. Similar to the African context mentioned above, this study reveals an equally evolving perspective on the parenting styles among immigrant Asian participants, because of the intercultural parenting dynamics. The Asian participants in the intercultural relationships were equally keen to make their relationship work and as such have adopted some strategies, including flexibility, compromise and negotiating their parenting styles. In the context of intercultural parenting, within Australia, it appeared that the Asian participants have shifted from an authoritarian to authoritative parenting style.

The findings of this study also challenge the assumption that parents parent the way they were parented (Santrock, 2007; Tanaka et al, 2009). This was not fully demonstrated in all the parenting experiences described by the participants. Asian participants in particular, did not like the way they were parented and as a result shifted from their parent's authoritarian parenting style to an authoritative parenting styles. The shift in parenting style appeared to have been influenced by the contextual and ecological environment they lived in and experiences of different parenting styles.

Conclusion

Analysis of the couples'/parents' narratives generated rich descriptions of how intercultural couple/parents constructed meaning of their intercultural parenting experiences. Although the findings cannot be generalised, it has the potential of transferability to similar contexts. There was no denial that intercultural couples experienced similar parenting challenges as homogenous couples, but their challenges were exacerbated because of the cultural differences. However, all the participants were keen to make their experiences a positive one by negotiating, compromising, respecting and accommodating each other's parenting style and practices. In this study, some parents put aside their cultural or personal differences and focussed instead on what is best for their children and the family. This parenting style can be termed as 'selfless parenting'.

The experiences of intercultural couples/parents are also influenced by other systemic, ecological and contextual factors such as the environment, gender, socio-economic status, extended family, friends, diasporic communities, religion, and individual/personality traits. Whilst parents endeavour to harmonise their parenting and relationship experiences from an internal perspective, the external influences, which are usually based on stereotypes and lack of cultural literacy, are beyond their control.

Counsellors and therapists would benefit from exploring and understanding power dynamics in intercultural contexts so that they can help their clients negotiate power relations in relational and parenting dynamics. Counsellors can also help clients to focus on and appreciate the positive experiences of reverse acculturation as sources of strengths in the context of intercultural relationship and parenting dynamics. The helping professions also need to show cultural sensitivity and respect when dealing with intercultural couples and families. Hopefully this exploratory study serves as an insight that can be transferred to other similar context, and be a useful platform for further studies into this growing phenomenon on the experiences of intercultural parenting, in order to help current and future intercultural couples, parents and practitioners in the family domain.

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Chinese Indonesians at the Crossroads: Post-Suharto Identity Dilemma in the Rise of China in the New Era

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Abstract

This research explores the subjective reality of new generations of Chinese Indonesians in asserting their Chineseness in the new political climate and the more diversified media environment. Through the constructivist approach to qualitative inquiry, the psychological themes become predominant and motivate those Chinese Indonesians to use media as distress-escaping means. The result shows that the era after the downfall of Suharto's authoritarian regime does not necessarily eliminate completely the discrimination against Chinese Indonesians by the indigenous people. The unrelieved psychological discomfort in the reformation era has led to an inference that the actual implementation of proclaimed renaissance in the post-Suharto era is somewhat illusory. This phenomenon has shown that the different social economic condition will somehow change the construction of identity of Chinese Indonesians as well.

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1. Introduction

The meanings of Chineseness today are “shifting and varied” (Meerwald, 2002). Its diversified connotations largely depend on the historical context, cultural experience, and the new global circumstances. Wang, L. L.-c. (1991) argued that “there is no single Chinese identity in the United States or in the world of Chinese diaspora”. Instead, recently, the global power of China, commonly referred to as “the rise of China”, has been a ground for the unstable identity for most Chinese all over the world.

Ang (2013) stated that “China’s international reputation was transformed from one of the backwaters of history to the country that many onlookers consider the premier rising global superpower”. Following the “rise of China” (Kuehn, et al., 2013), a number of scholars stated that an overwhelming feeling of admiration, along with an emotional attachment to their homeland were still embedded in most diasporic Chinese wherever they are. “In tandem with the growing international political and economic stature of China, Chinese-Singaporean can discern the confident assertion and promotion of Chinese identity” (Tan, 2003). In addition, “many second-generation Chinese Canadians in Vancouver, considered as a Global City, are interested in their family’s heritage and beginning to systematically compile their histories (Wickberg, 2007).

China’s global power does not only provoke the diasporic Chinese’ emotional ties to China, but also evokes anxiety and feeling detached from China. Ang (2013), as a diasporic Chinese who was born in Indonesia, received her formative education in the Netherlands, and has lived and worked in Australia since 1990s, has kept her Chinese identity ambiguous, indefinite, and undecided. In addition, Meerwald (2002) argued that, as a *mottled* Chinese, she stood in the indeterminate space that enabled her to interrogate the norms that continue to inflict immense force on her negotiations of Chineseness. Those facts indicate that there has been an ambiguity of ethnic subjectivication experienced by some overseas Chinese.

The Chinese in Indonesia are very diverse and can be identified differently in different periods and regions (Hoon, 2006). It is commonly shared that Chinese Indonesians lived in Indonesia experienced inappropriate and unjust treatment from the late 16th century until the late 1990s. It started from the Dutch colonial times up to the era of Suharto, the second president of Indonesia. The political repression the different generations of Chinese Indonesians had to deal with occurred under different regime and political circumstances, but the worst condition happened during the period of Suharto’s authoritarian rule (1966-1998). In the era of Suharto, the government prohibited the use of Chinese characters in public spaces, the import of Chinese-language publications, and all forms and expressions that could be traced to be of Chinese cultural origin (Tan, 1999). Up to the mid-1980s, the 200 million population was entertained with the sole television channel allowed, the state-owned Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI), which was filled with official rituals and ideological indoctrination (Dawis, 2009). The monotonous programs broadcast and the infrequent presence of Chinese Indonesians “as the subject matter of the film texts” in Indonesian cinema surprisingly led to the popularity of Chinese films and serials from Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan which were served as the distress-escaping means (Sen, 2006).

The China's increasingly prominent presence on the world stage has been followed by the global reach of Chinese cultural production. In the last decade, as stated by Kuehn, et al. (2013), a number of anthologies have been published that have begun to investigate the role of Chinese culture producers and cultural products in the network of nation, diaspora, identity, community, and communication. This transnational flow of ideas, by means of Chinese cultural products, served as the "symbolic vehicle" (Swidler, 1986), is somehow aimed at reaching a Chinese homogenous ideology throughout the world, regardless the complex meanings of Chineseness today. In the post Suharto era, when the cultural and political hardship is no longer an issue, and transnationalism and globalization have indeed become prominent issues, studies of ethnic Chinese identity in relation with issues of diaspora, transnationalism, and the rise of China recently have been the academic area of interest.

There have been a number of notable scholars (Budiman, 2005; Heryanto, 2008; Suryadinata, 2008) who have researched the portrait of Chinese Indonesians in the post-Suharto era. What those researches have in common is that Chinese Indonesians still fear of the rekindled "latent anti-Chinese feeling" (Budiman, 2005) due to the "growing social gap between Chinese and Non Chinese" (Suryadinata, 2008) and residual "ethnic stereotyping" (Budiman, 2005) represented in post-1998 films. In addition, there have been a few researches on how Chinese Indonesians were represented in the post Suharto Indonesian films (Sen, 2006; Tickel, 2009; Setijadi, 2013). However, those previous studies pay more attention on how the Chinese Indonesians' so-called conflicting identities are constructed in post-Suharto films. What the preceding studies are lacking is how actually those Chinese Indonesians today perceive their selves in real life. Even more, how the media products influence their identities in the new political climate and the much more diversified media environment will be an interesting study as well. This paper attempts to discover how the transnational media products from China influence the process of identity formation of the new generations of Chinese Indonesians in the contemporary cultural politics. In order to gain a complete understanding of Chinese Indonesians identity formation, the author chose a mixed-method study, which involved participant observation, in-depth interviews and written survey (questionnaire).

2. History of Chinese Indonesians and Identity

The first Chinese migrants to Indonesia primarily came from four ethnic groups, predominantly from the two provinces of Fujian and Guangdong in Southeast China and occupied the Eastern Indonesia, Central and East Java, the West and East coast of Sumatra, the Riau islands, and Kalimantan (Turner, 2003). As soon as modes of transportation were invented, Chinese started to migrate from villages to cities for better opportunities, and to outside China between 12th and 20th century as well. History has shown that ethnic Chinese in Indonesia has always been put in difficult situation ever since the period of Dutch colonization (1596 – 1942), due to "its divide et impera (divide and conquer) policy" (Simbolon, 2005). The policy against Chinese continued into the Japanese Occupation (1942 – 1945) and the Sukarno period (1945-1967).

The fact is that throughout history, the worst condition of Chinese Indonesians occurs during the legacy of Suharto's 31-year rule (1966-1998) (New Order), the second president of Indonesia. As emphasized by Chua (2004), the process of exclusion against ethnic Chinese includes marginalization, discrimination, and stigmatization. Those processes are designed to develop negative stereotypes about Chinese Indonesians, which led into Anti-Chinese sentiment and riots directed by the indigenous people. However, the ethnic violence addressed by native Indonesians, somehow remind Chinese Indonesians of their cultural background; their Chineseness. A notable scholar who studied how the Chinese Indonesians who grew up during Suharto's New Order maintained their Chineseness through the media is Dawis (2009).

For most Chinese Indonesians at that time, there was combination of visual exotica and narrative familiarity while watching Chinese dramas, in which their viewing pleasure comes from both the spectatorial desire to see the 'exotic China' and the familiarity and comfort of narrative convention and the experience (Sun, 2002). The transmitted Chinese cultural values and rituals somehow contribute to the formation of Chinese identity. As stated by Mercer (1990), "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty". However, it is undeniable that the Chinese Indonesians identity construction was not completely developed since their freedom of expression was obviously eroded by the authorities.

Compared with the era when Chinese had to struggle to define their identity, after the Suharto's resignation, Chinese Indonesians had been given alternatives to express their identity. As emphasized by Hoon (2006), a consequence of this was not only the awakening of Chinese identity reflected in the formation of Chinese political parties and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but also the revival of Chinese culture, religion, language, press, and media. It marked the beginning of democratization (reformation) and re-emergence of Chinese Indonesians in various aspects of life. It also triggered the rise of identity politics across the whole Indonesian society (Hoon, 2006).

The political climate in the Suharto era is certainly different from the post-Suharto era in terms of democratization, but Indonesia has never really embarked on a democratic course. Indonesia has been seen to settle into a "gray zone" where autocratic and democratic features are combined. There has been a sequence of stages towards a flowering of democracy which has been rejected. The emergence of ethnic conflicts has been an important factor limiting democratization in Indonesia. Sensitive issues related with ethnic-minority do still exist, even though in a lesser number of cases. What can be said about the post Suharto era is that the proclaimed democracy seems ceremonial. What most Chinese Indonesians experience today is a "pseudo renaissance", in which the actual implementation of renaissance itself is somewhat illusory.

3. Developing Self-Control: Maintaining Conformity with the Indigenous People

3.1. Unsettled Remains: Unsuccessful Multiculturalism

The Suharto's declaration of his resignation did not only lead to the re-emergence of Chinese culture, but also engendered the multiculturalism in Indonesia. Most of scholars share a common understanding in which multiculturalism puts an emphasis on the 'coexistence and equal representation of different cultures and peoples within a nation state' (Hoon, 2006). In spite of the fact that Indonesia is rich in cultural diversity with hundreds of different ethnic groups, including Chinese Indonesians, a congenial atmosphere has not been created during Suharto's New Order period. Multiculturalism represented in the state ideology of *Pancasila* and national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is merely an ideal.

Multiculturalism has been unsuccessful since the majority of indigenous people experience an intense feeling of fear of being culturally and politically dominated and controlled by Chinese Indonesians. This paranoia has its roots in Dutch colonial era, when "the Chinese were accorded special privileges and served as 'middle men' and tax collectors for the Dutch" (Dawis, 2009), while the indigenous Indonesians were placed on the lower class in their own land. This resentment against Chinese had been exacerbated throughout Suharto's rule, wherein Suharto successfully shaped the supposition that Indonesia's economic sectors were gradually dominated by Chinese Indonesians. This has caused undesirable psychological response from indigenous people whenever Chinese Indonesians were granted equal treatment. Even though Indonesia has entered the Post-Suharto era, the residual hatred and anxiety against Chinese Indonesians still exists and hinder the implementation of multiculturalism in Indonesia.

Based on the interview conducted to mostly Chinese Indonesians in their 20s and 30s with a wide range of careers, the problems with Chinese occurred during Suharto era were still there, overwhelming their mind. A number of interviewees whom I interviewed showed the same stance they took toward the question of Chineseness. Irene, for example, a medical doctor in her early 30s, distanced herself from an opinion about Chinese culture by being indifferent. Another interviewee, Esty, a devout Christian and a civil servant, spontaneously express her feelings of dislike against any questions regarding her Chinese identity. This situation somehow indicates that both Irene and Esty's existence as a minority group has not been totally recognized.

The main reason for the unfavorable multiculturalism is the ignorance of socio-psychological condition of Chinese Indonesians. The long repressive assimilation imposed by Suharto dictatorship has inevitably a long-term psychological effect upon Chinese Indonesians. They were not able to assert their original cultural identity, and neither were they fully accepted as Indonesians. Up to the present, Chinese Indonesians are caught in "the in-betweenness of the displaced" (Goldman and Saul, 2006), due to the unpleasant emotion caused by the remaining belief that indigenous people is likely to cause pain or threat one way or another.

3.2. Developing Self Control: Maintaining Conformity with Indigenous People

The state of being psychologically uncomfortable motivated them to achieve consonance regardless of the fact that they continuously suffered from discrimination. Striving for internal consistency for more than three decades unquestionably results in

psychological trauma for most Chinese Indonesians. It needs time to change the way Chinese Indonesians think about Indonesians after being alienated for a long period of time. In addition, to totally remove the unequal treatment against Chinese Indonesians in the post Suharto era is a long way process. The resistance of most Chinese Indonesians who were interviewed towards the questions of Chineseness reflects their reluctance to being labeled “Chinese”.

3.2.1. Unspoken Cultural Blending

Instead of publicly announcing the real identity of Chinese, Chinese Indonesians chose the cultural blending with the local culture as another way for them to overcome the identity confusion. The maintenance of Chinese identity does not rigidly keep their cultural purity, but it suggests an alternative way of increasing the Chinese Indonesians cultural belonging in local life. It cannot be denied that Chinese cultural elements have been gradually absorbed with Indonesian culture. Many forms of cultural absorption can be observed, such as code mixing and word borrowing. The hybrid phenomenon can be seen in the mixed use of language in the Chinese Indonesians daily conversation. Based on the interview to a number of Chinese Indonesians, they frequently mentioned about the Indonesian version of Chinese new year, *imlek*, along with their Betawi's words which are derived from Southern Hokkien dialect after being asked about Chinese new year. Those phenomena represent the occurrence of language convergence. The Hokkien dialect which came in contact with the local language resulted in some mutually intelligible words.

Another intermingle culture between Chinese and Indonesian Cuisine can be seen in some of the famous cuisines in Indonesia. Tan (2002) argued that better picture of the influence of Chinese ingredients and foods can be examined from the loanwords originating from the Chinese, mostly Hokkien, used in the Indonesian language, such as *bakmi*, *kuetiao*, *bihun*, *bakso*, *juhi*, *cumi*, *lobak*, *tim*, *Hainan*, *capcai*, *pangsit*, and *kuachi*. A study by Christanti explored Chinese acculturation on various culinary noodles. Many types of noodle dishes represent the local cuisine traditions in Indonesia. Based on her research, the acculturation level does not only apply in culinary (noodle) aspect, but also in daily interactions among the Chinese descent people and local Indonesians.

Those Chinese influences on local culture have been so well integrated into Indonesian mainstream culture that many Indonesians today might not recognize their Chinese-origin and considered them as their own. By silently and invisibly penetrating their cultural values and norms into the specific localities, Chinese culture is well embedded in a larger Indonesian culture. Therefore, as a diasporic Chinese, Chinese Indonesians will not completely lose their Chineseness and will somehow be able to restore their Chinese identity.

3.2.2. A Contradiction Between Written and Oral

The observable entangled identity of Chinese Indonesians occurs when they want to retain their Chineseness through the cultural influence in the local culture, but on the other hand, they are unwilling to be called “Chinese”. Their claim of being pure Indonesians reflects their tacit identity that they keep fully submerged but implanted and preoccupied their thoughts. Most interviewees were disinclined to express their

Chineseness and kept their pride in being Chinese hidden. They stated that their Chinese language were poor, but on the other hand, referring to the answers to the questionnaire, the majority of respondents evaluated their Chinese proficiency as good. Moreover, they demonstrate their positive attitude about becoming a fluent Chinese speaker and their dignity of having Chinese names.

Surprisingly, most of the respondents wrote in Chinese a number of Chinese movie titles that they liked to watch in the past and they are currently watching in the questionnaires. The most frequently mentioned movies are Kung Fu Dunk (2008) and The Monkey King (2014). When author re-confirmed their favorite Chinese films, they repeatedly stated they chose Chinese programs when they have no other preferences. Korean and American entertainment programs are what they are actually inclined to watch. This condition reflects the fact that they silently formed and sustained their Chineseness and as well indicates the Chinese Indonesians' psychological pressure when dealing with face to face interview. On the other hand, while answering the questionnaire, they tend to less likely to feel tense due to the absence of eye contact. Hence, they could freely express their true feelings.

The unfavorable multiculturalism has indeed led to an entangled identity, in which Chinese Indonesians experience conflicts over identity. These conflicts occur when Chinese Indonesians feel that their sense of self are threatened, therefore they will actively avoid situations which would likely increase tension between Chinese Indonesians and *pribumi*¹. In this sense, they sometimes firmly state their sense of belonging to Indonesia, but in particular occasions, they express their pride for their ethnicity. Even the cultural blending does not eventually lead to a freedom to publicly express their cultural identity. This ambivalent identity is caused by unresolved psychological pain, in which the discrimination against ethnic Chinese until now still exists. Instead of openly speak their identity, Chinese Indonesians forced them selves into silence, in order to secure their peace of mind.

3.2.3. Media Use: Distress-Escaping Means

The remaining mental discomfort experienced by most Chinese Indonesians and cynicism expressed by the indigenous people on certain occasions have provoked those Chinese Indonesians to turn to the media as distress-escaping means. Media, here, plays an important role in the construction, negotiation, and maintenance of cultural identity. The construction begins when the external inputs to the brain allow individual to recall their memories and build up their "other" identity. The process of constructing identity will be complicated for the Chinese Indonesians who have to deal with contradictory values or ideas. This process will finally reach the final level, i.e. the maintenance of their identity. Some respondents talked about their favorite movies while relating to their identity formation.

The secondhand memories, the term used to "describe the ambivalent inheritance of memory from older generations" (Watson, 2013), are in the form of Chinese traditions and cultures. Those which have been internalized by Chinese Indonesians become their semi-conscious selves-identity. This subliminal identity will be activated by the Chinese cultural images and values visualized and delivered by television. The process of identity formation includes the consciousness created,

consciousness rising, and consciousness solidified. It is argued that the degree to which the respondents maintained their Chineseness through the media is linked with personal factors, such as families, religions, gender, and regional origins (Dawis, 2009). The self-identification also takes influence from the parental influence and guidance. On one hand, media became a mirror of reality because they could connect with aspects of Chinese cultural values and traditions that they also experienced in Indonesia in some ways. On the other hand, media presented China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as a desired other - depicting expectations and norms that were different from their lives in Indonesia. The Chinese Indonesians will arrive at the state of Consciousness created when they engage in behavioral responses to the external stimuli provoked by the media. The historical background of China and the cultural context portrayed in most martial arts films play a significant role in creating the Chinese Indonesians' consciousness of their Chinese identity. In this case, the filial piety in Confucian philosophy, the warrior ethos, and bonds of brotherhood are some emotion-provoking themes which will contribute to the construction of Chinese Indonesians identity.

Their determined attempt to maintain their Chinese identity under the psychological distress is possibly due to the role of Chinese films which are imported either from Mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. Recently, China has been aspired to increase its TV export in which an additional ideological weight is unavoidably added to the "going-global" policy (Xu, 2013) considering the fact that Korean dramas were found to occupy 25 percent of broadcasting schedules of Chinese TV stations (Wu, 2007). Xu (2013) furthermore added that China-made TV programs kept on losing its audiences in overseas markets while those charming TV series made by regional producers have taken a large number of viewership away. According to the interview that I did with a number of young generations of Chinese Indonesians, most of them are still willing to watch Chinese movies and TV series, especially those with historical and cultural theme, which somehow will contribute to their identity formation.

The majority of respondents stated that they were psychologically relieved while watching martial arts films. Their memories provoked by the media along with their imagination of living in a constant state of peace in their 'mythic homeland' has contributed to the formation of their 'hidden identity', i.e. Chinese identity. Even though they could not easily express their Chineseness, they could somehow develop their unspoken identity by means of media. Their long-term memories provoked by the retrieval cues co-exists with the present condition. The current situation wherein those new generation of Chinese Indonesians are still treated less favorably than *pribumi* has caused a sudden "wake up call" which allows them to get back to reality and silently maintain their Chineseness.

4. Conclusion

4.1. Summary

Chinese Indonesians have gone through four main phases of evolutions. Each phase represents specific cultural and political condition Chinese Indonesians experience, which eventually shapes their self-image. They were formed based on their

understanding of how others perceive them. Knowing what the majority thinks of them as a minority somehow leads to self-doubt and feelings of insecurity. According to the American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), the degree of personal insecurity you display in social situations is determined by what you believe other people think of you. “Low self-esteem and poor self-image has long been associated with a whole range of psychological problems” (Isaksen, 2013).

Based on the data collection and analysis, the psychological themes of Chinese Indonesians in particular era were the recurrent and fundamental themes in this research. The different social economic condition will somehow change the construction of identity of Chinese Indonesians. The negative labeling against Chinese Indonesians for decades, from the Dutch colonial period until the end of Suharto era, has become the social stigma that make the formation of their Chinese identity more complex and confusing. Their negative self-perception has been fostered by perceptions and opinions of the majority. During the Dutch colonial rule, the prejudice about Chinese Indonesians has been passed down from generation to generation, as a result of divide and rule policy implemented by Dutch. In the Suharto era, as a consequence of both forced assimilationist policy and Dutch’s *divide et impera*, Chinese Indonesians were even more depressed. Moreover, during this period, they were subjected to the cruelest forms of indignity and violence.

Meanwhile, in the more democratic era, Chinese Indonesians are still considered inferior, even though to a lesser degree of conflict. The multiculturalism, which most scholars assumed would occur in Indonesia, is to a certain degree, unsuccessful. Another form of ‘phobia’ is discovered when most respondents demonstrate their psychological discomfort which has led to their ‘entangled identity’. Therefore, the social stigma results in their anticipated actions when dealing with any questions related to Chinese identity. They unconsciously have established their self-perception during the Suharto era; “being the descendants of Chinese is negative, thus you have to express denial of being addressed as Chinese”. This condition urges them to strive for internal consistency even after the downfall of Suharto, wherein they would explicitly show their Indonesian identity, while silently maintaining their Chinese identity through cultural blending and the media use. Their self-control occurs when they are trying to achieve consonance with the ‘mainstream’ identity. This will finally leads them to inconclusive identity of Chinese Indonesians in the future which is reflected in the inconsistencies between oral and written statement. Their evolution of identity formation can be mapped as follows:

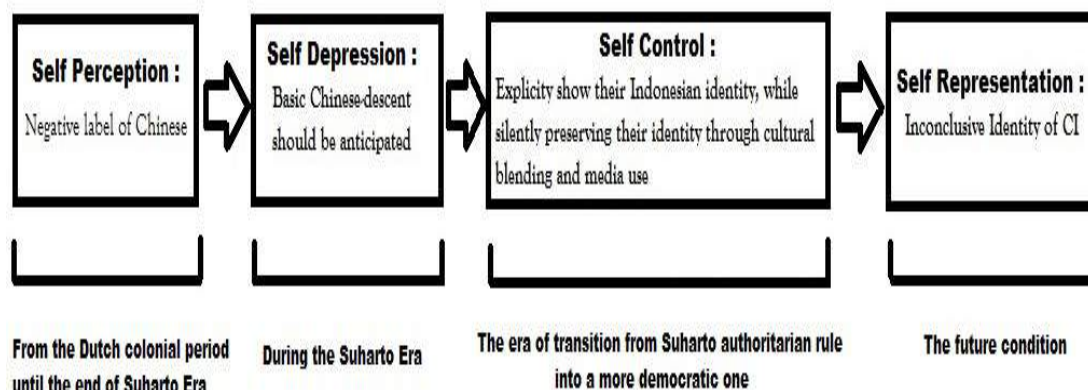


Figure 1. Identity evolution of Chinese Indonesians

4.2. Contribution

It has been argued that the rise of China has provoked pride among diasporic Chinese who reside in particular regions, but to some Chinese-descent people who live in countries that do not completely support multiculturalism, it has stimulated anxiety. The different geographical boundaries would influence the different process of identity formation of diasporic Chinese throughout the world. In the case of Indonesia with its political and cultural turbulence throughout history, Chinese Indonesians has been overwhelmed by the state of in-betweenness. Even today, the political and cultural cleavage between the majority (indigenous people) and minority (Chinese Indonesians) still exists, which in turn enhances the state of ambivalence. This condition contradicts the notion that diasporic Chinese still share commonalities of being Chinese. It supports Meerworld's (2002) statement that the meanings of Chineseness today are "shifting and varied". In Indonesia, being Chinese is problematic and complex. The ability to control their behavior and desires in the face of external demands is necessary to maintain harmony with the majority.

Notes

1. Pribumi : An Indonesian term which refers to the indigenous population (Suryadinata, 2008).

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The Feminine Nation: A Postcolonial Feminist Analysis of the Iconographies of Marianne and Maria Clara in the French and Philippine Online Press

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Abstract

Using articles from online portals of French national dailies Le Figaro, Le Monde and Le Parisien and Philippine national dailies Philippine Star, Philippine Daily Inquirer and Manila Bulletin, this paper aims to discuss and analyze the nation and national identity by examining representations of women through the respective national iconographies of Marianne and Maria Clara, which embody postcolonial, patriarchal, republican and neocolonial ideologies in France and in the Philippines.

Analysis of the texts displayed how these representations of Marianne and Maria Clara are insufficient to portray the specificities of reality, in particular the realities of marginalized, impoverished and immigrant women.

Keywords: postcolonial feminism, hybridity, multiculturalism, neocolonialism, republicanism, imitation, Third World vs. First World, colonized vs. colonized

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Introduction

France, described at once “a classic nation-state” and “Europe’s leading immigrant society” (Walzer 1997) has aimed to establish a universal Frenchness to unite these two conflicting ideas and promulgate idea of a diverse yet united nation under a sole French national identity. Signifying what is truly and genuinely French, Marianne has taken the form of popular celebrities like Brigitte Bardot and Laetitia Casta, thereby concocting an image of a woman that radiates beauty and courage, vulnerability and intensity. Despite a pre-established imagery, representations of Marianne have changed and evolved to suit current situations and recent discussions within France’s sociopolitical spheres. Recently, representations of Marianne have begun to stray from the blond, bold and blue-eyed attributes of Bardot and Casta, in an attempt to encompass the visual realms of the usual and the everyday through adapting the images of women more commonly seen in most French societies today - that is to say, the immigrants, the political refugees and the natives of territories who are neither white, Christian nor Français de souche. As these attempts provide representations of the marginalized that do not seem to embody a dominant republican imagery of the French national identity, these images of women have stirred and incited feminist and postcolonial discussions from academics and civilians alike.

The Philippines, on the other hand, who has spent most of its long and significant history as a colony of three world powers, still struggle to establish a common identity among its patriots. As such, Maria Clara, the tragic heroine from national hero Dr. Jose Rizal’s infamous novel *Noli me Tangere*, was first introduced to Filipinos during the darkest hours of the Spanish colonial regime. Unlike Marianne who is meant to directly embody the totality of a common French national identity, the ideology behind Maria Clara relies on a more metaphorical and literary representation of the Motherland, the Inang Bayan (Retana as cited in Terranal, 1978), through an amalgamation of Rizal’s love for a woman and his passion for his nation. Maria Clara has also been a prominent icon of Philippine popular culture, which manifests through various cultural mediums such as fashion, dance, theatre etc. All these depictions of Maria Clara, as they seem, promulgate and promote her status as a timeless symbol of traditional Filipina beauty based on the values of modesty, purity and chastity. Her iconography entails an idealized femininity that reflects the nation from the traditions of its colonial era to the nuances of its modern, neocolonial period. Now, she appears in fashion magazines, in TV programs and in films and even in discussions in the dating scene as a modernized symbol, emancipated from the chains of her once-domestic existence.

As such, both Marianne and Maria Clara play significant roles in the emergence and development of national consciousness in each nation (Joaquin as cited in Terrenal, 1978; Agulhon, “Marianne: réflexions sur une histoire” 1992), but each icon represents contrasting national images. Marianne personifies a well-cultivated inspiring depiction of liberty and the glory of the French Republic (“Marianne, réflexions sur une histoire” 1992), whereas Maria Clara represents the tragic victim driven to lunacy, a symbol that at once condemned and romanticized the systematized and systematic oppression in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial regime – taking into account the ideologies that

surround the formation of an idealized national identity (Heuer, 2008) within altogether different yet similar contexts.

This paper will discuss the analysis of articles from different sections of French dailies *Le Figaro*, *Le Parisien* and *Le Monde* and Philippine national dailies *Philippine Star*, *Manila Bulletin* and *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, written by various journalists between the year 2000 and 2014. It examines how these virtual and perceptual representations of women are insufficient to exhibit the specificities of reality and the discussions that surround multiculturalism in France, neocolonialism in the Philippines and, more notably, the formation of identities in hybrid cultures entrenched within these phenomena.

Marianne: always a subject of debate

Every three years since the beginning of the 5th republic, the president has to choose a new model for Marianne. The new face of France will then appear on all possible cultural products in the country such as logos, busts, monuments or stamps. As such, the new Marianne should be able to embody universalism, mission civilisatrice, liberalism, secularism, and separation of private and public space – concepts and values inherent to the supposed Republican ideal that has been cultivated through the years.



Fig. 1 A photo that juxtaposes Kawena and Ciappa's Marianne stamp and its model, Inna Shevchenko. "Timbre inspiré d'une Femen: des anti-mariage gay appellent au boycott ». *Le Parisien*. leparisien.fr, 15 Jul. 2013. Web. 21 Mar. 2015

In 2014, President François Hollande's controversial choice of Marianne provides a suitable example of the opposite: Ukrainian extremist, leader of radical feminist organization FEMEN and political refugee Inna Shevchenko. On the 14th of July 2014, François Hollande unveiled the new Marianne, a beautiful image of a woman with a graceful face, a fleshy mouth, huge, intense eyes and flawless hair,

sporting a Phrygian cap (Benjamin; “un visage gracieux, une bouche charnue des yeux immenses, des cheveux défaits, mais domestiqués par un bonnet phrygien.”)

The design was created by graphic artists Olivier Ciappa and David Kawena, who are known for promoting same-sex marriage through their art, and chosen by French high school students representing 30 French academies. Just hours after the stamp's launch, the Parti Démocrate-Chrétien (“Christian Democratic Party”) and its president Christine Boutin appealed to boycott the stamp and demanded Hollande's resignation. Entangled in a massive conflict of values and interests between the PDC, a conservatist political and social party in France, and FEMEN, a radical feminist organization in Paris famous for their sextremist events and their vocal support for same-sex or homosexual marriage, the two opposing sides have started a Twitter war which provoked a national online debate. Below is an exchange of posts on Twitter that highlights two opposing ideologies published in an article entitled “Timbre inspiré d'une Femen: des anti-mariages gay appellent au boycott” (“FEMEN-inspired Stamp: Anti-homosexual Marriage Groups Call for a Boycott” 2013):

La nouvelle Marianne est une FEMEN ! LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FEMEN !
(Femen_France)

(“The new Marianne is FEMEN! Liberty, Equality, FEMEN!”)

Maintenant tous les homophobes, extrémistes et fascistes vont devoir me lécher le cul lorsqu'ils voudront envoyer une lettre. (Shevchenko)

(“Now all homophobes, extremists and fascists must lick my ass in order to send a letter”)

APPEL AU BOYCOTT du timbre #Femen 1 outrage à la dignité de la femme, à la souveraineté de la #France, demande retrait du timbre de l'outrage (PCD)

(“CALL FOR BOYCOTT of the #Femen stamp! An outrage to the dignity of the woman and the sovereignty of #France, we demand the boycott of the outrageous stamp!”)

La nouvelle Marianne à l'image du gouvernement : christianophobe, haineuse et idéologue ! #ONLR #Femen #Résistance (Printemps Français)

(“The new Marianne is the image of the government: christianophobe, hateful and ideologist! #ONLR #Femen #Résistance”)

In these Tweets, the PDC and its supporters express their disdain towards Inna Shevchenko as Marianne highly due to the possibility that they consider this as an affront to essential Republican values of France today (Kovacs 2013, de Mallevoüe 2014) and a contemptuous insult to the dignity of women and the sovereignty of France as a nation. Almost in response to this, Femen_France's tweet changed the motto of the Republic,

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" into "Liberty, Equality, Femen," as a proclamation of their victory. thus evoking the sense of national identity that comes with Marianne while at the same time promoting FEMEN's role in it. By associating the name and principles of FEMEN to the French Republic, the stamp inspired by Shevchenko sparked not only a controversy over an artistic choice, but a debate regarding the contested uniformity of French national identity through its representations in media.

Marianne and the myth of a universal Frenchness

According to an article by Ciappa himself entitled "Le nouveau timbre Marianne: autopsie d'une fausse polémique," (The new Marianne stamp: autopsy of a false scandal") he revealed that presenting a universal Marianne was exactly his objective when he designed the stamp. Ciappa claims that Shevchenko is not the only inspiration he chose; rather, the design is a mixture of several female icons such as actress Marion Cotillard, politicians Christiane Taubira and Roselyne Bachelot, and employs a mélange of several artistic styles like Renaissance art, comics, Japanese manga and Walt Disney's animation aesthetic (see fig. 1). Ciappa combines all these models and styles to create a "universal" Marianne - a Marianne to whom everyone can project their own imagined character (Vertaldi 2013, Ciappa 2014). Thus, Ciappa claims that a controversy regarding his choice of model is useless because of his design's massive reach and universal appeal:

"Demandez aux personnes autour de vous à qui leur fait penser cette Marianne. Les uns évoqueront la vierge Marie, certains Falbala dans Astérix, d'autres une princesse Disney, d'autres encore une héroïne de manga. Aucune réponse ne sera la même, mais chacune sera vraie. Et c'est tant mieux."

("Ask people around you what they think of when they see this Marianne. Some will say the Virgin Mary, some Falbala in Asterix, others may see a Disney princess, others a manga heroine. No answer will be the same, but each will be "true." And that's good." [Author's translation])

Ciappa's Marianne, who he claims can evoke different truths about the same representation, is uniform and diverse at the same time. In choosing to portray a specific woman through signs, symbols and figures closest to French culture and identity such as Panacea and the Virgin Mary, a woman who embodies all women rendered in different artistic styles, Ciappa may have tried to achieve a universal representation through a mixture of cultures and perspectives amidst a grand, all-encompassing celebration of Frenchness.

However, critics and opponents of FEMEN remained persistent as they regurgitate issues regarding the validity of Shevchenko's origins and French identity. In an article by Solene Cordier (2014) entitled "La naturalisation imaginaire de la Femen Inna Shevchenko" ("The Imaginary Naturalization of FEMEN Inna Shevchenko"), critics challenged the new Marianne's national roots. Evidently, the fact that Shevchenko was not completely naturalized yet during the time presented itself as an opportunity to call for a boycott under the grounds of the unjustified alignment between France's national

icon and a mere political refugee. According to the article, the debate sparked after, of course, another Tweet from Shevchenko, followed by Femen_France:

After a long struggle I got my passport! Very proud it's written French Republic. Have a nice day, fascists! (Shevchenko)

Marianne a récupéré ses papiers ! Bonne indigestion les fachos ! femeninna @LaManifPourTous (Femen_France)

("Marianne has recovered her papers! Good indigestion fascists! @femeninna @LaManifPourTous")

These Tweets highlight an important part of being "French" and being a citizen of a nation - the possession of a passport or any official document recognized by the government. Shevchenko considers obtaining the papers as a triumph, based on her celebratory tone. Femen_France also used the name "Marianne" to refer to Shevchenko. Combining the images of Marianne, the French national symbol, and the "triumph" of acquiring documents to prove her French nationality, this fiasco has created a sardonically ironic scene: here comes a Marianne who needed to prove her own Frenchness.

Moreover, conservatist groups in France such as the PDC have continuously gone against FEMEN's radical sextremist advocacy. According to their website, FEMEN declares sextremism as its own brand of feminism: "Our god is a woman! Our mission is protest! Our weapons are breasts! And so FEMEN was born and sextremism was set off. " In an article entitled "Les Femen, meilleurs ennemies du féminisme" ("FEMEN, worst enemy of feminism") which features an interview with Lydia Guirous (2014), an expert on French feminism, the specialist talks about her contempt for FEMEN's "terrorist acts" (de Mallevoüe 2014) that betray and undermine the feminist cause ("trahissent et nuisent à la cause féministe"). Guirous further claims that FEMEN trivializes its own advocacies owing to their hypersexualized tactics, obviously pertaining to the infamous group's bare-chested street protests. Guirous considers FEMEN's sextremist advocacies as a regression of feminist struggles since the 1970s ("régression des combats féministes depuis les années 1970") as they encourage the objectification and sexualization of the female body. More importantly, she believes that FEMEN does not take into consideration the political environment in France at all and therefore does not contribute to the evolution of French feminism:

Malheureusement les Femen n'ont pas intégré cette évolution et n'ont pas compris que la situation des Françaises n'est pas celle des Ukrainiennes, desTunisiennes ou des Indiennes. Nous ne sommes pas au même niveau d'évolution de nos droits.

("Unfortunately FEMEN has not integrated this development and does not understand that the situation of the French is not the same as that of the Ukrainian, Tunisian or Indian. We are not on the same level of evolution of our rights.")

The blatant use of the terms "terrorist acts" and "Western society," which establishes a distinction between those who are members of Western society and the "terrorists" who threaten those members. Also, the use of the words "modernizing" and "regression" to refer to culture, society and development of feminism indicates a linear perspective of development, dividing cultures, societies and the world feminisms between two parties: the modern or progressive and the traditional and regressive. In fact, Guirous has made this very clear: by stating that the French sociopolitical climate is different from situations of the Ukrainian, Tunisian and Indian, it displaces FEMEN's activism and purports to a sociopolitical sphere and context that is distinctly French. This statement, of course, presents its own complications, considering the continuous influx of immigrants in France from all parts of the world. All these indications further support the claim that Marianne's iconography cannot possibly represent a universal Frenchness for she rests within a multitude of paradoxes: uniformity and diversity, multicultural and republican, belonging and Otherness.

As an example, one can consider the 14 women of the exposition "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui," or quite literally "Mariannes of Today" - a display that features 14 portraits of Mariannes from various races, different physical attributes, and who came from various professions and social environments (see Fig. 2), all draped over the frontispiece of the Assemblée Nationale. The exhibit is the final stage of the "Marche des femmes des quartiers contre les ghettos et pour l'égalité," promoted by Ni Putes ni Soumises, a movement that condemns insecurity, discrimination and violation of human rights of marginalized women. 14 women from "disadvantaged neighborhoods" in France don the Phrygian cap and tricolor flag to embody the values of a Republic that promotes the liberation and protection of women against the temptations of national disunity. ("toutes les tentations de disunion nationale")



Fig. 2 One of the 14 portraits of women in the exposition "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui". "Assemblée Nationale - Marche Des Femmes Des Quartiers". Assemblée Nationale. Web. 3 Apr. 2015.

An article entitled "Être représentée en Marianne est une vraie fierté" ("Representing Marianne is a real pride") by Stéphane Sellami (2003) features an interview with Samira Cadasse, one of the 14 faces of the exposition. According to her, being part of the exhibit is a real pride for her as a woman, especially despite her and Marianne's physical differences:

Même si je m'appelle Samira et que j'ai les cheveux frisés, je me considère comme une Marianne d'aujourd'hui. Avant d'être black, blanche ou beur, nous sommes des citoyennes à part entier de ce pays et dignes représentantes.

("Although my name is Samira and I have curly hair, I consider myself as a Marianne of today. Before being black, white or Arab, we are citizens of the country and we are worthy representatives." [Author's translation])

In Cadasse's comment, she asserts that women are "French" and are "citizens" before being black, white or Arab. As a declaration of her otherness, she highlighted her foreign-sounding name, Almira, and her curly hair. Her comment not only affirms the fact that she perceives herself as "othered" but also reinforces the notion of universal Frenchness through Marianne. By imitating Marianne, wearing her dress in three colors, donning on the Phrygian cap and exposing her image on the frontispiece of the Assemblée Nationale, Cadasse declares that she belongs to a French community that acknowledges her despite their "differences."

However, in light dominant Republican ideology, which envisages a common and pure universal Frenchness, and the ongoing discrimination against immigrants in France,

critics have further questioned how the movement only succeeds to cultivate mainstream and Front national stereotypes of beur, or Arab, existence in France (Weber-Fève 2010). Furthermore, the use of the word "aujourd'hui," which means "today," in "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui" point to the recurring concepts of modernization and the dichotomy between the First World and the Third World, the West and East, the Occident and the Orient. By assimilating into France and embracing French identity through imitations of Marianne, these women from the suburbs have become "modern" or "new" – they have become, indeed, women of today. By donning on the symbolic Phrygian cap and painting their souls in three colors, these 14 women try to imitate important French iconography through their costumes and succeed in displaying their otherness as sameness (Weber-Fève 2010). And this imitation, this semblance of uniformity, feeds the imagined notion of a universal French identity.

Behind Maria Clara

It is no question that Maria Clara leaves an impressionable image. She is not merely a character in a novel, but a timeless symbol in Filipino culture that embodies the values significant to an entire community's ideal. Behind her status as a pop culture icon is an established portrait of an ideal woman, not just of Rizal's, but of every Filipino.

This ideal goes out to several other textual representations of Maria Clara. In the article "Meet the modern Maria Clara" by Nicola Sebastian (2012), the author identifies several types of Filipino women in comparison to the stars of movies and American popular culture like Zooey Deschanel, Kristen Stewart and Rihanna. Sebastian uses these icons to evoke the situation of women in "a not-too-distant past where Filipino girls were expected to behave, think and even laugh properly" vis-à-vis the situation of women today, in a modernized, liberal society wherein choices, identities and preferences are respected. By juxtaposing the traditional image of Maria Clara as the coy, blushing maiden behind the fan with modern images of women who are not afraid to show skin, who take on a wider array of roles in the society and who can express themselves as weird and funny, Sebastian's stance establishes a dichotomy between the repressed, controlled traditional woman of the past and her better, freer, happier modern version.

This distinction is a common theme among a number of articles. In "Maria Clara Who?" by Tamara Benitez (2002), she also cited examples from American pop culture such as Madonna, Britney Spears and Ally McBeal to represent subversive behavior, and evoked images of the modern woman through her rather uncharacteristic choice of too revealing clothes and her attitudes to sex:

Who has the young Filipina become? Britney Spears? Ally McBeal? Worst, Madonna? See her as she bids farewell to her patadyong and payneta, and trades them off for those oh-too-revealing midriffs and micro-mini skirts!

In this excerpt, Benitez uses clothing as evidence to prove the modernization of young Filipino women, by leaving traditional national outfits behind to adapt styles and looks of American icons like Madonna, Britney Spears and Ally McBeal. Furthermore, by making

a reference to the patadyong and payneta, garments that are parts of the traditional Filipina costume, the text strengthens the link between national identity and behavior of women and associates the changes in styles and looks of modern women to Maria Clara's idealized national iconography.

However, in an article entitled "Will the real Maria Clara please stand up?" the writer Lexi Schulze (2007) maintained that Maria Clara's classic traditional image has always been prone to influence and change through her sexuality. In fact, as this article discusses the dating scene and relationships in Philippine society, Schulze wrote that the ability to be more subversive, more deviant and more sexually liberated has always existed in the consciousness of the Filipino woman. To illustrate this point, she created a supposed equation to specify the perfect blend of traditional and modern. The example below shows a basic classification of women according to their sexual attitudes, using a creative writing style that mimics a mathematical equation:

$$V \text{ (Virgin)} + S \text{ (Slut)} = (M) \text{ aria } (C) \text{ lara} = MC$$

According to this equation, Maria Clara, unlike the images of a conservative woman continuously reinforced in various forms of media, is a mixture of virgin and whore. The perfect Maria Clara was never totally conservative. Her coyness is intentional; her innocence merely heightens her desirability and her sexual charm. In invoking the image of Maria Clara to embody the careful and traditional woman but simultaneously subvert this image by disproving Maria Clara's lack of playfulness and sexual aggressiveness, the text addresses a familiar dual perspective:

...There is a beautifully nasty duality to Maria Clara's being. Like two sides of a coin, the whole would not be worth 10 pesos (...) if both sides didn't exist. There is certainly a brand of coyness to her, not exposing everything at once to get the imagination going.

In this excerpt, Schulze identifies two faces of Maria Clara, or in this case, the ideal Filipino woman in the dating scene. On one side is the Maria Clara already known for innocence and prudence; on the other, is the hidden trickster, deviously aware of her sexuality and her subtle and irresistible allure. The idealized Filipino woman of today is both these Maria Clara's - a woman who is innocent but intelligent, attractive but prudent, attentive to her sexuality but reserved enough to deserve a marriage proposal.

The discourse of the traditional woman vis-à-vis the modern woman is also a recurring theme in fashion, particularly among designers who work with the maria clara gown. Several articles tackle designers from here and abroad who have jumped on the modern Maria Clara bandwagon through their contemporary recreations of the iconic gown. The titles of these articles are indications of this argument:

"The rise of the modern Filipiniana"

"Young designers redefine the 'maria clara'"

"Masters and Millennials: maria clara reborn in face-off"

Usage of the words "modern," "redefined" and "rebirth" implies the presence of change, or at least attempts to change, revise or remodel a pre-established image. More importantly, usage of the terms "master" and "millennia" indicates a tension between the generations of artists who come from different eras. Claiming that this tension stems from varying ideologies of two generations, a "face-off" becomes the marketed theme of the fashion show, which banks on opposing styles of older artists who believe in traditional elegance and younger designers as the voice of the contemporary, willing to even out the playing field through their "juvenile, light and sexy" redefinitions (Moral 2014).

These articles covering representations of Maria Clara in the world of fashion once again affirm a familiar duality between the traditional woman and the modern woman as well as demonstrate how Maria Clara's modern representations are deeply rooted in culture and Philippine society through American neo-colonial influences. More recently, however, neo-colonial influence and its manifestations are at the center of debates in the Philippines due to a controversy regarding the proposed and recently approved Act for Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health, more popularly known as the Reproductive Health Bill or RH bill.

Maria Clara as a neocolonial force

In the previous parts, articles discussed the manifestations of a dichotomy between the traditional and the modern as far as Maria Clara is concerned, associating the image of a modern woman to a transformative, progressive sexual liberation. Recently these oppositions are directly addressed in an ongoing issue on former president Benigno Aquino III's approval of the Republic Act 10354 or the Reproductive Health Bill of 2012. The RH Bill is a law which mandates the access of the poor and disadvantaged communities to ample education and information regarding the reproductive organ. The RH bill includes the promotion of various family planning methods, particularly the distribution of provisions and adequate and effective products such as condoms, contraceptives, pills and injectables that do not violate abortion laws in the Philippines. Targeted individuals are those from disadvantaged backgrounds, especially the youth and people with disabilities. The bill claims to promote gender equality through its support for the interests, sex lives, choices, and health of women, as well as to help reduce an alarmingly increasing number of cases of teen pregnancy in the country, causing poverty through overpopulation.

As expected, the bill is confronted by the opposition of conservative associations and organizations, especially, of course, the Catholic Church. The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines or CBCP, the supreme body of Catholic authority in the Philippines, declined an invitation to debate with legislators regarding the aforementioned bill. The CBCP opposes the law because of its tendency to associate the artificial methods of family planning to abortion, which is prohibited in the Philippines according to legal and religious laws. More importantly, conservative Catholic organizations believe that access to methods that prevent pregnancy may encourage

perverse and provocative behavior, especially amongst couples who are not married yet (Montenegro 2010). These events have caused a division between those who oppose the bill, pro-life, and those who support its implementation, pro-choice.

In "Maria Clara learns the ABCs of reproductive health," Maria Clara's image was used to draw attention and promote the principles of the RH bill. During a tourism event celebrating the 65th anniversary of the Battle of Manila, Manila tour guide Carlos Celdran and sex columnist Ana Santos organized a group of women who wore a Maria Clara costume while distributing condoms. The organizers believed Maria Clara was apt not only to the event's historical theme and aesthetic, but also fit to promote an important sexual advocacy. The gimmick was called "The ABC's of Reproductive Health," wherein A stands for "Abstinence," B for "Be Faithful" and C for "Consistent and Correct use of Condoms." For Celdran and Santos, Maria Clara is the perfect model to represent the promotion, as her status as the epitome of purity, innocence and Filipina beauty makes her an appropriate and ironic symbol of sex education. The gimmick largely depended on the shock value by capitalizing on Maria Clara's sexuality, or lack thereof, to promote reproductive health. Just the mental image of a subversive Maria Clara distributing condoms, a product associated to perverse sexual behavior, created a fascinating twist to the cultural event while at the same time expressed the organizers' support for the RH Bill.

However, debates on morality and sexual perversions are not the only concerns about the RH Bill. According to Dr. Bernardo Villegas, a columnist for the Philippine Daily Inquirer famous for his pro-life arguments, moral consequences and affronts to sacred religious affairs are not the only flaws of the act. In an editorial, he argued that the Bill is merely a command from the Obama administration, a deceitful ploy of the United States' ulterior motives disguised as a helpful law promoting poverty alleviation ("No need for an RH Bill, now or ever," "No to RH Bill" inquirer.net). Villegas makes a reference to accusations and speculations that these so-called reproductive health provisions are waste products from pharmaceutical establishments in the United States. In this sense, Villegas's arguments highlighted neo-colonial discourses present in the proposition, approval and implementation of the RH Bill.

As such, controversies surrounding the representations of Maria Clara and its influence on women not only strengthens a dichotomized perspective on the subject of modernity, but also proceeds to embody neo-colonialist forces of the United States in political, cultural, social and economic domains. And yet the notion that Maria Clara is simply a neo-colonial icon that can transform a traditional woman into a modern individual is a concept with defects. Her iconography, rather, is based on appropriation and attempts to imitate and align itself to Western models.

Conclusion

Representations of both Marianne and Maria Clara use imitation to signify and embody women immigrants and modernized women, respectively. The FEMEN stamp, "Mariannes d'aujourd'hui" and publicity events are attempts of providing women from

the ghetto or a Ukrainian political refugee with voices and representations under a common universal French identity through an imitation of Marianne. On the other hand, the modernization of Maria Clara which extends to several mediums such as the gown's new look, the imagined sexual emancipation brought about by the RH Bill and the appropriation of American icons manifests through the image of a Maria Clara that mimics the modern woman of the West.

Imitation exists in both cases, but it is remarkable that, considering the aforementioned representations, the object of imitation is different. The underprivileged in France mimic Marianne as a testament to their imaginary inclusion to the common French identity, but representations of Maria Clara imitate westernized icons as proof of her modernization. The manner is parallel but the directions are opposing: France veers towards the exterior for the purpose of promulgating a concept of France as a world power, the Philippines veer towards the interior, while welcoming and receiving neocolonial elements to become more "modern."

Though Maria Clara and Marianne are parallel in some ways, their roles are different. While Marianne attempts to include immigrant women but limits the participation of women in the virtual and symbolic space, Maria Clara tries to imitate Western identities through a notion of gradual modernization, transformative, dichotomized and consequently bourgeois. Universal Frenchness and neocolonial imitation are merely insufficient representations of disadvantaged communities and identities.

Appendix

Below is a list of online articles considered for the purpose of the analysis:

French newspaper	Title	Date of Publication	Author	Section
Le Figaro	“ Pour plus de Marianne dans les Mairies”	28 March 2014	Juliana Bruno	Société
	“ Marianne à l’“université”	19 August 2011	Sidonie Sigrist	Société
	“ Marée rouge”	19 March 2012	Emeline Le Naour	Société
	“ Le Front national lance le collectif Marianne pour conquérir les étudiants”	04 March 2014	Emmanuel Galiero	Étudiant - Actualités
	“ Brigitte Bardot Bardot...”	19 September 2009	Henry-Jean Servat	Culture - Rencontre
	“ La Marianne mahoraise fait Scandale”	15 March 2012	Gaëlle Rolin, Brenna Daldorph	Société
	“ Le nouveau timbre Marianne accusé dès reception”	16 July 2013	Aurélia Vertaldi	Culture
	“ La nouvelle Marianne des timbres postaux est une Femen”	15 July 2013	Stéphane Kovacs	Société
	“ Timbre Femen : Marianne pour tous ou Marianne pour quelques-uns?”	06 March 2014	Farah Hamelin	Société - Vox
	“ Vague de mobilisation pour le retrait du timbre “Femen”	07 February 2014	Delphine de Mallevouë	Société
	“ Ces bustes de Marianne inspirés de stars”	15 July 2013	-	Actualité - Photos
	“ La Marianne dénudée de Quimper délogée du Hall de la Mairie”	24 July 2014	Marc de Boni	Insolites
	“ Les Femen, meilleures ennemies du feminism”	24 April 2014	Lydia Guirous	Société - Vox
	“ Timbres: l’imprimerie des	22 July	Benjamin Jérôme	Société

Le Parisien	Marianne”	2013		
	“ Timbre inspiré d'une Femen : des anti-mariage gay appellent au Boycott”	15 July 2013	-	Société
	“ Le nouveau timbre Marianne en partie inspiré d'une Femen”	14 July 2013	-	Culture
	“ Etre représentée en Marianne est une vraie fierté”	12 July 2013	Stéphane Sellami	Actualité - Vivre Mieux
	“ Le FN lance Marianne, "collectif étudiant" pour la "méritocratie"”	08 March 2014	-	Actualité - Politique
	Ils veulent faire souffler l'esprit de Marianne”	23 March 2011	-	Actualité
Le Monde	“ Marianne enceinte, une pub Polémique”	18 February 2010	Elise Barthet	Société
	“ Le FN crée un collectif étudiant pour s'implanter sur les Campus”	09 March 2014	Nathalie Brafman	Politique
	“ La naturalisation imaginaire de la Femen Inna Shevchenko”	09 January 2014	Solène Cordier	Société
	“Le nouveau timbre Marianne:	19 July 2014	Olivier Ciappa	Idées

	autopsie d'une fausse polémique “	2013	(artiste et créateur du timbre)	
	“ Le radicalisme des Femen irrite l'Eglise et embarrasse le mouvement féministe “	21 February 2014	Gaelle Dupont et Stéphanie Le Bars	Société

Philippine newspaper	Title	Date of publication	Author	Section
	“ Meet the modern Maria Clara “	9 June 2012	Nicola Sebastian M.	Lifestyle
	“ Maria Clara Who? “	11 May 2002	Tamara Benitez	Lifestyle
	“ Will the real Maria Clara please stand up? “	13 October 2007	Lexi Schulze	Lifestyle

Philippine Star	“ Maria Clara learns the ABCs of reproductive health “	07 June 2010	-	Lifestyle
	“ Maria Clara “	04 May 2009	écrivain anonyme	Dr. Love (conseil d'amour)
	“ The rise of modern Filipiniana “	29 June 2012	Geolette Esguerra	Lifestyle
	“ The pros and pluses of real women “	21 July 2010	-	Lifestyle
	“ 100 years of women's rights “	9 March 2011	-	Opinion
	“ All about women “	16 March 2005	Rosalinda L. Orosa	Opinion
	“ Gemma Cruz as inveterate Rizalian “	5 March 2014	Bibsy M. Carballo	Entertainment
	“ Benildanze performs Love, Death, and Mompou “	9 November 2006	-	Lifestyle
	“ Divine reinvention “	9 November 2012	-	Entertainment
Philippine Daily Inquirer	“ Young designers redefine the „maria clara“ “	19 September 2014	Alex Y. Vergara	Lifestyle
	“ Lanuza's intriguing narrative of „The Interrogation of Maria Clara“ “	05 July 2013	Jack Teotico	Lifestyle
	“ Maria Clara as Mary Magdalene? A fresh look at „Noli“ ”	24 June 2012	Ino Manalo	Lifestyle
	“ Maria Clara, Sisa “	10 June 2010	Michael Tan	Opinion
	“ Today's Filipino woman stronger than yesteryears “	19 April 2011	Tita Engracia	Opinion - Letters to the Editor
	“ „The weaker sex“ “	16 March 2014	Conchita C. Razon	Lifestyle
	“ Women first in heart of First Filipino “	30 December 2008	Gerry Lirio	Opinion
	“ Masters and Millennials: The „maria clara“ reborn in „Face-Off“ “	7 December 2014	Cheche V. Moral	Lifestyle
	“ The renaissance of the terno “	25 May 2014	-	Others

	“ Maria Clara (1) “	10 March 2014	Gemma Cruz- Araneta	Opinion
	“ Maria Clara (2) “	12 March 2014	Gemma Cruz-	Opinion

Manila Bulletin			Araneta	
	“ Framing Andy Warhol “	08 September 2014	Hannah Jo Uy	Lifestyle
	“ Nostalgia “	21 July 2014	-	Lifestyle
	“ Girl power “	31 August 2014	Regina G Posadas	Lifestyle
	“ Proud Pinay “	04 April 2014	Jane Kingsu Cheng	Lifestyle


 The logo for iafor (International Association for Cultural Studies) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. Surrounding the text are two large, stylized, concentric circular arcs. The upper arc is light blue and the lower arc is light red, both curving around the central text.

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***Impact of Cultural Intermediaries-
The spread of Japanese movie to Hong Kong***

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INTRODUCTION

Speaking of Japanese culture, the first thing that popped out will be the cosplay costumes that teenagers wear, the comic books like Doremon, Japanese songs broadcasted on the radio or the horror Japanese movie “Ring”. Japanese culture was deeply rooted into Hong Kong society in the 80s. The emergence of Japanese television program and movie was developed from the significant cultural interaction with Hong Kong and Japan. Many people learned a lot of Japanese culture by watching the Japanese drama and would often have a better knowledge of the Japanese way of life. They started to learn Japanese language, travel to Japan or look for opportunities to work with the Japanese.

This can be traced back to the 1980s, where a group of people had performed their talents and brought the best of this culture to Hong Kong. The mass media was not that well developed by that time, and people rely on newspapers, magazines and the radio to get updated information of the world. These cultural intermediates served as mediators to digest, translate, modify and localize the foreign popular culture for integration into the local entertainment industry. Among them, magazine publishers allowed people to know more about the foreign culture through their articles.

This raised the author’s interest in finding out why this had happened by investigating the processes and methods of different contributors in importing Japanese music to Hong Kong. The contributors came from different sectors, ranging from businessmen to music producers, movie directors and artists. Qualitative researches were made in the form of interviews to facilitate the study. Through interviews, researches on magazines; songs and movies, we would be able to understand how and why they can successfully globalize and localize Japanese products from Japan to Hong Kong.

With the use of magazines, publishers collect and present the latest Japanese entertainment news to the society, allowing people to get to know Japanese music. With the profession in music or movie, producers select and transform suitable Japanese version to local version. Many Japanese songs were adapted for Cantonese use. Japanese singers started to travel to Hong Kong as their first overseas location. Their production in cultural products include manga, CD, fashion, drama, or movies which were highly appraised in the youth world. Agents such as editors of magazines, music producers, film directors or managers of film companies took the chance to go to Japan and look for co-operation with Japanese.

This paper focuses on the emergence of Japanese film - which was a distinctive and valuable creative product in the business development of movie industry in Hong Kong. Japanese film is one of the most distinctive cultural products of Japan. It is well known for its storyboard, production, and reflects the cultural superiority of Japan. Most of the famous directors in Hong Kong were impressed by the Japan film in the 80s and transformed the concept of scenery, character or theme of local film production. Those films received good responses and maintained good sales records. According to Koichi Iwabuchi,

“What the fast-developing Hong Kong symbolizes for the Japanese is the “energy” and “dream” that Japan has already lost”.¹

What are the major changes that had taken place behind the scene? How is this related to social development, globalization and localization? This paper will attempt to foster an understanding for the conditions with the aim to account the role of agents for emerging of Japanese movie within Hong Kong in relation to both culture and business and how it was sustained and developed in the 80s and after.

According to the interview of a writer Yau Suk Ting with Choi Lan, a famous Japanese expert and writer, Choi expressed that working with Japanese movie company was just like working with a business partner:

“We want to learn the modern technique from working with Japanese, but finally it change to business cooperation only. Both of us only want to work in our own way. From my point of view, it’s better to hire some Japanese artists but work with the local team. I prefer to do it in this way and share the production fee with the Japanese. This benefits both of us in all ways.”²

This is the marketing strategy of Choi as he is one of the earliest groups of Hong Kong people who worked with the Japanese from 70s.

JAPANESE CARTOON

The effect of Japanese comics in Hong Kong comic rentals could be traced back to the 1950s. It became popular from the 1980s, when comic rentals in Hong Kong emerged in large quantity. The number of comic rentals increased from 50 to 200 in the recent years. It mainly targeted young audiences aged around 20- 30 years old. Among them, some are comic teahouses. As people tend to read comics online, comic Internet cafes were created to suit the latest trend.

The whole media environment was not as fragmented in the previous decades with television programs being the primary provider of entertainment. Moreover, the drawing of Japanese cartoon were exquisite and the content were creative with various themes. They included childhood memory, adventure, sports and ghosts, which brought a powerful impact in the monopoly, as there was no local cartoon released during that period. The only place which produced cartoon nearby was Japan. “Dragon ball” was a successful case with a high TV rating. The prevalence of Dragon ball not only swept through Asia, but even propagated to European countries like France and Spain.

According to the “Anime ranking standing 2012” conducted by Oricon, Dragon ball

¹ Iwabuchi, K.(2002). *Recentring Globalizaiton: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (p. 174). London: Duke University Press

² Yau S. T. (2012), Choi lan, *Audio Description of Movie experts of Hong Kong and Japan: We are friends* (pg. 25-29), University Press.

ranked as the number 1 cartoon of all time. Japan was a country which respected about the creative industry, hence Japanese cartoon was able to become well-developed. Japanese cartoon also inspired life-action movies which involved actors and actresses to play the role of cartoon characters.

Doujinshi and costume play (cosplay) were two comic cultures which were developed and spread from Japan. Doujinshi is an amateur comic creation which evolved in Hong Kong since 1980s. The most significant example of Doujinshi will be Comic Alliance which was established in 1985. It is defined as a magazine that includes 10-20 short comic stories.

Cosplay is the short form of costume play. It started from a cultural exhibition in 1993. During the exhibition, one of the Doujinshi groups rented a booth to sell comics and some of the members dressed up as the characters of a comic Legend of the Galactic Heroes to get people's attention. The exhibition held by the Hong Kong Comic Association in 1997 introduced cosplay to the public. Its popular as a sub branch allowed it to split from Doujinshi. Other organizations such as universities started to organize cosplay functions. Nowadays, there are about 4-5 cosplay functions in Hong Kong, each with hundreds of cosplay lovers. People do not only dress as Japanese comic characters but also as Japanese singers, television characters as well as local comic characters.

The most significant comic function will be Comic World, co-organized by S.E and TC Production. All in all, there is a rise in both the organizations of Japanese comics as well as people who participated in Doujinshi. Most of the works are published online. However, collecting comic books consumes time and effort, hence it is not as popular. There are also other activities such as Animation Comic games Hong Kong, which is still very popular these days.

Hayao Miyazaki's movie and Doraemon's movie were popular cartoon movies in the 80s. Doraemon's movies got two series in theatre in total, and Hayao Miyazaki's movies got one in theatre only.

“Doraemon” in Hong Kong

Doraemon was a significant animated film as it was named as the best favourite animation in 80s. It was named as “DingDong” and broadcasted in TVB since 1981.

The rise of this popular culture during that period brought the teenagers to a world of fantasy. Without a doubt Japanese comics and animations introduced certain impacts to Hong Kong movies, TV dramas and music. In the aspect of Hong Kong movies, many Japanese comics were shot as Hong Kong movies, such as “City Hunter”, “Slam-dunk”, “Spirit Warrior”, etc. All these movies received great responses and their box offices were great.

There were actors and technicians from Japan as well as capital for filming. Some of them were brought to cinemas in both Japan and Hong Kong, while others only targeted Hong Kong. Hong Kong directors changed comic names into Chinese names and modified plots to avoid legal issues. Japanese comics also influenced how Hong Kong directors shot films. For example, Mr. Chow Shing Chi's films are comic-like. More and

more people started to get ideas from Japanese comics for new films. Some comics such as “Love and Honesty” and “Firefighter-Daigo of Company” were transformed into TV dramas. Although they have a different Chinese name, people can easily identify them as Japanese comics. In 2001, Taiwan producers filmed “Boys Over Flower” and renamed it as “Meteor Garden”. The drama received great feedback. By then, Hong Kong producers were also planning to get the license of this story from the Japanese.

According to the Director of Hong Kong Film Critics Society Lo Car (2010);

‘Movie was a major aspect of popular culture and a significant localized culture product of Hong Kong. Since movie industry is the major business development of Hong Kong, it used to reflect the voices of the public and has root linkage with the society’³

Besides getting ideas from comic books, producers also looked into the books. Stories from Murakami Haruki are popular nowadays. One of his famous works, the Norwegian Wood became a movie. From all of the above, it is seen that the uniqueness of Japanese stories has given Hong Kong a new perspective in these recent years.

Master of Animation - Miyazaki Hayao

Another important element of Hong Kong cinematography came from Japanese animation. In the animation industry, Miyazaki Hayao was one of the most important people. Although Miyazaki Hayao decided to retire at the age of 73 years old, all his works were considered as a piece of art. Some of his animations were Castle in the Sky and My Neighbor Totoro. Besides all those academic awards, Miyazaki Hayao’s animations allowed him to rank as 100 best animations at all time in audience poll.

The success of his Japanese animation encouraged the development of animation culture in Hong Kong. Japanese animations are still popular in Hong Kong nowadays. The introduction of Japanese movies influenced Hong Kong movie styles after the 70s. It contributed to the film diversification of Hong Kong, and gave an alternative to historical movies. In addition, Japanese movies affected the local lifestyles and culture. People started to learn what the actors ate and wore from the films. Thus the animation culture introduced by Japanese movies successfully became a new culture in Hong Kong.

The influential Japanese TV drama and Movie in Hong Kong

The emergence of Japanese films and television programmes as a popular form of mass entertainment has been a significant factor in the cultural interaction between Hong Kong and Japan in the last 25 years.

³ Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Lingnan University, (2010) , Hong Kong Movie and Society: From 1960 to 1990 , *Hong Kong Stories in the Movie*, (p.26-28) Hong Kong Education Publishing Company.

When we look backward to study the history of Japanese movie in Hong Kong, we can trace back to the 70s. There were lots of movies about love and action. The unique and self –superior customs were often mentioned in the movie. One example is Yakusho Kouji ; “Higurasi-no Ki” (Story of a higurashi cicada) It is about the story of a 'bushi' who wanted to commit seppuku after compiling the genealogy of the family in 10 years and the other young bushi who was told to keep an eye on him for the last 3 years.

This kind of movie was famous for its fighting style and the ideas of “bushido”, which was an idea about how should samurai treats them. These types of ideas and the way of making movies influenced Hong Kong directors. The action movie of Bruce Lee “Fist of Fury” reflected Japanese styled movies. This could be seen from the clothes which Bruce wore, the scene and the way of how he screamed. The director utilized a Japanese theme for the fighting scenes in the movie. The Japanese action movies affected the Hong Kong movie industry after the 70s. Many directors were influenced by Japanese movie culture and put the ideas in their own production. Japanese movies thus created a starting point for the change of the movies style of Hong Kong and Asia.

In recent years, many Japanese films were recognized and praised in the Hong Kong International Film Festival presented by the Urban Council. There were lots of Japanese films which promoted the appreciation of Japanese culture through the introduction of excellent quality and story-boards. There are many good directors like Yamamoto, Maruse, Ichikawa, etc. They have already built up their status in the field and were being recognized. According to Chen, Darwin (1987):

*“Hong Kong has also had the opportunity of seeing several comedy films depicting the everyday life of ordinary Japanese people, such as the Tora San series. The success of these films indicates an interest among Hong Kong audiences in learning more about the life-style of the common people in Japan. Such films not only provide good entertainment, but are also effective in improving our understanding of Japan.”*⁴

This was a good chance for the local filmmakers to learn how the Japanese managed the production. Their job allocation was very clear and systematic. They possessed a very good research team and administrative team to handle the copyright and most of all, the structure was usually based on a real story, which often emotionally moved the audience.

Similar to movies, the audience can gain a better understanding of Japanese lifestyle from watching the Japanese drama. There were many Japanese drama for young audience which were very popular. These programmes ranged from youth series revolving around various sports such as swimming, judo and tennis shown some years ago, to drama series such as “Oshin” and “Hane Conma” seen more recently. The first TV drama series produced by TVB were broadcasted in 1968. As described by Dr. Chung King Fei ,

“RTV (Rediffusion Television) started to broadcast American Drama “Batman” and crime drama “The untouchable”, TVB also started to buy a series of Japanese sports

⁴ Chen, Darwin (1987), Japanese Films and Television Programmes in Hong Kong, *Hong Kong and Japan Cultural and Economic Interactions, 1845-1987*.(p. 385) Japan Society of Hong Kong.

*drama like 'Young dynamic'), 'The Swim Hero'), Judo Saga). Those were very popular Japanese drama at that time'*⁵

Other Japanese television programmes that have made an impact in Hong Kong include singing contests and musical programmes through which popular singers in Japan became stars in Hong Kong as well. Cartoon series from Japan have been seen regularly on television screens in Hong Kong and the more successful ones were dramatic fantasies which appealed to both children and adults, e.g. "Dr. Slump", "Ikkusan" and "The Song of Tentomushi", etc. Some of them have proved so popular that a whole industry of magazine, toy and cassette recordings has been spawned around these cartoon characters.

Remarkable Japanese Movie in Hong Kong in 80's

However, the great success of Japanese movies in Hong Kong is not only appeared in recent years. After the 80s, it was the great changing point of Hong Kong. Hong Kong's movies started to move from ancient themed movies to normal movies.

Lots of movie directors were influenced by the western and Japanese movies and they brought new ideas on the production of the movie. According to Lo (2013):

*"It also represents an alternative modernity and a certain openness that Japan has never achieved."*⁶

Not only was movie production in Hong Kong affected by Japanese movies. The local cultures were also affected. The living style of Japanese passed to Hong Kong through different movies from Japan. For example, the wearing style of Japanese pop star at the movies passed to Hong Kong pop star. In the 90s, Japanese pop star loved to wear jewelry. Hong Kong pop stars copied their fashion style after that. It brought along a new fashion style to the local Hong Kong people. The pop culture was also easily affected by the Japanese movies.

As mentioned, "Kimurake no hitobito" which was directed by Yojiro Takita showed at Wan Chai Cityline for 524 days in 1990, which broke Hong Kong movie record of "The longest-showed movie in cinema" ever in history, with more than 10 million HKD box office.

"Shall we dance" which was published in 1997 was also one of the legends. It won all of the awards in Japan academy prize, including best actress and actors, best picture and best director, it demonstrated that Japanese movies have already reached the world standard, instead of relying on superficial devices such as claptraps, music and eye catching scenes rather than the content itself.

⁵ N.Y Lau (2003), *The booming of TV Drama*, The 75th Hong Kong Broadcasting Special- From 1928 (p. 52). RTHK

⁶ Kwai-cheung Lo (2013). Erasing China in Japan's "Hong Kong Films" in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese cinema*. (p. 214) Oxford University Press.

When talking about Japanese movies, horror movie is a suitable representation. The horror movie “The ring” published in 1998, directed by Hideo Nakata, ranked as the 100 best films of world cinema in 2010 and was translated into different languages, spreading Japanese style horror to the world. This reinforced the status of Japanese movie in the industry. Most of the people at that time would have heard of the name before. In addition it built an image of a ghost of “Satako”. This created a deep impression to a lot of teenagers. The horror movies of Japan created an important pop culture in Hong Kong.

In 2009, a Japanese Movie finally won the “The Best Foreign Language Film” for the first time. All the Oscar award judges agreed that “Departures” described the daily work of traditional morticians accurately, present a solemn Japanese funeral ceremony to audience, not in a scary way and reflect the art of death. In 2013, “The Great Passage” represents Japan to compete “The Best Foreign Language Film”, since this movie reinforced the idea that Japanese insist on every single details, scrupulous about every details and use “fashionable wording” to present the dilemma in fast changing society.

The theme of the movie is to understand and respect death. Through the arrangement of the main character taking up the job of being a funeral director, producers are able to show the discrimination of the society towards certain occupations. The main character works for the funeral parlor, allowing them to pass away peacefully. The respect to the death reflects the naïve and prejudice of the living. Being a funeral director helps the main character accept the death of his father and the absence of his wife. He then knew the meaning of death.

Agent behind movie: Chan Hing-Ka

Many director or scriptwriters of the movie industry like to use the Japanese drama theme song to highlight their scene in the golden days. And with the proper use of Japanese culture, song, actor, theme inside the scene, most of the movie make a big noise and sales in the market.

An interview with a famous Hong Kong director Chan Hing-Ka was conducted. He was named as “Ah Foon” in the field and was a famous writer and a director in the 80s. He won the best script writer in the Hong Kong Film Award in 1999.

According to Chan, many movie director were impressed by the Japanese drama and movie since the end of 70s. The hit Japanese drama “Watashitachi no Tabi”(Our trip) produced by Nippon Television Network Corporation broadcasted in 1975 and was voiced over by Cantonese and broadcasted in TVB in 1976. This movie was about 3 young Japanese teenagers on how they faced the challenge and ran for their goal. The theme song was sang by Nakamura Masatoshi and the Chinese version was sang by Roman Tam with the same name of the Chinese drama title “Better Tomorrow”. The Chinese version was very popular and was on the top one for 24 weeks in various pop chart.

Another director Ann Hui reflected her interest of Japan culture in her movie too. One of the movies “Boat people” directed by her which shown in theatres in 1982, was her best sales movie in the eighties. The film stars George Lam, Andy Lau, Cora Miao, and Season Ma. The movie won may awards including Best Picture, Best Director, Best New Performer, Best Screenplay, and Best Art Direction at the second Hong Kong Film Award in 1983. It was also screened out of competition at the 1983 Cannes Film Festival and ranked as 8th in the list of 103 best Chinese-language films in the past 100 years at the 24th Hong Kong Film Awards in 2005. The film focused on a Japanese photojournalist who returns to Vietnam to report about life after the war. Boat People was the last film in Hui's "Vietnam trilogy". It recounts the plight of the Vietnamese people after the communist takeover following the Fall of Saigon ending the Vietnam War.

One of the reasons why Ann was so impressed by the Japanese culture was because her mother is a Japanese. Talking about her friend Ann Hui, Elsa Lo, the scriptwriter of Ann's 2010 movie “All about love” says:

“Ann was influenced by the Japanese style of movie culture that she preferred to choose actor or actress with special character instead of camera face. That was the general practice of Japanese director in art film.”

For Hing Kar, he can still recall the famous TV drama like “Story of Shun” and “101 proposal” and was inspired by the romantic scene and the dramatic flow of Japanese drama. Therefore, when he wrote script for 2nd La Brassiere (2001) “Brief Encounter in Shinjuku” (1990) “Okinawa Rendezvous” (2000) and “Good Times Bed Times”(2003), he added lots of Japanese mood in his films.

Golden scene – Winnie Tsang

An interview with Winnie Tsang, the CEO and Chairman of Golden Scene Limited was conducted. As a producer, she recalled once she received the movie “Ring” from a Japanese agent. She watched the movie with her co-workers after work and they felt so scary by the atmosphere of the movie and this was the first successful scary movie she bought for her company. After that, she bought a Japanese movie call “Quill” and the response was also good. Another movie “Yen family” was a miracle to her too. This movie was so funny and the script was interesting. However, many cinemas didn't want this film shown on their cinema and finally MCL cinema felt interested in it.

As there weren't much foreign language film in 1980s and Hong Kong audience didn't have have many choices and that makes the promoter much easily to promote a film. According to her : “In 80s, we thought Japan was trendy. Nowadays, Japanese culture is replaced by Korea, which is prevalent in Hong Kong.”

Conclusion

According to the Hesmondhalgh (2002) about the relation of creativity and commerce,

"The tendency of creative managers to push symbol creators in the direction of genre formatting in order to facilitate marketing and publicity for a particular audience. Genre can be a productive constraint, allowing for creativity and imagination within a certain set of boundaries and enhanced understanding between audiences and producers."

There were positive effects for creative products like movie in this chapter versus commerce, agents like those directors; and Winnie Tsang; initiating the Japanese culture to the local movie industry as well as to proliferate the status of Japanese movie with outstanding sales record and public interest.

However, the boom of Korean culture prohibited the golden days of Japanese movie in the industry. As Korean critic Suen, Patrick (2013) says:

"Korean culture was like Taiwan style, which was not popular in the youth world in the 80's while Japan culture was very popular in vice versa. However, Korean culture started to inbound here for 10 years. Korean drama and movie were well accepted by the fans on 98 onwards. The Korean movie was mainstream in Korea, while being introduced through an agent (On Lok Movie company) and published in Hong Kong, everything make a big change. The "My Sassy Girl" series were the most popular movie and significantly foster the Korean popular culture to Hong Kong."

"The reason may be due to the aging image of Japan while Korea represent young and new to the market." According to Patrick, Korean people knew the act of communication to the world. Most of them spoke English and easily work with foreigners while Japanese still stay their own way and need translator when they went aboard. Nowadays most of the Japanese fans are 30 years of age or more while the Korean one are much younger in comparison. It is much difficult to draw attention for the youth to follow the Japanese culture since they like to look at the young and new style of Korean idol."

Korea received a lot of support by the government but Japan was also hesitant in working with foreigners. Korean did not mind to appraise the others while Japanese always put themselves in a higher position. Korean artists were very eager to communicate with the press in English while Japan artists were not willing to speak even they can. Korean artists were impressed by western culture and loved to travel to other places and adapt their lives while Japanese chose to travel and work within Japan area and are proud of their own customs and culture.

Both Patrick and "On Lok" movie companies were agents that promoted the Korean culture in Hong Kong. Once this came to effect, the Japanese movie faced a big change. They were swayed by the agent's stance and their agreement on the fact that this could be a positive effect for Hong Kong as an international centre and as it accepted all different cultures in different ways.

Business to culture and vice versa

Through Winnie Tsang, the unique and distinctive characteristics of Japanese culture was

brought out. For example, Japanese films have unique genres such as horror films and cartoons, which are genres that Hong Kong producers have never tried. People are attracted to new ideas, so if these new ideas can be imported to Hong Kong, people will be interested in them.

In the eyes of producers, they are the ones who can bring quality entertainment to the general public. Japanese films have the potential to do so, therefore they decided to invest in Japanese films. Winnie Tsang's case proves that horror films and cartoons brought a new wave of interest to the society of Hong Kong. Economically, agents importing films from overseas will look for films that are capable to make a profit. Furthermore, the film impacts culturally, as quality films bring a greater impact to the general public, thus allowing them to know about the cultural background of those films.

Japanese people are very dedicated to their work, which produces good quality productions. Agents may not know how to speak Japanese, but are willing to try if they can bring back quality work to Hong Kong. The excellent performance of the Japanese, which attracted different agents, is what Hong Kong should learn from. With the co-operation of Hong Kong and Japanese people, these excellent works can be introduced to more people. Both the work of Japanese production teams and the insights of Hong Kong agents should be appreciated.

The reason why Japanese culture can be exported to Hong Kong and other places successfully does not only depend on the effort of agents in different places but also the quality of the Japanese production team. In the 80s, the Japanese gained the insight and ideas in ensuring that everything is running as efficiently as possible. This ranged from business culture and media to technology. It is seen that whenever people wanted to develop in a certain aspect, Japan will be on the list as one of the places they would like to observe from. Government officials study how the Japan economy works, businessmen wanted to learn how the Japanese control product quality. In addition, manga writers will observe how the Japanese produce comics and people will go to Japan to learn management skills and observe what the latest fashion is. Agents from different countries also recognized the potential of Japanese cultural productions and often transformed them for use in other places such as Hong Kong. To globalize a cultural product, a valuable culture should appear before agents do.

From the above animations and movies examples from Japan, from 1950s' till now, the great impact and the effect of Japanese culture can be demonstrated. Japanese animators and moviemakers created a unique trend which many youngsters deemed as trendy and fashionable.. Although Korean culture is widespread in the recent years, Japanese culture still remains as an irreplaceable part of our local identity.

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Migration without Mobility

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Abstract

Marking ten years since its inception as a discrete field of interdisciplinary inquiry the present is an apt moment to reflect on the contribution of Mobilities Studies to the academy. In this paper I review Mobilities Studies' achievements, but also highlight its relative failure to impact on another interdisciplinary field with which it ought to be especially cognate, Migration Studies. Following a brief review of the overlaps and divergences between the two fields, I highlight a 'mobility deficit' in Migration Studies that is extant particularly in the contemporary trends for migrant 'transnationalism,' 'exceptionalism' and 'category proliferation.' Furthermore, I suggest, these trends might be regarded as forms of discursive violence against the migrant subject that have, simultaneously political, definitional and conceptual dimensions and that, collectively render representationally the migrant subject immobile. I conclude by arguing that Migration Studies' way out of this impasse is greater engagement with Mobilities Studies, and that such engagement may constitute an important part of Mobilities Studies' intellectual agenda into its second decade.

Keywords: Mobilities; Migration.

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Introduction

Marking ten years since its inception as a discrete field of interdisciplinary inquiry the present is an apt moment to reflect on the contribution of Mobilities Studies to the academy. In this paper I review Mobilities Studies' achievements, but also highlight its relative failure to impact on another interdisciplinary field with which it ought to be especially cognate, Migration Studies. Following a brief review of the overlaps and divergences between the two fields, I highlight a 'mobility deficit' in Migration Studies that is extant particularly in the contemporary trends for migrant 'transnationalism,' 'exceptionalism' and 'category proliferation.' Furthermore, I suggest, these trends might be regarded as forms of discursive violence against the migrant subject that have, simultaneously political, definitional and conceptual dimensions and that, collectively render representationally the migrant subject immobile. I conclude by arguing that Migration Studies' way out of this impasse is greater engagement with Mobilities Studies, and that such engagement may constitute an important part of Mobilities Studies' intellectual agenda into its second decade.

Ten years of Mobilities

2016 is a significant moment for Mobilities Studies, the interdisciplinary field concerned with all aspects of mobility, from the physical to the imaginative movement of things and people. It marks ten years since the launch of the journal *Mobilities* and the key position papers that effectively established Mobilities Studies (or the 'Mobilities Paradigm' as it was more modestly labelled then) as a discrete field of research (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006). Prior to this the study of mobilities had grown in dispersed and eclectic academic contexts (Faulconbridge & Hui, 2016). In Anthropology, for example, concern with mobilities can be traced to the postmodern turn and, especially the critique of the 'field' as a trope of textual authority that also, it was claimed, resonated with sedentarist ideologies such as nationalism (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, 7). In Cultural Studies it emerged largely in calls to reconceptualise traditional objects of study, such as places, from being seen as 'sites of dwelling' to 'sites of travelling' (Clifford, 1992). In Sociology it emerged largely from recognition of the need to come to grips with accelerating globalization and, of course, the global mobility that was enabled by new transportation and communication technologies in particular (Vannini, 2010). It was, indeed, Sociology that provided a scholar with the requisite trans-disciplinary insight to forge the inception of Mobilities Studies as an integrated field. And it is in this sense also that 2016 is a significant moment for Mobilities Studies. This year saw the sad passing of John Urry, undoubtedly the doyen of the field. What, then, one might ask is Urry's legacy?

As a field of substantive inquiry Mobilities Studies has been extraordinarily successful, especially through the study of physical mobility. There has been exponential growth in research on various different forms of non-mechanised mobility, such as walking (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008), bicycling (Aldred, 2012), orienteering (Altshull, 2008), skiing (Edensor & Richards, 2007) and canoeing (Waskul & Waskul, 2009) to name but a few. And this has been surpassed in volume by the study of mechanised forms of mobility, from airline (Adey, 2010) and helicopter (Cwerner, 2006) travel to train journeying (Lofgren, 2008) to motor-biking

(Pinch & Reimer, 2012) and, of course and overwhelmingly, to car driving (Vannini, 2010, 117). Likewise, the field's methodological successes have been notable too, with the emergence of a range of new mobile techniques and approaches to researching mobility such as, most ubiquitously, multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). More ambitiously, Urry and his colleagues proposed mobility as a lens through which foundational concepts in the social sciences, that had become commonplace because of misplaced assumptions of the normalcy of sedentary lifestyles, could be refigured. Thus, for example, where once we may commonly have spoken about society, culture and place, we may (and increasingly do) now speak in a new mobile vocabulary of networks, flows and de/reterritorialized sites. Lastly, perhaps the greatest measure of these successes is the extent to which Mobilities Studies has embedded itself within the curricula of universities. By way of a small, but illustrative sample, a quick glance at the subject guides of my own university reveals a range of subjects, from 'Migrancy, Home and Exile' to 'The Mobile World', which draw explicitly on the mobilities 'tradition.'

Mobilities and migrations

Against this background of growing orthodoxy another fact of Mobilities Studies seems peculiarly strange and ironic. Mobilities Studies has had a curious lack of traction in the very interdisciplinary fields with which it ought to be most cognate. Dawson, for example, observed that Migration Studies has been concerned principally with the causes and impacts of migration on both sending and receiving societies. Thus, whilst Migration Studies is concerned with what happens at migrations' points of departure and destination, it is interested less with much of what takes place in-between them, including mobility (2008). Conversely, Transport Studies is, in fact, concerned with mobility, but only in heavily circumscribed ways. It seeks to understand how efficient and risky mobilities (car accidents and the like) can be maximised and minimized respectively (Vannini, 2010). Consequently, in short, in both Migration Studies and Transport Studies insufficient attention is paid to understanding experiences and the meaningfulness of mobility for those who participate in or are otherwise affected by it.

The tenth anniversary of Mobilities Studies has brought reflection on the reasons for the aforementioned 'mobility deficit', particularly in Migration Studies (see, for example, Hui, 2016). This is not my purpose here. Rather, I seek to reflect on some of its consequences for Migration Studies, in particular how Migration Studies conceptualises its research subjects. I highlight, as examples of a mobility deficit, three particular features of contemporary Migration Studies – the 'transnationalism' perspective, limiting of the boundaries of the field through what Hui describes as 'migrant exceptionalism' (2016), and, in a somewhat countervailing tendency to migrant exceptionalism, the 'proliferation of migration categories' (see also, Dawson, 2015). I explore the mobility deficit in these ways through a case study from my empirical research on Bosnians (Croat, Muslim and Serb) who were displaced to Australia, Western Europe and other parts of former-Yugoslavia during the 1992-95 Bosnian war of succession from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Given the spatial limitations of the paper, I focus on one migrant informant only, Vesna Krstić (pseudonym), a Bosnian Serb who resettled in Australia as a young woman early in the war. Her not exceptional case suffices for the purpose of illustration.

Migrant transnationalism, exceptionalism and proliferation

Transnationalism, a focus on the social processes that transcend national boundaries, is now, undoubtedly the dominant perspective in contemporary Migration Studies. In a foundational study Basch et al defined transnationalism as “the *processes* by which immigrants forge and sustain *multi-stranded* social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (1994, 7). However, often practice does not match promise. Firstly, as Amit and Rapport pointed out, relying heavily on the related concepts of ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1983) and ‘ethnoscapes’ (Appadurai, 1996), the study of transnationalism in Migration Studies often focuses on the imagination of transnational communities rather than the concrete processes underlying their formation (2002). These processes, which Amit and Rapport argued, can only effectively be explored ethnographically, include migrants’ mobilities, such as homeland re-visiting and the like. Secondly, despite Basch et al’s sensible foregrounding of multi-stranded relations, and later warnings about the perils of ‘methodological nationalism’ (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002), the study of transnationalism in Migration Studies scholarship focuses predominantly on very limited forms of social relations, in particular ethnic and national transnationalism. Granted, a range of studies considers gender-based (see, for example, Yeoh and Ramdas, 2014) and familial (see, for example, Anh Hoang and Yeoh, 2012) transnationalism. However, more often than not, the ethnic or national group still remain as the primary units of analysis: transnational family networks amongst Vietnamese migrants, or gender-based transnational networks amongst Philippina maids, etcetera.

The exponential growth of transnationalism studies within Migration Studies (see, for example, Vertovec, 2007) has corresponded temporally with the emergence of Mobilities Studies. However, and perhaps even because of this, the constitution of their respective objects of study has differed markedly in various ways. Whilst Mobility Studies is concerned with the movement of objects and people, Migration Studies is concerned fundamentally with the movement of people. Migration Studies’ concern, for example, with the movement of non-humans, such as flows of remittances, is not with them as non-human ‘actors’, but as, simply ‘tools’ of the field’s primary object of study, people who migrate. Even more obviously, Migration Studies focuses exclusively on migrants. In contrast, Mobilities Studies is concerned with all forms of human mobility – vacationing, commuting, nomadism, etcetera – amongst which migration is merely one subtype (Hui, 2016, 71). Lastly, and most remarkably, in a process of what Hui described as migrant exceptionalism, Migration Studies scholarship has tended to categorise only a very limited range of groups who migrate as being actual migrants and, thus, worthy of the field’s academic gaze (2016). Perhaps the clearest illustration of the point is Faist’s observation that while in migration research unwanted labour migrants are regarded as the most legitimate subjects of study, in-demand skilled professionals are often presented, conversely, as ‘mobiles’ rather than migrants (2013).

Having said this, in more recent years migrant exceptionalism has been met by a countervailing trend in Migration Studies for the identification of new and discrete migrant and migration types and subtypes – labour migration, forced migration, including conflict-induced forced migration, environment-induced forced migration,

etcetera. Some such new types and subtypes present as migrants the very high-status groups who might once have been regarded as mobiles. One thinks, for example, of 'astronaut migrants' (Ong, 1999), that category of professionals who live and support families overseas, or of 'lifestyle migrants' (Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014). It is a moot point whether these people should be regarded as particular types of migrant or, simply just people on exceedingly long overseas work engagements or vacations. A case of 'you say tomato, I say tomato,' perhaps. However, we cannot treat the matter so flippantly, for, worryingly, in some instances, such as in the case of recent work on lifestyle migration, very robust arguments have been made for viewing these as bases for discrete fields of inquiry (Benson and Osbaldiston 2014), mini (sub-) disciplines so to speak. There are various, usually questionable, reasons underlying this process (see Dawson, 2015). In the context of the current discussion it is perhaps worth suggesting that they may include a desire for Migration Studies not to cede academic territory to fields such as Mobilities Studies through practices such as, of course, migrant exceptionalism itself. However, this is not my concern here. Rather, I seek to explore some of the resonances between the making of transnationalism as predominantly ethnic and national, migrant exceptionalism and migrant category proliferation with the everyday life experiences of migrants themselves, in this case Vesna Krstić.

Serb, economic migrant, humanitarian migrant, leisure migrant, all of the above or just Vesna?

In what is now, almost the canonical approach to ethnicity in the social sciences, Barth states, "the critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (1969, 15). What Barth is drawing attention to here is the fact that ethnic identities emerge out of and do not exist *a priori* to the coming into being of relationships between people we regard as 'ourselves' and 'others'. Consequently, as an important way in which such relationships are brought into being, migration is often central to ethnic consciousness. As Vesna Krstić once expressed it concisely and with customary anger, "when I lived in Bosnia I was just Vesna. Now, somehow, I am an immigrant and a Serb." As with many other of my informants, the bases of Vesna's discomfort are threefold.

The first (1), and most significant of these sources of discomfort is conveyed in Vesna's humorous account of arrival in Australia. In passing through the immigration hall at Melbourne airport she was met, as prearranged, by an elderly member of the local Serbian community. On the drive into town, assuming incorrectly that the former-Yugoslavia had barely modernised since his departure in the 1960s, he explained, "Vesna, these are traffic lights. Red means stop and green means go." As if she didn't already know that. Later on in the journey he panicked when he saw his oil warning light flashing, and pulled over for help. Unfortunately, having spent most of his life in a diasporic Serbian enclave – 'Suburbia Srpska' as Vesna liked to call it – , and having not mastered the English language, he could not convey the nature of the problem adequately to the petrol station staff. Fortunately, like many of her peers who had enjoyed the benefits of socialist Yugoslavia's education system, though a lifelong inhabitant of former-Yugoslavia and newcomer to Australia, Vesna spoke near perfect English. As such, she was able to translate for her host. Finally, when they reached their destination Vesna was asked to change in preparation for a welcome party at the

local Serbian club. However, she was bewildered when asked to participate in Serbian folk dancing. With not just a little irony she explained, “unlike these so-called Australians, me the Serb couldn’t bust the moves. Back home all we learned was Salsa.”

Simply, of course, the discomfort being alluded to is Vesna’s feeling of the absurdity of being categorised ethnically. Beyond this she frequently expressed anger and discomfort at a common sentiment articulated by less welcoming locals that she, and others of her type are, in fact ‘undeserving’ (2) labour migrants disguised as humanitarian migrants, refugees. Conversely, and perhaps a little more surprisingly, she was discomforted by (3) her classification as a humanitarian migrant too. It was true, she pointed out to me, that she had been displaced by ‘ethnic cleansing’ in her homeland, and that she had officially and deservedly been admitted to Australia on a humanitarian visa. However, escape from persecution was not her sole reason for coming and being here. Thus, she is as disdainful of those who pity her for, and identify her solely in terms of her displacement as she is for those who resent her presence. In her words, “I came to Australia not just to escape the negatives, but also to embrace the positives that Australia offers. I am not just a poor Bosnian. I am building a career. And I am someone who wants fun. Why can I not be all of these things – refugee, professional and good time girl?”

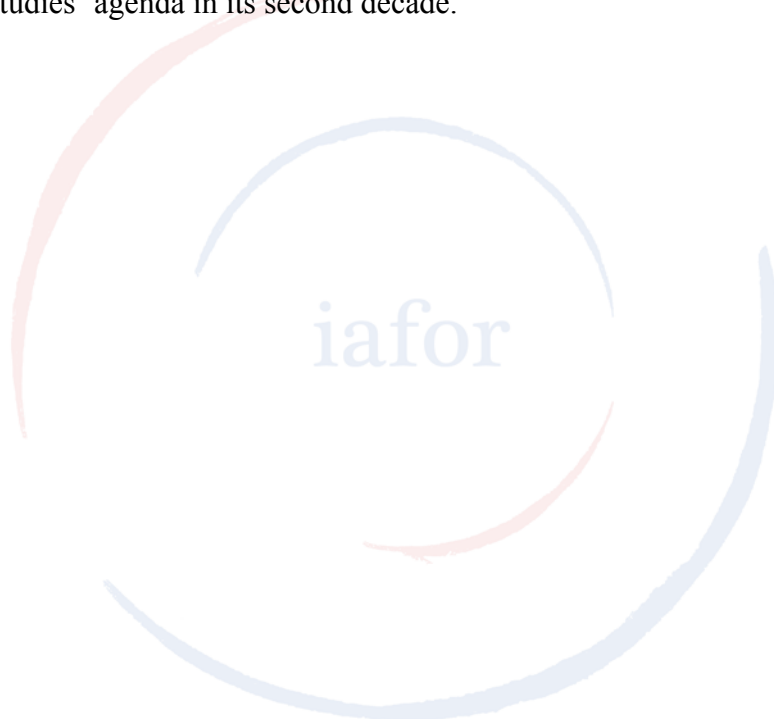
Conclusion – doing violence to the migrant subject by taking the mobility out of migration

The situations that Vesna describes as occurring in the recent migrant’s relations with others mirror uncomfortably the academic processes of: (1) the making of transnationalism as predominately ethnic and national; (2) migrant exceptionalism, and (3) migrant category proliferation and specification in Migration Studies. Furthermore, I would argue, just as she experiences everyday life amongst diasporic Serbs, migrant haters and refugee pitiers as discomfiting, these processes that have been promulgated within Migration Studies might be regarded as ‘doing violence to the subject’ (Jenkins, 1992). The provocative title of Jenkins’ piece referred to the manner in which post-structuralist theory in the social sciences dehumanises and representationally strips people of agency by rendering them theoretically as mere ‘texts’ from which it is the task of the social scientist to read the meaning of any given social context.

What, it might be asked is the specific nature of the violence to the subject entailed in Migration Studies? It is more than mere representations of: migrants principally as ethnics and nationals, some migrants as migrants and others not, and some people as particular types of migrants when they may think of themselves otherwise, *a la* transnationalism, exceptionalism and category proliferation respectively. It is, I argue, a kind of violence that consists of rendering the migrant subject discursively immobile. How so?

Firstly, by presenting transnational migrants as, first and foremost, ethnics and nationals, the transnationalism perspective in Migration Studies privileges forms of identification that are, fundamentally sedentary. Ethnic nationalism, for example, is, after all, an identity based on the idea of a group of people who see themselves as culturally and genealogically associated, seeking also a shared state and *territory*.

This discursive sedentarising of the migrant subject might be regarded as a kind of political violation. Secondly, regarding some mobile people and not others as suitable for the category migrant and, thus, worthy, or not of the academic gaze of migration scholarship, might be regarded as a kind of definitional violence. Thirdly, proliferating new migration types and sub-types and specifying to which ‘one’ particular migrants ought or ought not to be categorised might be regarded as a kind of conceptual violation. In short, it misrepresents the ‘category mobility’ – as people like Vesna, for example, ‘move’ seamlessly between the identities of refugee, labour migrant and leisure migrant (“good time girl”, as she put it) – that is the reality of many migrants’ lives. In these ways, I argue, Migration Studies has, more often than not, rendered the migrant subject discursively immobile, politically, definitionally and conceptually. Its way out of this impasse will be, I suggest tentatively, greater engagement with Mobility Studies, a field attuned to appreciating both the physical and imaginative movement of people and to developing a more empirically, methodologically and conceptually form of social inquiry. This may form part of Mobilities Studies’ agenda in its second decade.



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***Intercultural Communication Model of Tolaki Tribe In Multicultures Government
Structure in South Konawe District, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia***

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Abstract

This paper will examine the general and the background about intercultural communication model between native inhabitants of Tolaki tribe and immigrants in an order of cross cultures government. The research's goal is to examine and to show how tolerance interwoven among those different sides and honour towards customs could evoke better understanding among all parties in a government's structure.

Migration that happened in the past has increased the occurrence of intercultural among native inhabitants that connected directly with cultural characteristics of a large group of newcomers. In a half century, numerous life aspects are immediately controlled by the newcomers who have better knowledges and skills than the locals, including the government sector. Due to their characteristics, which are devoted and determined, it puts them in important positions in the government's structure. Eventhough there are some locals who occupied the position yet not many of them compare to the newcomers.

However, the situation doesn't inflict intercultural conflicts like what usually happens in other parts of Indonesia. The process of adaption and acculturation process that occurs gradually over decades between native inhabitants and newcomers is one of the reasons why the frictions had not occurred. Tolaki tribe has been known as a tribe which has local wisdom that gives a space for being tolerant towards newcomers, as long as the respect the customs of locals. The process of cultural acculturation that happens through intertribal marriages also gives a big contribute against the establishment of peace between them

Keywords: Intercultural Communication, Intercultural Government, Cultural Acculturation, Customs, Tolaki Tribe

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Introduction

Cultural and communication style differences have the potential to cause many problems in a multicultural governance. Not only the differences, but also more importantly is the difficulty to accept it which cause serious problems and threaten the fluency of intercultural communication that can lead to national disintegration. Then, the awareness of cultural variations plus with the willingness to appreciate it will encourage relationship between cultures.

Developing cultural values in society will always start from local wisdom that appeared and developed in line with the development of the society itself. Pluralism of Indonesian citizens with the characteristics of cultural diversity can't automatically integrated to be a national culture with all the customs that exist, since it is still in a forming level. So, intercultural communication's role in a multicultural governance should be enhanced, including mutual respect to one another, and execution order according to legislation that is democratic and equitable. Civilization is always trying to survive relevantly with the times. Essentially, civilization that live and stick to a nation, rightly be a pride that is felt and shared by the whole nation. Culture comes as something that should be guarded and preserved together and something that unites.

Communication and government are two things that related to each other. Communication position in government as mentioned by Sieber et al. (1956) stated that in studying human communication system, someone needs to notice several beliefs and assumption which embraced by a citizen about the origin of a man, society, and a country. Government strategy needs communication strategy, so the meaning of communication is also depend on the paradigm that a country has chosen. Communication role in government has been discussed by experts, and a statement of communication has avital role in government is generally agreed upon. Rogers (1985) said that communication is basic thing for social change. The desired change is a change towards something better than before. Therefore, communication role in government should be associated with the direction or the purpose of a change, which means any kind of communication activity must be able to anticipate the purpose a government.

Local wisdom is a life values that grows and thrives in a society. In cultural life, local wisdom shows up to preserve the pureness of a culture and in this information era, it holds a very important role to connect mindsets between the past and the present in order to prepare life in the future. Local wisdom is also a foundation of a nation to find its identity. Tolaki is one of the tribes in Indonesia who live in some areas in Southeast Sulawesi, which some of them are Kendari City, South Konawe District and North Konawe District. Most of the people are working as farmers and cultivators. Tolaki itself derived from the word Tolohinagga which mean people who come from the sky.

Historically, Tolaki tribe is a part of Konawe's kingdom, which is located that was known as Unaaha. They set a rule called Siwole Mbatohu. In social life, Tolaki has a symbol that makes unite to resolve all problems that might emerge. It is called Kalosara which embodies to create a virtuous society and also to maintain order and welfare together and to interact closely with each other. There are elements that contain high value philosophy in a relationship with citizens. They made it as a

guidance to live their daily lives. Tolaki customs called it as Osara, a set of primary rules to adjust the relationship between people and law, individuals with groups, and groups and groups that must be obeyed. Due to many consequences if you try to violate ones, either physical punishments or curses

Osara taught Tolaki tribe to always obey the decisions with a purpose of persuading citizens to create peace and love in their lives, especially when they face problems with another citizens. The overall rules of socialization are not written, but they have already known, have obeyed from generation to generation, including those who have authority (Mokole/King). Other than Osara, they also know about Samaturu, which is a principle that focuses on creating a peaceful life, helping each other when they need one with pleasure. It is also a manifestation of a working together as a life philosophy of Tolaki tribe. Samaturu, medulu ronga mepokoaso, which means, in carrying out their perspective roles. A famous Indonesian proverb that said "*A trouble shared is a trouble halved*" is portraying the approaches of it

Besides the native inhabitants of Tolaki tribe, there are some areas where there are transmigrants who come from Bugis, Muna, Buton, and transmigrants from Java and Bali. Since their arrival years ago, the immigrants are able to improve and to bring forward the area in many aspects, such as financially and socially. Social condition of Tolaki tribe before and after the arrival of the transmigrants encounters frictions through assimilation and acculturation. Both of it have also appeared in development, where most of the villages whom already faced acculturation and assimilation of local and transmigrants are more advanced then the other.

Migration that happened in the past has increased the occurrence of intercultural among native inhabitants that connected directly with cultural characteristics of a large group of newcomers. In a half century, various life sectors are overpowered by newcomers who have better knowledges and skills than locals, including government sector. Due to their characteristics, which are devoted and determined, it puts them in important positions in the government's structure. Eventhough there are some locals who occupied the position yet not many of them compare to the newcomers.

However, the situation doesn't inflict intercultural conflicts like what usually happens in other parts of Indonesia. Tolaki tribe has been known as a tribe which has local wisdom that gives a space for being tolerant towards newcomers. Tolaki tribe has been known a tribe that has local wisdom to give some spaces for being tolerant towards newcomers as long as they respect their customs. The cultural acculturation process that happens through marriage intertribal also gives a big contribution of a harmony of life.

Research Methods

The research method of intercultural communication model of Tolaki tribe in multicultures government structure in South Konawe District is qualitative research methodology. While the analysis method that is used to the research is case study analysis based on method, data, and source triangulation. Then, the collecting data method is through literatures and field research, such as observation, in depth interviews. Data collected in this research is divided into two, which are primary data and secondary data. Primary data is from the observation and in depth interviews with 20 research informants in the research's location, while secondary data is a data which obtained from websites, communication journals, and relevant books for the research.

Based on the assumptions above, this research is practically to examine and to review real life events experienced by the subjects holistically. It is also to give description and explanation towards intercultural communication model of Tolaki tribe in multicultural governments in South Konawe District. Data analysis technique that is used to it is refer to the concept from Miles and Huberman (1992: 20) which is interactive model that classify data analysis into three steps, which are Data Reduction, Display Data, and Verification.

In order to test the validity of the data, researchers are using triangulation techniques. Data triangulation is a data checking technique that is using another thing outside data to check or as a comparison to the data (Moleong, 2007: 330). Another test for the validity is an extension of the participation.

Role of Local Wisdom 'Tolaki' Tribe as Solutions for Society

South Konawe District community which is multicultural because it consists of various tribes and ethnic certainly cause culture collisions among the indigenous population and immigrants. Local wisdom of Tolaki tribe became a solution of various social, cultural and political issues in South Konawe District community. Some of the problems arise among migrants and Tolaki indigenous tribes can be solved through with *kalosara* tradition.

One case that stands out is a land dispute between indigenous peoples and migrants. Conflicts over lands in this area began when the government puts migrants from Java and Bali in some areas in South Konawe district. The implementation of the transmigration program in South Konawe migrants is by placing citizens with a relatively large amount that has an impact on narrowing of traditional agricultural land. The existence of traditional agricultural lands such as *homa*, *anahoma*, *o'epe*, *Arano*, *lokua*, and *walaka* narrowed as most traditional farmer's arable land of Tolaki Tribe are mostly used for transmigration projects. This condition would cause inconvenience to the natives Tolaki tribe, so they asked for help *Pabitara* (indigenous tribe chief Tolaki) to solve this problem by tradition. (Karsadi, 2002)

The occurred land dispute case is then managed to get through regards to *kalosara*, facilitated by the South Konawe's Bupati. Technically, Bupati (official) called community leaders from both parties, to conduct meetings, subsequently formed mediation team consisting of two (2) community leaders of Tolaki. One person doing intensive communication with leaders and community groups of transmigrants and

others to communicate with community leaders of Tolaki tribe. Both figures attempt to identify the aspirations of both parties. The natives of the Tolaki tribe require soil that has been owned by the transmigrants should be returned to their rightful owner by canceling certificate, while the transmigrants call for recognition of land that has been owned and has been certified. Finally, solution agreed is land that has been owned by the transmigrant divided in two, one part remains the property of citizens of migrants, and a portion returned to the original owner of the legitimate customary. The main agreement executed in *mombesara* ceremony (Ceremony Cleaning State) by bringing *Kalosara* of the transmigrants under the guidance of a mediator from Tolaki community leaders, *kalosara* subsequently placed in the middle of both sides of the conflict. In this atmosphere the two sides expressed readiness to make peace and declare mutual forgiveness. Afterwards, it is no longer a conflict between the two communities. (Karsadi, 2002)

Marriage among Native Tolaki tribes with transmigrants is also carried out by presenting *kalosara*, especially if the bride is a Tolaki tribe's native in that case, by tribal customary the bride's family is entitled to demand a dowry to the groom, in the form of a piece of kaci cloth (silk) and a buffalo which must be handed to the bride before the wedding took place. If the groom refuses, he will be given by tradition sanctions in which socially ostracized by the entire community.

Tolaki Tribe's Cross Cultural Communication Model

According to Sereno and Mortensen (in Mulyana, 2007), a model of communication is an ideal description of what is required for the communication process to occur, means that the communication process is done and understood as a process of delivering a message that involves feedback from the communicant as the party receiving the message to messages or information provided by the communicator, the process that which contained in the media. Communication elements related become integral in the process of delivery as a continuous mutual relationships, that communication is done in line with the linkage element of communication. Communication model becomes a real cornerstone in the process of contact between cultures, when a message is given by members of a culture and the recipient is a member of another culture. Culture is fully responsible for the entire communication behavior of individuals who have a meaning which is owned by each individual. (Mulyana, 2005: 20)

The cultural characteristics of a native Tolaki tribe that tends to be welcoming and friendly to newcomers with its local wisdom indicates openness to appreciate and understand the migrant cultures different from their original culture. Their principles of neighboring and working together to facilitate the process of adaptation and acculturation runs smoothly between them with settlers. But instead a native Tolaki tribe also requires migrants to abide their traditions, with the threat of sanctions if it refuses to obey them. Migrants who have been accepted by his presence certainly did not object to comply with tribal Tolaki traditions as long as it still within the limits of its capabilities.

Tolaki's communication culture gave birth to categories, concepts and labels produced by cultures intersect. Migrant's cultural similarities in perception allows a meaning thus similar to a social object or event. For example in the ways they communicate,

the state of communication, language, dialect, style of language, nonverbal behavior and response to interactions that constitute the elements of cross-cultural communication.

Tolaki tribal's perception in selecting, evaluating and organizing the stimuli from the external environment into a meaningful experience and generate belief systems and value systems they have run so far. They believe that everyone must respect the existence of others around them, if they want to be appreciated by others. The general belief is held by each Tolaki individual and reflects the characteristics of the related individual, and overall Tolaki tribe. This is reflected in the value system and the system of beliefs held by the Tolaki tribe.

The existence of tradition system as a value system that is believed to solve every problem faced by the Tolaki tribe shows a Tolaki tribal cultural orientation to God, man and the universe. That view also affects Tolaki tribal culture in shaping the structure of the family, tradition structure, social structure, and the structure of government. Kalosara respectable appearance as a last resort in solving societal Tolaki tribe problems is a form of agreement with the generally recognized which of course is the result of a process of learning from experience taught from generation to generation for hundreds of years. Mindset, mental processes, forms of reasoning, and approaches to problem solving contained in Tolaki tribal culture is an important component of culture that determine Kalosara vital role in providing solutions to problems.

Research Overview

The location of this study took place in 10 (ten) traditional Tolaki tribal villages in South Konawe District. In each village where the study conducted, the research team interviewed a Tolaki tribal leader selected randomly (random). In addition to the traditional leaders in each village, the research team also interviewed the head of the village or other formal government authorities in each village. Thus, in this study there were 20 research informants, which consists of 10 traditional leaders and 10 village chief or village administration.

To implement triangulation stage, the research team interviewed the Head of Tourism and Culture South Konawe District as the leader of the regional organization (OPD) the executors of cultural affairs in Kabupaten Konawe Selatan and also Bupati as the Konawe Selatan's regional chairman.

Discussion of Research's Results

Regarding the vital role of Kalo and Kalosara as tradition instruments which are recognized as solutions to various social problems, all informants (100%) stated the truth, since each face a problem that can not be resolved formally, then Kalosara would be the last resort very well respected by residents of Tolaki native tribes and settlers. All parties believe that refusing kalosara will only bring disaster and a greater calamity in the future, besides of course the social sanction received from the public in the form of exclusion, and also a huge fine.

According to informants from the government officials natives and visitors respect Kaloand Kalosara, so they tend to avoid the decline of kalosara and chose to resolve the problem by way of deliberation. Here, the role of formal government agencies such as the village head is very important in the effort to implement a village meeting to seek a variety of formal solutions to various problems faced by the community.

Cross-cultural communication model conducted by Native tribes of Tolaki is reflected in their attitudes and daily behavior which tend to be friendly and open to strangers this simplify village officials to find the best solutions to the problems for them. As long as the solution offered is not considered detrimental to them and not contrary to the tradition, they are usually willing to accept and implement these solutions.

In the area of governance starting from desa, kecamatan to kabupaten. Many important positions such as village heads, district, county department heads and even regents occupied by settlers. This is certainly an inconvenience to indigenous Tolaki tribes who have inhabited the region since hundreds or even thousands of years ago. But apparently such inconveniences do not necessarily lead to social conflict as in other regions in Indonesia. Communication patterns of indigenous Tolaki tribal communities that are open to entrants provides a distinct advantage for them, which in the process of their interaction with migrants making them understand the mindset and work ethic of migrants.

In the traditional villages of the Tolaki tribe who have experienced the intersection of culture with a migrants population, especially migrants from Java and Bali, the construction progress can be seen through naked eye, through the availability of better infrastructure, ranging from roads, bridges and other public service facilities, such as village halls, health centers and education facilities. Good infrastructure certainly have a positive impact on the society's economic wheels, including indigenous people of Tolaki tribe. With the moving society's economic wheels induce the escalation of welfare and ultimately capable of eliminating social jealousy and discomfort experienced by a native Tolaki tribe.

It can be seen from the increasing number of indigenous people who became Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the sector of the economy. Later in the government sector are also growing a number of Native Tolaki tribes occupying important positions such as district and department heads. Various efforts made by the district government to maintain and preserve local Tolaki wisdom rate through various programs that can have a positive result. One program stands out is the Mandara Mandidoha Village Program legalized through Local Regulation No. 22 Year 2013 about the Mandara Mandidoha village or Smart Healthy Village with the aim of spurring the development of Active Alert Village program in Kabupaten Konawe Selatan.

Mandara Mandidoha Village Program is adapting the principles of Tolaki ethnic local wisdom to cooperate and work together with the surrounding neighbors, through philosophy *samaturu*, *medulu*, *rongamepokoaso*, which means that the Tolaki people in carrying out their respective roles have always come together, work together, gives mutual help and mutual assistance with each other.

Through the Mandara Mandidoha Village Program there has been eleven villages that became a pilot project to duplicate the eleven other villages. Implementation of the program dissemination is done directly by the Bupati of the entire apparatus of

government in Kabupaten Konawe Selatan, and also to a wider audience, such as: non-formal community leaders, donors, campus, and other related parties. After going through the process of developing a program for 2 (two) years, one of the villages from Mandara Mandidoha Village Program became a pilot project which is the Desa Anggondara Kecamatan Palangga made it as one of the three villages with the best category in the program development of rural active standby level in Southeast Sulawesi province. Regarding these achievements, some principles of indigenous Tolakitribes later adapted in various other government programs such as the 'Keluarga Berencana' and village midwives in Kabupaten Konawe.

In the area of governance, South Konawe's government which has a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, as stakeholders have an important role through the establishment of coordinated policies in the form of the adoption of legislation or Bupati's decisions through the Regional Regulation (Perda). Additionally Bupati also establishes a coordination mechanism among agencies involved in any government program and establish community development communication forums starting from the village level to the district level. By adopting several kinds of local wisdom from Tolaki tribes which are recognized by the entire community in South Konawe District that is very diverse, it has proven to be able to tie the relationship and cooperation between them in implementing various community development process.

Conclusion

From the explanation of the research and the analysis, there are few things that could be concluded: (1) Intercultural communication model of Tolaki is based on principles of Tolaki tribe's local wisdom, such as samaturu, medulu ronga mepokoaso, which is in carrying out their respective roles, respect each other, working together with all groups of the citizens without differentiate the ethnic background and their cultures in order to avoid conflicts that usually happens in heterogeneous citizens and multicultures; (2) Although having different cultural values with the newcomers, local inhabitants want to imitate positive things from them, such as being devoted and being determined. The newcomers don't hesitate to share their knowledges and experiences to local people of Tolaki, especially in agriculture, animal husbandry, and trading. With a new knowledge and new skills, many local people of Tolaki who open their own business to increase economy. Likewise the newcomers are willing to respect and to obey the customs of Tolaki through Kalo and Kalosara; (3) Many local wisdoms of Tolaki are adapted in various development programs, like Desa Mandara Mandidoha in South Konawe District which legalized through Peraturan Daerah No. 22 in 2013 about Desa Mandara Mandidoha. Likewise in family planning and other development programs; (4) Many problems between locals and newcomers can be solved with Kalosara, which they obey and respect, start from marriage problem until government issues.

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***The Advent of the First Indoor Stage in Korean Theatre:
Impacts, Consequences and Implications***

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Abstract

It is widely agreed that the modern Korean theatre began with the opening of the Hyeopyulsa, the first western-style theatre building, in December 1902. The reason for calling this theatre 'modern' is multifold, but the primary stress should be put on the fact that it introduced indoor stage, which was the first case in the history of Korean theatre. Outdoor performance in found places was one of the paradigmatic elements in traditional Korean performance and play forms, including *Pansori* (one-man singing-drama) and *Talchum* (mask dance). In this respect, the establishment of the indoor stage in the Hyeopyulsa was a sea change, predicting a shift in paradigm and environment that would divide Korean theatre thereafter from the previous. This modern stage needed a new play form to present, which resulted in the appearance of *Changgeuk*, well known as Korean opera to the West. This new play form is often regarded as 'new theatre movement' in that it attempted to extend the theatricality immanent in *Pansori* in positive way. At the same time, the modern gadgets of stage and play form foreshadowed a series of infringements on Korean theatre tradition. Revisiting the historical moment in the beginning of the twentieth century, this paper examines the impacts, consequences, and implications the advent of the modern stage had on Korean theatre.

Keywords: Korean theatre, Hyeopyulsa, modernity, Westernized stage, *Changgeuk*, *Pansori*

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Introduction

It is widely agreed that the modern Korean theatre began with the opening of the first indoor-stage theatre, Hyeopyulsa(協律社), in December 1902. Hyeopyulsa was a brick building with cylindrical exterior and cone-shaped roof. Inside, there was a raised platform stage and the auditorium seats over 2,000 people were looking into the stage. The stage and the auditorium were separated by a veil of the forth wall. The upstage wall was covered with a backdrop of white canvas fabric, and some of the props were also displayed. Auditorium was divided into different classes, and the price of tickets changed accordingly. According to a newspaper advertisement in *Hwang Seong Shinmun* dated 4 December 1902, three types of tickets with difference colors and prices were issued for the opening performance at Hyeopyulsa.

This ‘modern’ firmament playhouse was built by the support of the royal family of the Korean Empire.¹ It was intended to entertain foreign diplomatic envoys and short-lived until closing in April 1906 (Yoo Min-Young 1996: 33).² The reason to call this theatre building ‘modern’ is multifold, but the primary stress should be put on the fact that it was the ‘first indoor’ theatre. Korean theatre typically took the form of outdoor performance, and all the genres of traditional Korean theatrical forms—including *Pansori* (one-man singing-drama), *Talchum* (mask dance), *Inhyeong-geuk* (puppet theatre), *Geurimja-geuk* (shadow theatre), etc.—followed this nature. Besides, virtually no stage existed in Korean traditional theatre. Korean theatricalities happened at outdoor yard called *madang*. All the found places in every corner of a village became a *madang* for performance as long as people gathered. In other words, wherever theatricality happened, that was the *madang*. It was not an exact counterpart to the stage in the Western theatre, spatially separated from the audience’s seats. On the contrary, the *madang* was a kind of ‘open space’ where the areas to see and to be seen freely interact and communicate each other (Sa Jin-Shil 1997: 281-303), without the segregation by ‘the forth wall’. Therefore, the mentioned raised indoor platform stage and other gadgets such as props, backdrop, classes in the seats, and the division of stage and auditorium were all unprecedented in Korean theatre paradigm.

From *Pansori* to *Changgeuk*

As the western stage was ‘suddenly’ appeared, theatrical contents to fill this new vessel were also needed in urgent fashion. Hyeopyulsa committed itself to the duty, recruiting traditional theatricalities at hand, including street entertainers such as *changwu* (professional singer-actor), *mudong* (boy dancer), *kisaeng* (female entertainers)³, comic storytellers, tightrope walkers, hosting them within the enclosed

¹ The Korean Empire (大韓帝國; *Daehan Jeguk*; literally “Great Korean Empire”) was proclaimed in October 1897, after the Joseon dynasty officially exited the Imperial Chinese tributary system. It lasted until the annexation of Korea by Japan in August 1910.

² In 1907 it opened with a new name *Gwanin Gurakbu*, and in 1908 it became a private playhouse with a new name called *Wongaksa*.

³ *Kisaeng* (妓生) were female entertainers who were highly trained accomplished in the fine arts, poetry, and prose writing as well as singing and dancing. First appearing in the Goryeo period (918-1392) the *kisaeng* system continued to flourish during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910). Having low social standing, they mostly worked for the

indoor stage, and showcased their talents to the audience (Lee Du-Hyun 1999: 27; Park Hwang 1976: 16-17). All these types of theatricalities including singing, acting, dancing, storytelling and acrobatics were combined together into a set program and presented in a 'variety show' format or burlesque type in western sense (Kim Kee-Hyung 2008: 16).

What is worth noting is that *Pansori* was also performed as a part of the set program. *Pansori* is a vocal music theatre performed by a soloist singing-actor and a percussionist who beats a *buk*, traditional Korean drum. First of all, a singing-actor plays a role as a narrator to deliver the whole story. The singing-actor also impersonates multiple characters appearing in the story told. Although delivered through the mouth and body of a single actor, the content is composed of dialogues between multiple characters. *Pansori*, in which singing characters perform a dramatic work, creates a kind of 'one-man folk opera' (Erven 1992: 108). The single actor's gestures embody the various characters, swiftly shifting from one to another. Thus, *Pansori*, composed of multiple characters, narratives and conversations among them, has the nature of drama and theatre in the Western sense, and seemed to be the most suitable for the Western theatre concept and stage convention. Consequently, *Pansori* became a first and easy pick to fill the newly introduced Westernized theatre space.

Once selected to fill the stage, *Pansori* went through the process of adapting itself to the newly installed indoor stage. The direction was to extract and visualize the essence of drama out of *Pansori*. To make *Pansori* a drama text suitable for the western stage, it was needed to reinforce the elements of action and dialogue, consequently reconstructing them in a sequence of actions and dialogues. First of all, multiple characters played by a single singing-actor had to be 'literally' divided. Accordingly, the roles and lines were distributed among multiple singing-actors. In other words, many actors play the part of the main characters and spoke the individual lines, which had an effect to visually intensify the conflict and 'drama' between characters.

The result was the birth of a new theatrical form called *Changgeuk*(唱劇) or 'Pansori opera' in which multiple singing-actors and musicians perform a dramatic work in traditional folk song style of *Pansori*. It was not the 'one-man opera' any more as *Pansori* was. Instead *Changgeuk* was the 'multi-men opera' include 20-30 actors and 30-50 orchestra musicians, which produced a spectacular extravaganza. *Changgeuk* has been recognized as the outcome of an attempt to extend the theatricality of *Pansori* in a positive way. *Changgeuk* is often regarded as the new theatre movement (Seo Yeon-Ho 1999: 249) and, therefore, is called '*Shingeuk*' (New Theatre). Accordingly, *Changgeuk* is recognized as the first modern play form in Korea (Yoo Min-Young 1987: 10).

As the first modern play form in Korea, *Changgeuk* began to develop in the following years. Along with the development of *Changgeuk*, on July 26, 1908, two years after

upper class people such as the royals, elites, officers, and rich patrons. In 1650s, all *kisaeng* were made slaves to the government. The Gabo Reform of 1894 officially abolished the class system of Joseon, and *kisaeng* became nominally free from slavery. During the subsequent decade, many of freed *kisaeng* spread throughout the country, continuing to work as entertainers in private sectors.

the close of Hyeopyulsa, the private playhouse Wongaksa(圓覺社) opened at the same site of Hyeopyulsa. Credited as the first private permanent theatre building in Korea, Wongaksa was established by a novelist Lee In-Jik with an intention to start a new theatre introduced from Japan (Kim Woo-Tak 1986: 13), and showed an effort to reconstruct popular *Pansori* pieces and adapt new-style novels called *Shinsoseol*(新小說) in the form of *Chnaggeuk*, aiming at the box-office success. For example, Lee In-Jik dramatized his own *shinsoseol* called *Eun-se-kye*(銀世界: *The Silver World*), trained the *Pansori* actors and finally presented for the first time on stage on November 13, 1908 (Lee Du-Hyun 1966: 27-28).

Despite the gaining of modernity, however, the formation of *Changgeuk* resulted in the loss as well. In the course of the transition from *Pansori* to *Changgeuk*, unique theatricalities of *Pansori* were subject to damage. *Pansori* depends on the *madang* quality as well as the collective participation of performer and spectator without the border between them. *Changgeuk* demanded for the separation of stage and auditorium by the fourth wall according to the principle of the western stage. To fit in the principle of the western stage, the collective spirit between actors and spectators, the core of the Korean theatrical tradition, should be eliminated from the stage. From then on, such tendency effectively reinforced the fixation of the western stage in the soil of the Korean theatre. In short, *Changgeuk* held its position on the starting line toward the fixation of the western stage in the Korean theatre, and the subsequent dismantlement of the Korean traditional theatricality was the beginning of the Korean modern theatre.

Question to the Modernity in Korean Theatre

Choe Nam-Soen, a prominent Korean historian and literary man of the time, recorded this historic moment, that is, the introduction of stage. He said “various and new types of equipment were hurriedly installed [inside the Hyeopryulsa] in order to entertain the honored guests” (Lee Du-Hyun 1994: 199). According to him, the indoor stage or the ‘equipment’ installed in the royal theatre was ‘new’ and modern to Korean theatre environment. With the introduction of the first indoor stage, the Korean theatre obtained the status of being modern. On the other hand, Choe’s record mentioned above raises a question. His expression “hurriedly installed” gives an impression that the modernization of Korean theatre was not the result of a natural order of time, but the outcome of impulsive and arbitrary decision. Like the indoor stage at Hyeopyulsa, the advent of *Changgeuk* was not the outcome of a natural order in gradual evolution. It was rather a sort of overnight makeshift hurriedly constructed in compliance with temporal and enforced demand. That is to say, Korean theatre produced a modern theatre form *Changgeuk* by forcefully cramming *Pansori* and its ‘*madang*’ (open space) quality into the enclosed space of indoor stage (Lee Du-Hyun 1966: 21). *Changgeuk* was the product of hasty modernization that lacked the consideration about the immanent values of the Korean traditional theatre (Seo Yeon-Ho 1999: 249-50).

Related to the birth of *Chnaggeuk*, the Japanese influence cannot be overlooked. In 1894, eight years before the completion of Hyeopyulsa, the Gabo Reform (1894-1896) took place, which is credited as officially the first modernization effort in

Korean history.⁴ At that time, Japan was enjoying the 30-year-long favor of modernization since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Japan could be a good model at hand for Korean government to take. Actually the Gabo Reform was based on the original reform bill presented by Japanese Ambassador Otori Keisuke, and established new government, military, legal, and financial system.⁵ Also, regarding the Japan's geographical advantage over the contiguity in distance, it must have been more effective for Korea, the late starter of modernization, to contact the western world through Japan rather than to contact directly. Japan could be an effective channel through which the Western theatre as a part of the Western culture and civilization was flowed into Korea.

At the same time, Japan functioned as 'cultural filter' through which the Western culture was received by the Korean society. *Chaggeeuk* could be the result of this process. The advent of *Changgeuk* was the product of a hasty modernization lacking the consideration about the immanent artistic value of the Korean traditional theatre. The advent of this new and the first modern theatre form was no other than a thoughtless borrowing of the 'Japanesque' version of westernization and modernization, accommodated and adjusted by the Japanese taste and light of view.

As seen above, the introduction of the western stage in the Korean theatre, which had been credited to transform the Korean theatre into a modern status, was problematic and, furthermore, the nature of modernity in Korean theatre was questionable even from the beginning. As Choe maintains, the indoor stage playhouse was new and unexpectedly sudden and, therefore, strange and awkward enough to Korean theatre environment. Consequently, Hyeopyulsa, the first modern indoor theatre with a raised stage separated from spectators, was predicting a shift in paradigm of Korean theatre tradition and, at the same time, foreshadowing an uncomfortable and grotesque coexistence of the two conflicting paradigms, traditional and modern/western, indigenous and foreign, in the same space.

⁴ The name Gabo (甲午) comes from the name of the year 1894 in the traditional sexagenary cycle.

⁵ Reforms addressed were as following: discrimination based on the Feudal class system, slavery, underage marriage were abolished; administrative districts were reorganized; military and police systems were modernized; judicial systems were changed with new courthouse and judiciary laws; new monetary system allowed the use of Japanese currency; measurement system was changed to that of Japan's; *gwageo* system, the national civil service examinations, was replaced by a Japanese bureaucratic system (Lee Gil-Sang 40-43).

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Negotiating Power in Culturally Determined Bioethics Secular Western vs Islamic Bioethics in Decision Making

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Abstract

The supposition of this paper is that bioethics in its different strata is culturally determined. Other than universal in the sense of 'neutral', secular bioethics-which is internationally leading the field of bioethics academically is an expression of a particular, materialistic worldview that does not generally consider spiritual or other-worldly dimensions. Islamic culture, based on the particular worldview of tawhīd - the profession that there is only one Creator who created the universe and mankind, and that the purpose of human existence is servitude to Him - has produced its own bioethics. Under Islamic bioethics, the human body is not the person's possession, but rather an entrusted good (amānah) which will return to its Creator after death. The human being will be held responsible for its interaction and care taking of its physical shape. Beginning and end of life are predetermined and not subject to human decision making. The paper looks into the most prominent secular bioethical model, Beauchamp's and Childress' principlist approach (Principles of Biomedical Ethics), more particularly the principle of autonomy, and how it intersects in practice against a background of Muslim recipients in a majority or minority background. Discussed case studies will focus on beginning and end-of-life decisions, such as abortion, prenatal and preimplantation diagnostics, termination of life support, donor consent to organ transplantation after death, euthanasia, and their evaluation through the principle of autonomy at the intersection of secular and Islamic bioethics.

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1. Introduction: Negotiating power or the power to negotiate

‘Power’ in the world of bioethics can refer to the power of definition – what does or does not define bioethics -, setting up of ‘universal’ bioethical codes and standards, as well as their implementation. The term ‘negotiating power’ is ambiguous and will be used in two different meanings in this paper. Negotiating power can be defined as the economic or political weight to impose decisions. On the other hand, it can also refer to the negotiation of power in terms of the questioning of power (here: the power of definition). Both meanings of the term will be referred to in this paper with regard to the international bioethical discourse. This paper will discuss the problem of power and its negotiation at the intersection of perceived universal bioethical standards. The processes involved may occur in the setting up of international bioethical codes, clinical practice, ethics committees, state decision making, and on the ground, in clinical practice, with varying degrees of power and the power to negotiate.

2. ‘Universal’ bioethics?

Are ‘universal’ standards truly universal? The bio-ethical codes of international institutions, such as the Helsinki declaration (developed by the World Medical Organization, first declared in 1964, with various amendments to date, the latest in 2013) (<http://www.wma.net/en/30publications/10policies/b3/>), the 2002 declaration of the CIOMS (Council of International Organizations of Medical Sciences) , a non-governmental institution set up jointly by WHO and UNESCO, the International Ethical Guidelines for Biomedical Research Involving Human Subjects (<http://www.cioms.ch/>), or the UNESCO declaration on bioethics and human rights 2005 (<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/bioethics/bioethics-and-human-rights/>), mainly reflect a Western secular background claiming universality. This claim to universality does not go unchallenged in academic circles and the reception of bioethics on the ground.

Secular bioethics stands for the efforts to devise bioethical standards under exclusion of religious sources or institutions or by finding a compromise with regional religious perceptions or representatives. The bioethical discourse in the ‘Western’ world is at times characterized by a recourse to Christian ethical and moral concepts (particularly if seen through the lens of people stemming from a non-Western background (De Vries and Rott, 2011), as it is characterized by a participation of different religious representatives of other denominations and societal groups, in an attempt to give credit to the diversity of these societies. Shabana refers to the fact that many founders of bioethics had religious training, but bioethics over time shed its religious outlook and terminology to find wider acceptance (Shabana, 2011). However, these processes take place aiming at safeguarding the interests of these societies through participation of diverse societal groups, in accordance with the underlying secular worldview. The secular imprint therefore prevails, particularly as the Christian input is rather philosophical than scriptural.

Secular bioethics of Western provenance, among them the American principlist model advocated by Beauchamp and Childress, is often appraised as universal or neutral. Its global proliferation through inter – and transnational organizations, such as WHO or CIOMS, seems to support this claim – questionable here is whether it is not rather the

global power structure of transnational organizations that led to this proliferation rather than the global acceptance of these standards?

Given the historical experience of European societies, secularism is considered to be the guarantor of societal consensus and scientific progress. Scientific development in the non-Islamic parts of Europe only started after the rule and influence of the Christian Church and its dogma was broken. As opposed to this, the historical experience of the Islamic world was that scientific and general societal progress was made through and in accordance with the Islamic worldview. The Islamic world was the leading power in the field of sciences during the European Dark Middle Ages and had substantial influence on the intellectual fertilization of the European continent in fields of medicine, science, philosophy and others. Secularization in the Islamic world took place in the wake of colonization and its aftermath, not as a result of intellectual and philosophical struggle and revolution. Secular thought in the Islamic world is therefore often still linked to colonialist attitudes. It is important to keep these different historical backgrounds in mind when discussing the role of and approach to secular thought against the ‘Western’ European and Islamic backgrounds (Bouzenita, 2011).

With regard to ‘universal’ bioethical codes, Chattopadhyay and De Vries (2013) aptly criticize the taking over of power of definition through transnational agents:

“Once you dispense with the unfounded fears of relativism, unavoidable questions remain: who decides what a ‘moral universal’ is? “How should we handle conscientious disagreements with so-called ‘universal’ ethical principles? It is important to note in this regard that a number of scholars- from East and West, North and South – have even questioned the supposed universality of the so-called Universal Declaration of human rights.” (p.644).

Snead gives a meticulous account of the difficulty to reach consensus even at the UNESCO level in negotiating the Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights. Different perspectives (industrialised countries’ perspectives as opposed to developing countries, different professional backgrounds (international law, bioethics, etc), diversity or rather the lack of the same, different agendas played an important role in negotiating and criticizing the declaration. Critical reception of the declaration in (Western) bioethicist circles (Landman and Schueklenk, 2005; Macpherson, 2005) evidences this difficulty further.¹

If we take into account that transnational organizations which sign responsible for ‘universal’ declarations may star a diversity in national backgrounds, but that members of these institutions are generally cultivated through their professional backgrounds which already carry a Westernised imprint through Western conceived and secularised curricula

¹ For a detailed account of UNESCO’s global negotiation of biotehics see Langlois, Adèle (2013) Negotiating Bioethics. The Governance of UNESCO’s Bioethics Programme.

worldwide, the possibility of a global bioethical consensus deserving its name seems even more narrowed down.

While some contributors, such as Chattopradhay and De Vries, who may be quoted exemplarily, speak of a moral imperialism of Western bioethics (2013, p.640), others do appraise the UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights as a "welcome beginning, but efforts to ensure the efficacy of these formal declarations and statements must continue through serious cross-cultural and interreligious dialogue." (Shabana, 2011)

The UNESCO declaration has been criticised for "universalising" non-universal values, as in their postulation that the interests of the individual are of greater importance than the interests of science and society. (Landman and Schueklenk, 2005.) Chattopradhay reminds of their particular cultural embeddedness, saying:

"Interestingly, the culturally embedded Western Philosophical worldviews of universalists – *local* in nature – become the vision for the *global* ethics." (2013, p.642) As is the case in other 'universal' declarations (such as the declaration of human rights), Western natural law concepts have become so prominent that they are hardly questioned in origin and conceptualisation.²

As for international declarations such as the UNESCO's, it is questionable in how far they really have an impact on the ground, as they will be binding only after being translated into national legislations (Langlois, 2013). Landman and Schueklenk (2005) wittily state that the declaration may probably not do much harm, thereby alluding to its lack of (practical) impact for the field of bioethics.

Moving away from the transnational arena, consensus on what bioethics is has not even been arrived at by American style bioethics within its own borders (Solomon, 2006). As Solomon points out, if bioethics are truly universal, they need to be truly received by people worldwide – fact is that 9/10 of the world struggle with the most basic bioethical problems, such as access to proper nutrition, basic affordable medical care, and are not even aware of 'universal bioethics'. In addition, many academics in the Western as well as the non-Western world have become vocal on how universal bioethics have failed to convince people of its superior approach to justice – with a major lack of agreement on what bioethics is in the American heartland itself (Solomon, 2006).

Parallels to colonialist and missionary attitudes are frequently drawn. Chattopradhay quotes Engelhardt on some observations made in American-Japanese bioethics conferences:

"It was clear that the Americans ... and Japanese saw issues of bioethics from radically different perspectives.. The response on the part of most of the American bioethicists was again to assure...that the bioethics they (the Americans) were expounding reflected the

² For the discussion of the dissemination of natural law concepts in international law, see Weeramantry, C.G. (2003). *Universalising International Law*. Leiden: Brill.

common morality of mankind, whether or not the Japanese recognized this to be the case.” (2013, p.640)

In this scenario, the “Other” needs to be “convinced” of the benevolent mercy bestowed upon him through a “superior” culture. Negotiating the power of definition is not even a topic for discussion in this scenario.

As to the practical implications of globalised bioethics, Marshall and Koenig describe how ethical guidelines (for research) are too often simply exported, without giving credit to different cultural contexts. While international guidelines for informed consent rely heavily on the notion of individual autonomy and personal decision-making, these decisions are in many cultural contexts made in the context of the family or other social networks (p.258). Anecdotal evidence reports of people in rural parts of India bringing their age-old informed consent forms to the clinic, believing them to be guarantee letters for medical treatment. (Chattopadhyay and De Vries, 2013). In other words, guidelines have externally been met to the letter, without adherence to and understanding of the substance involved. We may conclude with Marshall and Koenig (2004): “It is insufficient simply to assume the applicability of legalistic procedures – based on broadly-stated principles – in diverse settings across the globe.” (p.263)

De Vries and Rott (2013) have alerted to the fact that Western pharmaceutical companies demand these guidelines as they increasingly outsource medical trials to developing countries – which defies the sense of their existence. The FDA, U.S. Food and Drug Administration, regularly offers seminars on the conduction of drug trials in the developing world. The adoption of these standards can therefore not necessarily be called a consensus based on common universal morality and standards, but rather a globalised pressure to abide by the rule of the powerful – with no power to negotiate the same. In this vein, Marshall and Koenig point out the difficulty “for health professionals and researchers in the developing world to resist the strong and influential voice of Western bioethics” (p.258), due to the identification of bioethics as “‘progress’ and modernity” (p.258), but also the requirements of international sponsors of research projects to comply with international ethical guidelines in order to obtain funding. (p.258).

They summarize: “The pressure to conform to international ethical guidelines may create the illusion of consensus, rather than adherence to “universal” ethical principles, researchers may see human subjects protections as one more hoop to jump through.” (p.258)

The reception of ‘globalised’ bioethics on the ground, particularly among the poor in developing countries and the traditionally underprivileged in the developed world are often characterized by lack of trust and confidence in (medical) authorities. Simpson, in his study on Sri Lanka, writes: “confidence on the benevolent operation of power and authority has been severely shaken” (2011, p.46). Marshall and Koenig refer to the ‘lack of trust’ in Afro-American patients with regard to end-of-life aggressive interventions as acquired through the historical experience of racism (2004). It is to be expected that this lack of trust is pervasive in countries with a history of colonization, where medical and

legal systems and their representatives, an elite trained along these curricula, mostly in the former colonial language, or transnational organisations are identified with colonialist history or neo-colonialism and are contrasted to a local community that differs in language, beliefs, cultural practices, approaches; the Islamic world will not be excluded from this phenomenon. In addition, the phenomenon of cultural confusion (Simpson, 2011) (which unfolds itself with regard to the power of definition) in the setting of a post-colonial (or still colonial) society is pervasive in the developing world, and most of the Islamic countries with it.

3. Islamic Bioethics

Islamic concepts on bioethics are embedded in the larger Islamic worldview. There is no original term for 'Islamic bioethics' in the original Islamic sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Albeit a terminological newcomer, concepts related to it (beginning and end of life, doctor's responsibility and ethics, general health ethics) permeate Islamic thought and literature.

Foundational Islamic concepts with impact on bioethics are, first and foremost, the conviction that there is only one Creator, Allah, who has created the entire existence; universe, man and life. The human being has been created with the main purpose of serving his/her creator ("I have not created the jinn and the humans except that they worship me" The Holy Qur'an, Sūrat al-Ṭūr, 56). This-worldly life is considered to be only a temporary transition to the next life, which is eternal. ("Every living being (*naḥs*) shall taste death" 3:184) It is a test the human being is to pass, with the result of entering either Paradise or Hell-Fire in the next world. The Creator has sent Prophets and Messengers to humankind to guide them to what is right and prohibit them from what is wrong. While previous Prophets and Messengers (including but not limited to Adam, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, peace be upon them all) have been sent to different tribes and peoples with the essentially same message, the last Messenger Muhammad (pbuh) has been sent to all of mankind. The revelation he received, in form of the Qur'an (the revealed word of Allah) and the Sunnah (the practice of the Messenger of Allah, Muhammad, pbuh), are therefore considered sources of legislation and Islamic culture generally and are directed to all of mankind. As the human being is held accountable for his/her deeds on the days of Judgment, there is a need to know the injunctions of the revelation with regard to any human action. Bioethics in theory and practice is part of this larger picture.

Islamic bioethics is embedded in this worldview. Islam as a way of life regulates the relationship of the human being to his creator, towards himself (in food, personal hygiene, clothing, and also seeking medical treatment), towards his creator (in terms of worship) as well as to other human beings on the levels of family, society and international relations.

There is a very rich biomedical and ethical heritage in Islamic civilization that can only be alluded to here.³ The main bioethical suppositions are that medical treatment may take different legal evaluations, from the permissible, to the recommended or even obligatory, as well as it may take the rule of being disliked or prohibited, under consideration of the kind and degree of illness, means and circumstances of medical treatment and its possibilities of success.

Illness is regarded as a test as well as an expiation of sins. It does not stand in contradiction to the divine will. Medical treatment is rather seen in a circumstantial than a cause-and-effect-relation with illness and healing. Focus is given – through the Islamic lifestyle – on preservation of health; through the prohibition of harmful and intoxicating substances, movement and hygiene. Moreover, the spiritual aspects of human existence and their effects on health are never neglected nor denied. The physical manifestation of human existence, the body, will be subject to illness and ultimate death, the soul will live on. The body is not a possession of the person. It is rather seen as an *amānah*, an entrusted good, that needs to be taken care of and held in good shape (Sachedina, 2009). There is no divorce of Islamic bioethics from the injunctions of Islamic law. Islamic legal rules can be, depending on the quality and clarity of the underlying sources, decisive with no room for difference of opinion (*qatʿī*), or not decisive with the possibility of diversity of legal opinion (*ẓannī*).

The decision of right or wrong, good or bad is not left to human ratiocination, but rather subject to the stipulations of the Qurʾan and Sunnah. New cases not stipulated in the texts of revelation, and most bioethical questions belong to this group, are subject to *ijtihād*, a clearly defined methodology of deduction of legal rules from the sources.

4. The problem of autonomy – different interpretations at the interface of bioethical concepts

Among the four principles stipulated by Beauchamps and Childress, autonomy seems to be most prone to criticism by bioethicists.

“Principlism’s troubles are well known. [...].., bioethics has been called to task for its emphasis on rights and duties over the development of character and virtue, as well as for its relative inattention to social, religious, and cultural features of moral experience and moral agency. Chief among the complaints has been its perceived preoccupation with the maximization of individual autonomy and its willingness to accept as its goal the achievement of minimum consensus among ‘moral strangers’” (Ryan, 2004, 158f)

Secular bioethics of Western provenance is reminiscent of many different approaches and methodologies. The principlist approach of Beauchamps and Childress (as first expressed in their seminal "Principles of Biomedical Ethics in 1977, reference is subsequently made to the 2009 edition of the book) has been chosen here as exemplifying 'Western secular' ethics. The choice has been made on the basis of the wide usage and reference of this model in the biomedical field in Muslim countries today and through Muslim authors'

³ For details see Fazlur Rahman (1998). *Health and Medicine in the Islamic tradition. Change and Identity*. Chicago: Kazi Publications.

reference to and discussion of the model. Bioethicists from the developing world are being trained in various centers in the U.S., Europe and the U.K. (Chattopradhay, 2013), aiding the global proliferation of the model.

Beauchamp and Childress differentiate between universally shared values and principles which he refers to as 'common morality' (the four principles of autonomy, nonmaleficence, beneficence, and justice) and 'particular moralities' which are not universally shared by people.

"The common morality is the set of norms shared by all persons committed to morality. The common morality is not merely a morality, in contrast to other moralities. The common morality is applicable to all persons in all places, and we rightly judge all human conduct by its standards." (Beauchamp and Childress, 2009, p.3)

Particular moralities are "specific moralities [which] include the many responsibilities, aspirations, ideals, sympathies, attitudes, and sensitivities found in diverse cultural traditions, religious traditions, professional practice standards, institutional expectations, and the like." (Beauchamp and Childress, 2009, p.5)

The power of decision making is thereby (unwittingly?) referred to particularity, while acclaiming the existence of universality. What exactly is justice, or autonomy, and on which grounds do you define it? It does not alleviate the user of the need to resort back to a particular value system, a framework of reference, a worldview. It may be for this reason that the model is so successful – as it provides generalized guidelines without having to answer crucial questions of human existence. The model also does not solve issues at the intersection of these values. How do they relate to each other? And which principle is to be given preference in case of conflict?

The difficulty in translating this "common morality" into practice has been pointed out. Marshall and Koenig vocalise their criticism: "This parsing of universality and particularity may help explain the diversity and malleability of behavioral norms for morality across cultures (or religions, or institutions) but is less helpful in relation to the application of bioethics practices in particular international or culturally "different" settings." (p.256)

In addition, the weightage between different aspects of morality may sensitively influence decision making. As Engelhardt states: "It may be the case that humans in general are interested in such cardinal values as liberty, equality, prosperity, and security. However, depending on how persons rank these values, they will live within quite different moral viewpoints and affirm substantively different, settled moral judgments." (Engelhardt, 2003).

Beauchamp and Childress defy criticisms to their understanding of autonomy as overriding "all other moral considerations of our work, reflecting a distinctly American bias weighting autonomy higher than other principles." (2009, viii) They emphasize: "This interpretation is profoundly mistaken. In a properly structured theory, respect for

autonomy is not an excessively individualistic, absolutistic, or overriding notion that emphasizes individual rights to the neglect or exclusion of social responsibilities.” (2009, viii)

Muslim bioethicists may be even more articulate in their criticism on this point (see Chamsi-Pasha and Albar, 2013; Rathor, 2011; Sachedina, 2007). This is due to the difference of opinion on the autonomy of the human being in comparison between the Western secular individualist and the Islamic worldview.

Under autonomy, Beauchamp and Childress mainly discuss the competence of decision making and informed consent (2009, p.99 ff). They do not allude to human ratiocination in decision making on moral values (right and wrong), as this seems to be taken for granted. The authors themselves are aware of cultural disparities: “Respect for autonomous choices of persons runs as deep in common morality as any principle, but little agreement exists about its nature, scope, or strength.” (Beauchamp and Childress, p.99).

What does ‘autonomy’ mean from an Islamic point of view? Definitions of autonomy affect every bioethical case involving beginning and end of life; questions of abortion, stem cell research, brain death, organ transplantation, preimplantation diagnostics, and many more. A detailed analysis of these questions with regard to autonomy exceeds the scope of this paper. I will therefore alert the reader to the main point these cases have in common.

The personal autonomy for decision making ends from an Islamic perspective where the rights of the Creator may be infringed. Autonomy might be defined as the sovereignty or freedom of decision making. The human being does of course make his own decisions, but is not autonomous in the Western secular understanding of the term. He/She makes decisions in the setting of right and wrong, where right as well as wrong, demand and prohibition have already been specified. The human being is asked to abide by the Lawgiver’s (Allah’s) stipulated command which he arrives at through the texts of revelation. The human being will be held accountable for the choices he/she makes. Do these choices abide by the Islamic legal rules, are they in accordance with the Islamic world view, or are they not?

It has been mentioned previously that, in the Islamic worldview, the person does not consider his or her body as his or her own possession, but rather as an entrusted good. Death is an inevitable truth for every living being (“Every living being (*nafs*) shall taste death.” Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān, 185). Beginning and end of life are predestined by the Creator. The human being does not have the capacity to influence either beginning or end, nor does he have the right to attempt ending his or another person’s life or the capacity to do so.

“Every nation has its term (*ajal*). If their term arrives, they can neither postpone it for an hour [i.e. any period of time], nor can they precipitate it.” (Sūrat al-A’rāf, 34)

These basic beliefs have a major impact on many bioethical questions. To start with the most obvious, no human being has the right to deliberately end his/her own life. The end-of-life decision always remains with the Creator. From the Islamic point of view, there is no mercy in ‘mercy killing’ or euthanasia.⁴ Differentiation needs to be made, however, between the deliberate and planned induction of death through over dosage of medication, which is unanimously shunned (Atighetchi, 2007), and the termination or discontinuation of treatment in cases where no hope for betterment exists. In this case, the demand (wājib) for medical treatment to sustain a life can transform into the permissibility (ibāḥah), with the consequence that treatment may be either continued or discontinued (Bouzenita, 2011).

Distinction should be made between original Islamic and ‘Islamicised’ approaches. Many official decisions, be they promulgated through state or state like institutions, do not necessarily mirror Islamic thought and worldview, but rather translate the decisions of transnational institutions into an Islamicised ductus, referring to evidences in the Islamic legal sources while circumventing to discuss how they came about. In this vein, most nation states in the Islamic world have adopted the ‘international’ definition of brain death, although ample difference of opinion exists. (Bouzenita, 2011) Accordingly, many official pronouncements do not necessarily find public acceptance. In Egypt, public preacher al-Shaarawi was able to mobilize the Muslim masses with the parole “Our bodies belong to Allah” in opposition to the officially sanctioned permissiveness of organ donation and harvesting (after death) (Hamdy, 2012). If we may use an extension to Chattopadhyay and De Vries’ analogy of proliferating Western bioethics to missionary activities, it is most effective to spread the idea in an Islamic garb through agents of Islamic parlance. Questioning the power of definition, here taken over by official or semi-official institutions in the Islamic world, is less expectable in this case.

The inner-Islamic discussion of many other examples, such as pre-implantation diagnostics, elective abortion, harvesting embryonic stem cells, where the definition of the beginning of life is at the centre of discussion, expresses the delegation of the autonomy of definition to the Lawgiver in the first place, even though difference of opinion may arise when it comes to understanding a particular reality (e.g. brain death) or the texts of revelation and their injunctions.

The power of definition of what is right or wrong is mainly defined by the sources of revelation, the Qur’an and Sunnah themselves. It is indebted to the structure of Islamic law that difference of opinion on most legal issues exists. All legal opinions are deemed acceptable as long as they are evidenced in the sources. While representatives of religious institutions will more often than not ‘islamise’ existing mainstream ‘international’ bioethical concepts, a Muslim individual may still and with good conscience adapt a view that is rooted and evidenced in the texts of revelation, but in contradiction to these.

⁴ For a detailed discussion see Sayyed Sikandar Shah Haneef (2015): *Biomedical Issues in Islamic Family Law*. Kuala Lumpur: Thinker’s Library Sdn. Bhd., p.147ff., and Atighetchi: *Islamic Bioethics*, p.285ff.

Westra et al have pointed out culturally informed differences in understanding the four principles at the level of dealing with patients' parents. They observe that, although principles of non-maleficence and autonomy are present in both "non-religious ethics" and "Islamic ethics", respective understandings can vehemently differ. "We conclude that the parties involved in the described disagreement may feel committed to seemingly similar, but actually quite different principles." (Westra, 2009, p.1383) Westra et al plead for more transparency, more sophisticated terminology, and courage to acknowledge differences between "non-religious" and "Islamic ethics" to arrive at solutions in clinical practice. It may be said that they therefore advocate, if not a negotiation of power of definition, at least the understanding of differences.

In their critique of autonomy from an Islamic viewpoint (2011), Rathor et al state "The concept of a unified standard of medical ethics seems unwarranted. Bioethics needs to expand its vision and acknowledge cultural variations and moral traditions of other cultures. Although autonomy remains a central tenet of bioethics, it should not be the absolute prerogative of the patient but rather a shared responsibility between the patient, family, and the physician." (p.32). They allude to an often mentioned aspect; the involvement of family and other social entities in decision making in Islamic culture as opposed to the individualistic understanding of the secular West.

Some examples at the intersection of medical setting / personal autonomy in decision making may show that culturally informed ('universal') concepts as incorporated by medical systems do not leave room for divergent culturally informed choices. If the legal and medical code of a country asks for the dissection of a person who died at home, or sought medical advice in a clinic 24 hours prior to his death, there is no consideration of his autonomous decision, even if his declaration has been notarially certified. National legislation may supersede a person's autonomous decisions with regard to organ harvesting after his death (Liddy, 2001). Even in the secular setting, the personal autonomy of decision making has many limitations.

On a subordinate scale, the term 'autonomy' may be expressive of the patient's legal capacity, i.e. his/her ability to understand and make a decision. These are part and parcel of Islamic legal discussions (under *ahliyyat al-adā'*, the capacity to act). Autonomy can also be understood in terms of empowering the patient with knowledge on his particular disease, status and prospects of healing, different available treatments and their (side) effects; if understood in this sense, autonomy can be crucial in empowering patients ('the educated patient'); as opposed to the patient in a hierarchical, paternalistic patient-doctor relationship. Some bioethicists in the Islamic world may be considering this aspect while discussing autonomy as the medical systems in the Islamic world today are mainly paternalistic. As a matter of fact, the Islamic tradition is very rich in pointing out the necessity of the patient's consent (Athigetschi, 2007, p.47ff).

5. Conclusion

As Boyle (2006, p.321) emphasizes: "fragmentation of the pursuits of health around the world implies that no authority within any health care or biomedical community such as

medical association or expert group [can] qualify as having global bioethical authority.” (De Vries, Export of Western Ethics, p.3)

With the existence of different worldviews such as the secular and Islamic that affect people’s understandings of life and death, and the limits (or non-limits) of their actions, global i.e. universal bioethics that fits everybody is not a feasible idea. As Marshall and Koenig point out, the claim to a “universal template for moral understanding flies in the face of the multiple and complex realities lived by people elsewhere” (p.260).

Unilaterally declaring certain standards as ‘universal’, thereby claiming power of definition for humankind, may well be perceived as an usurpation of power on the other, the ‘recipient’ side of the scale, with the expected negative outcome in terms of worldwide acceptance. Attempts at islamising universal standards (Sachedina, 2009) may not prove as successful once the proselytising zeal shines through. In the international arena, it would be most advisable to allow for more room for the acknowledgment and understanding of different bioethical concepts and models.

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 concentric, slightly irregular arcs. The outer arc is a light blue color, and the inner arc is a light red color, creating a stylized circular frame around the text.

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Exploration of New Understanding of 'Culture'

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The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2016
Official Conference Proceedings**Abstract**

Culture is a term which has various definitions with many contradictions. A general apprehension about culture limits it to a broad or narrow sense of homogeneity and in the need of certain exclusion. The present understanding of culture is inevitably responsible for conflict between two cultures. The solicitation to particular belief or value system usually makes society dogmatic in the long run. Our cultures in the human world invariably claim to have an authority on righteousness. They usually claim their superiority over other cultures despite the theoretical covering of mutual respect to each other. This paper is intended to critically analyze the present or established understanding of culture and also to explore the prospective understanding of culture which can be relevant to the new changing world.

Can we create an understanding of culture which can be largely acceptable and applicable to the whole universe cutting across physical frontiers of globe and treading beyond the dogmas of superiority and authority of righteousness? Can heterogeneity and inclusion be considered and appreciated as the values in the new understanding of culture? Can the universality of human being along with the equal cooperation of other living and non-living, visible-invisible entities a vast plank of understanding this prospective culture?

This paper explores a fresh understanding of culture in the light of above questions.

Keywords: Culture, Exploration, New Understanding

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Culture as a term or concept or an understanding have been widely discussed in the entire world especially in the western world but the following quote represents the voice of confession to the fact that understanding of culture which has been discussed till now is not to be considered as sufficient or enough or next to complete, but paradoxically it has created more confusion as puzzle or problem before the human being:

‘Culture is something that Western societies have not clearly understood, so that the challenges they have to face in an increasingly multicultural world are particularly difficult to manage. Understanding culture is certainly not only a Western problem, but a universal problem as well. (Montovani, 2000, p. 1)¹⁾

The philosophers and Thinkers have tried to define or understand the culture as the representative term of multitudinous-ness and they had defined it as the bunch of many odds and evens:

“Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.”²⁾

They had discussed culture as the complex phenomenon and accepted its intra-contradictoriness without finding correlation or concordance among them:

“The complexity of the concept of "culture" is remarkable. It became a noun of "inner" process, specialized to its presumed agencies in "intellectual life" and "the arts." It became also a noun of general process, specialized to its presumed configurations in "whole ways of life." It played a crucial role in definitions of "the arts" and "the humanities," from the first sense. It played an equally crucial role in definitions of the "human sciences" and the "social sciences," in the second sense.”³⁾

The very term culture has also been discussed in the context of its relevance to the outward sense of life which is more civilizational than cultural:

"Every culture is designed to perpetuate the group and its solidarity, to meet the demands for an orderly way of life and for satisfaction of biological needs"⁴⁾

And in the same direction it has also been observed or viewed as its expressive or visible part which is more related to the behavioral diversity of human society e.g.:

Kroeber and Kluckhohn divide definitions into six groups, as follows:

1. Enumeratively descriptive (a list of the content of culture)
2. Historical (emphasis on social heritage, tradition)
3. Normative (focus on ideals or ideals plus behavior)
4. Psychological (learning, habit, adjustment, problem-solving device)
5. Structural (focus on the pattern or organization of culture)
6. Genetic (symbols, ideas, artifacts)

The outer expressions and their dimensions had become the prominent parameters to understand culture as a sense, like:

Edward B. Tylor (1871) saw culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"

Sometimes it has been discussed as the inner sense rather than the outer expressions like,

For Ruth Benedict (1934/1959) culture denoted "a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action" tied to the "emotional and intellectual mainsprings of that society" (p. 46).

Defining culture had emerged as an exhaustive process to bind the unlimited in to limited, like

The Dictionary of the Social Sciences (Reading, 1976) focuses on repeated patterns, learned behaviors, and "a way of life" (p. 55). Within anthropology specifically, the Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology (Winthrop, 1991) lists a variety of pre-World War II concepts, such as "distinctive patterns of thought, action, and value" (p. 50). The almost entire discourse of culture is based on the human history, and its evolution and then the behavioral aspects as time to time changes and differences among group of people or societies:

"Michael Prosser (1978) echoed Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), although in slightly different terms, as he summarized Kaplan and Manners' (1972) approach. This approach includes cultural evolutionism (collective experiences), cultural history (the current historical context of a group), cultural functionalism (culture as a working system to meet needs), and cultural ecology (the patterns of culture, especially symbols, following Geertz, 1973)".

The contention of the present discourse seems to be focused on structural components of the systems of human behavior or practices. But sometimes on the journey to discuss it structurally, the discourse inherently expresses the capacity of encroachment from externalities to inner sense of being as the holistic approach which marks or acknowledges the interrelatedness at the plank of 'being':

"Talcott Parsons et al. (1961) critiqued strict "pattern" definitions of culture, suggesting that we must also see the "structural component of cultural systems" (p. 964, emphasis added). The structural component goes beyond a simple listing of elements to consider the holistic nature of elements and their interrelatedness"

The general understanding of culture identifies it as the system of symbols and is also focused on the process of decoding these symbols to get meanings from them. In the same way culture is considered as the uniqueness of human communication, furthermore it observes culture as the certain sense of community making and community surviving. As per the general understanding communities and culture are not only interdependent but sometimes they apprehend themselves as synonyms to each other.

This general understanding cognizes culture again more externally than internally:

Some authors see culture as a system of symbols (i.e., subjective culture). Leslie White and Beth Dillingham (1973) refer culture as "symboling that is, the system of

symbols and meanings, our symbolic capacity that makes us uniquely human. This focus on language as a symbolic system resonates with E. T. Hall's (1959) well-known aphorism is: "Culture is communication"

George Barnett and Meihua Lee (2002) synthesized Geertz, Durkheim, Kluckhohn and Kelly, and Goodenough to define culture as a property of a group. It is a group's shared collective meaning system through which the group's collective values, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and thoughts are understood. It is an emergent property of the member's social interaction and a determinant of how group members communicate Culture may be taken to be a consensus about the meanings of symbols, verbal and nonverbal, held by members of a community. (p. 277)⁵⁾

The established understanding of culture is supposed to be broadly based on the following four characteristics:

1. Identity: Generally culture is to be based on a sense of identity of a specific group, community, belief or a particular pattern of thinking or its practices or with a particular way of life.
2. Authority – A claim of an authority on one thought or philosophy or ideology is a basic construct of idea of culture as the established understanding of culture.
3. Homogeneity- An ethnic, racial, religious, or geographical homogeneity is also a basic component of culture as per established understanding.
4. Superiority- A self- proclaimed righteousness which creates superiority among members of that particular community or cultural group or society is also a basic construct of culture as per established understanding.

The author of this paper is taking an opportunity to explore and propose a new understanding of culture in which the four basic characteristics can be considered as the basic parameters to identify the sense of culture as following:

1. Affinity and assimilation- The prospective culture is to be based on the natural sense of affinity and assimilation among living and non-living entities.
2. Interdependence and Inclusion- The above said sense is to make entity capable of realizing the facticity of interdependence and consequently to embrace inclusion rather than expecting exclusion or be burdened by any imposition of otherness.
3. Acceptance and Understanding- The prospective culture is to evoke the sense of accepting every entity as in its natural form or in its being. This new culture is to have an understanding to get other's view or behavior or thought or philosophy or idea as the integral part of the truth or completeness.
4. Creativity and Communication- The prospective culture is to explore and witness the capacity of creativity and communication (i.e. also includes silence and solitude) within and without.

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***A Cultural Reflection:
The Auspicious Sign in Miscellaneous Notes of the Tang Dynasty (618-907)***

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Abstract

The belief in auspicious sign from the scientific point of view may probably be regarded as a kind of superstition, but for many of the people in their nations, it has become a part of their folk culture. Such a belief comes basically from the fondness and seeking of auspiciousness which should be ordinary and common in people's psychology. For the Chinese, not only mythological beliefs and various thoughts like Confucianism have been involved in the propitious interpretations but also a symbolic association with the recognition from Heaven on the performance of the ruling class to consolidate the regime has been made all through the dynasties.

This paper gives a focused study on the auspicious sign of the Táng Dynasty (618-907). With quoted examples from the Táng miscellaneous notes and the use of supporting documentation such as official historic records, it elaborates and analyses the Táng auspicious sign from cultural perspective. Discussions and comments are concisely made on (1) the classification and cultural context of various signs relating to natural phenomena (e.g. snow falls in lunar March), animals (e.g. a white fox appears in people's house), birds (e.g. white magpies nest in human's living area), plants (e.g. pear trees blossom in winter) and objects (e.g. stone), (2) Táng people's attitudes towards the signs and their opposite interpretations on the same sign, and (3) the factors like Confucianism in developing the auspicious concepts and signs to be part of the Chinese culture.

Keywords: auspicious sign, Chinese folk culture, miscellaneous notes, Táng Dynasty

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Introduction

There are different terms for the auspicious sign in Chinese documentation, such as *xiáng ruì* (祥瑞), *fú ruì* (符瑞), *ruì yīng* (瑞应), *jiā ruì* (嘉瑞), *zhēn xiáng* (祯祥), *fú yīng* (福应). The belief in auspicious sign, which comes basically from human's natural and common psychological pursuit of propitious life and avoidance of ominous incurrence, has long existed since ancient times. People's worship of Heaven and different kinds or forms of spirits or gods is closely associated with the calling down of blessings. Totem, for example, symbolizes what a tribe worships and believes in the blessing power.

It is generally regarded that the interpretation and use of auspicious sign in the Hàn Dynasty (202BC-220) have been intentionally taken as an effective measure to strengthen an emperor's regime. Dǒng Zhòngshū (董仲舒), one of the most representative and significant advocates, has raised his saying on the correspondence between Heaven and mankind (天人感应): The auspicious signs conferred by Heaven are the recognition and appreciation of the emperor's ruling achievement, and on the contrary, the ominous signs denote the unsatisfactory performance of the ruling class. The penetration of Confucian thought into the auspicious and ominous signs, with the objective of exhorting the emperor to implement benevolent policy, has further developed with the combined use of divination by augury and mystical interpretation of Confucianism texts (讖纬) as well as yīn-yáng and the five elements (阴阳五行). As the auspicious sign can gain benefits both for the emperor's personal reputation and the stability of his regime, the use of various auspicious signs has been more and more popular in Hàn and the later dynasties.

Following the customs of Wèi, Jìn and the Southern and Northern Dynasties (220-589), there are official historical records showing the popularity of the interpretation and use of auspicious signs in the Táng Dynasty. For example, according to *Xīn Táng Shū* (新唐书), there have already been 134 types of auspicious signs in 4 categories: the greatest auspiciousness (大瑞) relating to particular natural phenomena like the morale star and colorful clouds, and holy animals like the Chinese unicorn, phoenix, tortoise and dragon; the upper level auspiciousness (上瑞) relating to certain animals like white wolf and red rabbit; the middle level auspiciousness (中瑞) relating to birds like eagle and red wild goose; the lower level auspiciousness (下瑞) relating to plants like fine grain and two trees with branches interlocked.

The miscellaneous notes or *bǐjì* (笔记) is a sort of writings or miscellany covering a broad array of themes and subjects included in various descriptions such as anecdotes, reading notes, tales and criticisms. The miscellaneous contents, as narrated by Táng writers, can help to provide a particular sort of information other than the official historic records and is worthy of reference. In the following section, examples of auspicious signs are drawn from the notes and analyzed from cultural perspective.

Auspicious signs

(a) Pear trees blossom in winter

Xuān Shì Zhì (宣室志) noted that there were pear trees in a garden owned by a man

called Liáng (梁). During the regime of Wénzōng (文宗) in the Táng Dynasty, the trees suddenly blossomed in a lush growth after a snowfall in winter. Liáng felt very strange and thought the blossom was an auspicious sign. But he was then told by another person that the sign could not be auspicious since it was abnormal to the natural growth of a tree in the seasonal cycle. Liáng was unhappy and his father died just after a month and more.

Auspicious signs relating to plants are classified to be lower level auspiciousness. They may not be the major targets advocated by the ruling class but seem to be popularly interpreted among the common people or officials in their daily life. The example also shows that there happened to have different or even opposite views towards the same sign. There are other narrations in Táng notes to show the subjective misinterpretation of a sign since misfortune instead of prosperity befalls. For example, *ZhǔGōng Jiù Shì* (渚宫旧事) mentioned that, during the regime of Sòng Wéndì (宋文帝) in the Southern Dynasties (420-589), Guō Zhòngchǎn (郭仲产), an official serving Liú Yìxuān (刘义宣) who was by that time the provincial king of Nánjùn (南郡), had planted bamboos in his courtyard. The extraordinary long branches and flourishing leaves made the bamboos look like a wood. Guō thought it was an auspicious sign but he was soon put to death as a party to the conspiracy of Liú Yìxuān.

(b) Snow falls in lunar March

Dà Táng Xīn Yǔ (大唐新语) stated that, during the regime of Wǔ Zétiān (武则天), there happened a snowfall in March. The court officials treated the snowfall as an auspicious sign and therefore drafted a memorial to the throne for celebration. Yet an official named Wáng Qiúlǐ (王求礼) stopped them and opined that the snowfall in March, just like a thunder in December, should rather denote a calamity caused by the improper management of the Prime Minister. The court appreciated Wáng's opinion and cancelled their act for celebration.

Extraordinary natural phenomena, if interpreted as auspicious signs, are classified to be the greatest auspiciousness in Táng. As the emperors were happy to know about the occurrence of auspicious signs, it had been a very popular practice for the officials as well as all other people to report the auspicious signs which they defined to the throne as many as possible to gain the emperors' fondness and rewards. Example (b), which aimed at praising the upright character of Wáng Qiúlǐ, recorded a seldom case that Wang's opinions were accepted by his colleagues. In fact, those who negated auspicious signs had to take a serious risk in incurring the displeasure of the emperor or ruling authority. As recorded also in *Dà Táng Xīn Yǔ*, for instance, there were frequently various weird happenings or objects interpreted to be auspicious during the time when Wǔ Zétiān dominated the court after the death of Emperor Gāozōng (高宗). A provincial official offered an auspicious stone to Wǔ Zétiān. Féng Yuáncháng (冯元常), who was a man of integrity and a capable official, opined his criticism on the inappropriateness of the auspicious sayings in the court. Wǔ Zétiān was very unhappy. Féng was then banished to a minor post in an outlying province and put to death later.

(c) Three-legged crow

Yǒuyáng Zá Zǔ (酉阳杂俎) mentioned that there was a tribute of a three-legged crow

to the throne during the time Wǔ Zétiān controlled the court. There were doubts about the genuineness of the three legs. Wǔ responded in smiling that it should be completely fine to follow what the historical documents had written and there was no need to prove the authenticity. She regarded the crow to be of great auspiciousness as recorded in the Zhōu Dynasty (1046 BC-256 BC). But it is interesting to note that she was unpleasant when even Emperor Ruìzōng (睿宗) said that the front leg of the crow was a fake and then the third leg fell onto the ground just a moment afterwards.

The belief in three-legged crow or three-legged golden crow has been closely related to the Chinese ancient myth saying that the crow is an incarnation of the Sun. One of the most famous examples (Figure 1) indicating such a belief is the T-shaped silk painting unearthed in the Mǎwángduī (马王堆) tomb of the Western Hàn Dynasty (202 BC-8 BC). The adding of one more leg to the golden crow has been remarkable since Western Hàn. The image of a three-legged crow, which has then been placed nearby Queen Mother of the West (西王母), has further been associated with immortality. Examples can be found in the figure bricks of the Hàn Dynasty (Figure 2).



Figure 1: Crow as an incarnation of the Sun (top right corner)



Figure 2: Three-legged crow (lower left)

Wǔ Zétiān's complete acceptance to auspicious objects actually comes with her intentional usage and the political culture of auspicious sign. When the throne is going to be seized, the usurper will make use of a mass of auspicious signs which appear everywhere to make people believe in the indication, recognition and even order from

Heaven to the usurper and shifting of regime. It can be found in historical documents that there had been extraordinary quantities and various types of auspicious signs during the period Wǔ Zétiān got the political power. She just followed the way that other usurpers had adopted in the previous dynasties, like Wáng Mǎng (王莽) by the end of Western Hàn, and claimed to take the throne under divine commandment.

(d) White magpies nesting

Yǒuyáng Zá Zǔ mentioned that, during the regime of Emperor Tàizōng (太宗), there suddenly came the white magpies nesting in a tree grown in the front place of the palace that the emperor slept in. The court officials got excited and voiced their celebration. But Tàizōng responded that he had laughed at the fondness in auspicious sign of Yángdì (炀帝) of the Suí Dynasty (581-618), and the happening was not worthy to be celebrated since auspiciousness should lie in getting able and virtuous persons. He then ordered to ruin the nest and let the magpies fly away in the countryside.

The three-legged crow and magpie are birds which have been classified as the middle level auspiciousness in Táng. There is a difference between the interpretations of the two birds. Generally in and before the Táng Dynasty, the crow, particularly the three-legged crow which has been worshipped for its mythos, spiritual power and rarity, has been interpreted to be auspicious. The appearance of crow, like dragon, tiger, phoenix, tortoise, can be said to be the sign of greatest auspiciousness. But afterwards, more and more people have changed their views towards crows due to some reasons including their negative impressions on the crow's hoarse twittering and the black color associated with inauspicious cultural meaning. On the contrary, the sweet chirp of a magpie, though may be subjective, has been much welcomed and commonly regarded to announce and bring happiness to people. In Táng, there has already been a popular folk adage, as recorded in *Yǒuyáng Zá Zǔ*, saying that "Chancing on a magpie nesting brings prominence (见鹊上梁必贵)".

It is not a common case that the emperors, like Tàizōng, have seemed to show not much concern about the auspicious sign. But there are other examples as recorded in the Táng miscellaneous notes. According to *Dùnyáng Zá Biān* (杜阳杂编), Emperor Dézōng (德宗) received a tribute which was an auspicious whip with exquisite decorations of the shapes and patterns of Chinese unicorn, phoenix, tortoise and dragon as well as amber in color flashing while waving in the dark. It was said that he took the whip in wonderment though he had not been fond of precious things and auspicious sign.

Some emperors like Tàizōng and Dézōng are not fond of auspicious sign, but it does not mean that the sayings on auspicious sign are forbidden by them. In fact, throughout the Táng Dynasty, there are laws punishing those who do not report the auspicious signs to the court once they know. There is also an office entitled huángmén shìláng (黄门侍郎) with dedicated duties to handle sacrificial affairs and to deal with the collection, record, report and interpretation of the auspicious signs. The intellectuals, like Dǒng Zhòngshū in the Hàn Dynasty, have tried to make use of the auspicious signs with providence to strengthen the power of the throne and to exhort the emperors in their rulings. The recorded saying of Tàizōng that the greatest auspicious sign should be people's happiness resulted from the implementation of

benevolence policy should be an indirect expression reflecting the ultimate goal of the Confucians and their culture.

(e) Fox in people's house

As stated in *Xuān Shì Zhì*, during the regime of Emperor Sùzōng (肅宗), Lǐ Kuí (李揆), a court official, saw a white fox in the courtyard of his house. He ordered the servants to chase the fox but it disappeared. He told a guest about this. The guest interpreted that the appearance of the white fox was an auspicious sign and he dared to make a celebration. The next day Lǐ was granted a promotion.

Fox has already been regarded as an animal with supernatural power before Táng period. Always in companion with the three-legged crow as shown, for examples, in the figure bricks and stones of the Hàn Dynasty, the fox with nine tails has also been associated with Queen Mother of the West and immortal (Figure 3 and 4).



Figure 3: Fox with nine tails (upper right) Figure 4: Fox with nine tails (left)

Fox, as recorded in Táng miscellaneous notes, has been given more complicated images and cultural meanings. On one hand, fox has appeared to be suspicious, seductive, bad and vile, and to be able to befog people's mind and make them fall ill. On the other hand, fox has positive images including its unswerving loyalty, lovingness to lover and children, repaying obligations, erudition, and eloquence. Its supernatural power includes the transformation (to humans, immortals and even Bodhisattva, etc.), precognition of good or ill fate, capability to guess correctly the notions of people, and ability to know about the nether world and human world and to get in touch with Heaven. It is believed by the Táng people that fox in its original form or transformed human form always goes to their homes, lives with them, and even gets married with humans and produces young. There have been opposite but mixed attitudes towards fox. One is to serve and offer sacrifices to fox as a celestial being, hoping that they can get favors or benefits in return. As stated in *Cháoyě Qiān Zǎi* (朝野僉載), there has been a folk adage "No village if no fox spirit (无狐魅, 不成村)" in early Táng, telling the popularity of the worship of fox. But the opposite attitude to treat fox as a globin can also be founded in Táng notes. There are records mentioning about how the people have averted, expelled and killed the fox due to their belief in not getting to be harmed by the fox.

Therefore it is not strange to note that there can be opposite views or interpretations towards the same object at the same time. The appearance of fox can be an ominous sign, for example a fox under the bed, seeing a shining black fox, or dozens of wild foxes propping up their rice jars and passing over the top of the walls. On the contrary, fox can be related to an auspicious sign, for example seeing a white fox, or a fox's

cave is found. It is further interesting to note that colors which have been embodied with plentiful cultural meanings may be associated with the concepts of ominousness and auspiciousness. The color “black” denotes fear and misfortune as one of the popular cultural meanings while “white” gives the Chinese people an impression of fortune, preciousness and rarity. Some believe that the same cultural meaning imposed on animals like white deer and white tiger have had a very long history. “White fish springing into the boat (白鱼入舟)” has been used in the ancient document to denote the fortune and victory of Wǔwáng of Zhōu (周武王) who was on his way to fight against Zhòuwáng (纣王) of the Shāng Dynasty (~1600 BC-~1046 BC). The cultural concepts, like the ominousness of black crow and black fox as well as the auspiciousness of white magpie and white fox, have developed and been merged into the traditional folk culture.

Conclusion

The belief in auspicious sign derives basically from the psychology of people in pursuing fortune, luck or prosperity. The signs have been identified to be particular objects and phenomena that are commonly welcomed to be auspicious by certain people in certain time. But, as mentioned in Táng miscellaneous notes, there are different or even opposite interpretations towards a number of signs on their auspiciousness or ominousness, for example the pear trees blossom in winter, and a snow falls in lunar March. There may also be a change of the interpretation of certain signs. For instance, the crow and the fox have been treated as auspicious signs in the Táng Dynasty, but they are commonly interpreted to be ominousness or of negative images nowadays.

The auspicious sign has been intentionally advocated and used by the ruling class to admire the emperors and to strengthen the imperial authority. During the period that the throne is planned to be seized, the usurper will more frequently make use of a mass of auspicious signs to gain people’s belief in the providence given to the new ruling class. Wǔ Zétiān, as mentioned in Táng notes, is an obvious example.

The use of auspicious sign in feudal dynasties has developed typically into a political culture. It has also shown the thought and objective of certain intellectuals such as Dǒng Zhòngshū who have tried to utilize their belief in the correspondence between Heaven and mankind as well as the unity of nature and man to make the emperor implement benevolent policy. The saying of Tàizōng in response to the white magpies nesting, as recorded in Táng notes, is actually embodied with the thought in implementing policy of benevolence as advocated in the Confucian culture. The cultural meanings and functions of auspicious sign are complex. Not only mythological beliefs or philosophical thoughts like Confucianism and Daoism have been involved in the propitious interpretations but also a symbolic association with the recognition or appreciation on the governor’s performance from Heaven to consolidate the regime has been made all through the dynasties.

It seems that, as the feudal dynasties no longer exist, the advocacy and use of auspicious sign to admire the emperors and to strengthen the imperial authority have faded away accordingly. In the modern society, the auspicious sign may probably be regarded to be a kind of superstition since many of the legendary animals (like dragon and the Chinese unicorn) and abnormal phenomena, as believed to be spiritual or

supernatural by people in ancient times, may not really exist or can be explained from the scientific point of view. But the psychology of people in their fondness and seeking of prosperity and luck will not change. Moreover, the wonders of nature, apart from the arguments on the existence of Heaven or god(s), can still not be explained in full scientifically. As a matter of fact, no matter it is a superstitious belief or not, the auspicious sign, like the belief in magpies bringing happiness and fortune, has developed and merged into the traditional folk culture of the Chinese people. Parts of the auspicious signs still remain and are accepted by people nowadays. The numerous auspicious images and expressions prevailing in the documentation, unearthed relics, literary works, art pieces, daily utensils, etc. can be taken as a reflection as well as an outcome of the long-lasting auspicious culture.



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***Is a Paternal Nephew's Right to Inherit His Uncle's Estate Indisputable:
The Enlightening Case of TSANG Yuet Mui***

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Abstract

The English Law has been enforced in Hong Kong since 1842, but some cases involving Chinese traditional practices would be judged on the basis of *Qing Code*. The Hong Kong Chinese followed the traditional convention of succession in the male line. This essay is to discuss a court case which raises questions regarding a paternal nephew's adoption as heir and his succession to estate. The Court of Appeal had previously refused another paternal nephew's request for the right to inherit his uncle's estate. This paper discusses: (1) the specification of the adoption procedure in the *Qing Code* that is obviously not concrete enough and so the court needs reliable evidence and reasonable deduction to determine whether the paternal nephew was adopted; and (2) how the court makes fair and reasonable rulings on the basis of legal provision stipulated in the spirit of the Confucianism centuries earlier.

Keywords: *Qing Code*, English Law, inheritance, paternal nephew

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1. Part of the *Qing Code* Still Applicable in Hong Kong

In the Chinese patriarchy, a family without a male successor is a serious problem. The law therefore makes the provisions for handling the issue of appointing a successor. The common practice is to adopt the family head's paternal nephew as the son of the family to continue the lineage. In case the family head does not have any brother, then in the order of proximity to ancestry, he will have to adopt the son of male cousins on the paternal side, or even to the extreme of adopting a son with the same family name. These are stipulated in the *Qing Code*.

HK people follow the Chinese customs. Since the cession of Hong Kong to Britain in 1842, HK people have to comply with the English law, while British government still recognized the legality of the *Qing Code* to a certain extent, and had due respect to Chinese customs. The last part of the *Qing Code* related to marriage, applicable in Hong Kong, was eventually replaced in 1971. Yet some women who taken into families as concubines before 1971, if get involved in any lawsuits in connection with their status, courts will not adjudicate the disputes on the basis of *Hong Kong Ordinances*, but the *Qing Code*.

Moreover, the New Territories was leased to Britain in 1898 for 99 years. The native residents of the New Territories have adhered to the customary rules to settle disputes over the inheritance of land and the inheritance of land and estate is still patrilineal, a tradition by which patrimony is inherited by the male lineage. In 1994 the Legislative Council passed the *New Territories Land (Exemption) Ordinance* which allows the native women of the New Territories to have equal succession right as men. However, for those natives who had been deceased before the ordinance was passed in 1994, the courts of should still adjudicate the disputes in accordance with the *Qing Code*.

The rulings of courts exerts great influence on inheritance matters in the New Territories. After 1994, two contradictory verdicts aroused concerns about the possibility of protecting women's right in the modern society by invoking the *Qing Code* which is oriented towards male interests. This is, indeed, a unique phenomenon to Hong Kong.¹

The two cases mentioned above are: the case of LIU Ying Lan v LIU Tung Yiu and other (hereafter “LIU case”), in which the court ruled that the daughter was entitled to inherit her father's patrimony; and the case of TSANG Yuet Mui v WAN On and other (hereafter “TSANG case”), in which the paternal nephews was entitled to inherit the uncle's patrimony.

2. The Daughter to Inherit Patrimony on the Basis of the *Qing Code*

LIU Sau Tseung, the father of the plaintiff LIU Ying Lan, was a native resident in New Territories. He, without any son, had two daughters, Ying Lan and Ying Kwai. One of his brothers had three sons, of whom the eldest was the first defendant LIU Tung Yiu. LIU Sau Tseung and his wife respectively passed away in 1943 and 1987, and left a small piece of land. According to the customs, his two daughters,

¹ I would like to thank Mr David Tang, Barrister-at-law and counsel of Tsang Yuet Mui, for providing the case and explaining the related legal issues in the case.

respectively married in 1949 and 1958, have no inheritance right. Therefore LIU Tung Yiu applied, to the District Office, for registration as successor to the land on the grounds that he was the eldest paternal nephew, and he should be appointed to continue the succession. LIU Ying Lan appealed and the dispute was adjudicated in accordance with the *Qing Code*. The Court of First Instance ruled against the nephew based on 88(2), *Qing Code*, which states that "in the event of a family becoming extinct for want of legal successors, the daughters shall be entitled to the property".(Jamieson's, p.17) The judge denied LIU Tung Yiu's eligibility for succession to ancestral worship, and then denied his eligibility for succession to property as well. The judge decided that the household had become extinct and therefore the property was turned over to his daughters. The nephew made an appeal, but the three judges of the Court of Appeal ruled unanimously that he was not entitled to succeed LIU Sau Tseung.(SOO(2015))

LIU case is an important precedent in several aspects. First, the difference between succession to ancestral worship and succession to property is clarified anew on the basis of the *Qing Code*. Secondly, although women are not entitled to succeed to ancestral worship, they are entitled to succeed to property, which gives greater scope to the *Qing Code* for protecting women's inheritance right. Thirdly, the paternal nephews can no longer take over their deceased uncles' property easily through such means as transfer of land title and posthumous adoption. The District Offices are thus very cautious in handling application for transfer of land title originally owned by deceased uncles who have no male offspring. Then, the Tsang case in this paper arises.

3. The Paternal Nephew to Inherit Patrimony on the Basis of the *Qing Code*

The plaintiff, TSANG Yuet Mui(hereafter "TSANG") was the wife of TANG Yip Sang(hereafter "TANG") and his personal representative, while defendants were WAN On, as the personal representative of the estate of his wife TANG Yung, and TANG Wah Tai. The property in dispute includes 10 lots of rural land in Mui Wo. TANG Yung, CHONG Fu Tai(hereafter "CHONG")'s eldest daughter, already passed away, and her husband WAN On and CHONG 's second daughter, TANG Wah Tai, were both unwilling to attend the hearing.(Judgment in the Tsang case, para.29)

TANG Tin Yau, the husband of CHONG, passed away during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong(1941-1945). CHONG bought five lots of land in Mui Wo in 1946, and inherited three lots from her late father-in-law and another three lots from her late husband in July 1948. In total CHONG owned 11 lots. On 8 December 1948, CHONG transferred half of the title of 10 lots of land to TANG, her late husband's nephew. Since then 10 lots of land were jointly owned by CHONG and TANG. Lot No 128B in DD1 was the only lot of land not included in the transfer. The two daughters both got married in the 1950s. CHONG passed away in 1969 and Tang in 1997. As the widow of TANG, TSANG inherited the patrimony of TANG in 2007, including half of the land title mentioned above. CHONG's second daughter, TANG Wah Tai, applied for the Letter of Administration regarding her late mother's patrimony to no avail. TSANG also failed to obtain the other half of the land title owned by CHONG because the District Office, adhering to the adjudication of the court in the LIU case in 2003, did not allow TANG to obtain his aunt's land title. The Court ruled that TSANG, the widow of the paternal nephew, had the inheritance right to the aunt's title of the 10 lots of land, and the result was in the paternal nephew's

favour.

TSANG's counsel raised the point that besides being the paternal nephew of TANG Tin Yau and CHONG, TANG was also their adopted son. This status made TANG different from that of LIU Tung Yiu. As the adopted son, then TANG was entitled to succeed to CHONG's estate, and in accordance with the law, TSANG was entitled to take over the estate that TANG had obtained from the his family. Therefore the other half of the land title should belong to TSANG. The problem is that TSANG could not prove that the adoption was a fact because there was neither any witness nor evidence to support this claim.(Judgment, paragraph 26)² TSANG claimed that she was not yet married to TANG when TANG was adopted and thus she had no knowledge of it. What TSANG depended on was the fact of the transfer of land title to TANG, and the opinions put forward by the expert witness. The transfer of land title was a crucial factor.

TSANG's counsel also put forward the following arguments to support that TANG had been adopted:

- (1) Tang, throughout his whole life, offered ancestral worship to TANG Tin Yau and performed his duty of grave sweeping.
- (2) TANG and TSANG continued to cultivate CHONG's land after her decease.
- (3) The transfer of land title in 1948 was a halfway succession tallied with the time of the adoption and it was meant to be a "Deed of Gift" out of "love and affection". CHONG intended to complete the formalities of adoption in stages and avoided the total transfer of land title.
- (4) Considering the fact that CHONG already had two daughters and she still gave half of the land title of 10 lots of land to TANG, such an act of giving must have great significances. Professor Baker agreed that was a strong indication of CHONG's intention to complete the adoption step by step. (Judgment, para.30-31.)

As to the implication of the arrangements for the transfer of land title, the judge made no objection. He thought that this was an inference made on the basis of established facts and also pointed out that during the period from CHONG's death(1969) to TSANG's submission of petition(2012), CHONG's daughters did not make any claim. Thus he believed that the arrangement in 1948 was an indication of adoption, and the adoption should be regarded as a justified fact.(Judgment, para.43&45.). Even so, the judge still expressed his reservation. He took a more reliable position: he agreed that even if there was not any arrangement for adoption, TANG, the only paternal nephew, was the most appropriate person to succeed to the family property. Therefore the regulation that 88(2) was not applicable.(Judgment, para.52-54) The judge needs not consider the point that "the daughters shall be entitled to the property". This brings about a result that the paternal nephew succeeded to the estate. As on one hand, the paternal nephew did not have to face the legal challenge from CHONG's daughters. On the other hand, the arrangement of the transfer established the inference that TANG had been adopted as an heir. Although the judge did not entirely accept that TANG was adopted, he did not oppose to this claim. TSANG has got a well-

² Adoptions should be reported to the ancestral temple because getting an heir for a family was a very important event. The contents of the document included not only the name of the adopted heir, but also the rights and duties of the people concerned. See Liang(2006, 2015).

supported inference to win the trust of the court, and the court did not have any rebuttal to it.

4. The Court's Concern about the Evidence of Adoption

According to the *Household Law* of the *Qing Code* regarding the illegal adoption of an heir, 78(1) states the stipulations for adopting an heir when the patriarch is alive; and 78(2) for adoption of an heir by a widow.

When any person is without male children of his own, one of the same kindred of the next generation may be appointed to continue the succession, beginning with the nephews as being descended from the nearest common ancestor, and then taking collaterals, one, two, and three degrees further removed in order, according to the table of the five degrees of mourning. If all these fail, one of the kindred further removed may be chosen, and finally the same family name(Jamieson, pp.13-14.)

A widow left without a son and not remarrying shall be entitled to her husband's share of the family property, and it shall rest with the elders of the Family to select the proper relative, and appoint him to the succession; but in the event of her remarrying, all the property and her marriage outfit shall remain in the family of her deceased husband. (Jamieson, pp.13-14)

The village representative testified that TANG was the paternal nephew of TANG Tin Yau, thus to adopt TANG was in conformity to 78(1). The crux of the issue was the evidence of adoption, on which the court put much emphasis. In the LIU case, the paternal nephew's claim to succession relied only on his status as the paternal nephew, while his uncle or aunt never did anything to indicate his adoption as their heir. Therefore he failed. However, CHONG's arrangement for the transfer of land title might be interpreted as an arrangement for adoption. The transfer ought to be an act derived from 78(2) and traditional customs. Of the 10 lots of land, the transfer indicated that TANG succeeded to the land handed down from TANG Tin Yau and his father, and also CHONG. This move partially built up the legal basis for TANG to succeed to the family property and, at the same time, maintained the adopter's control over the property.

The adopted person, being the only male member, would usually inherit the estate of the adopting family. The deed of adoption, if any, sometimes provided a list of properties to which the heir would succeed.³ Some deeds stated that all the estate would be inherited by the adopted heir and some even emphasized, that "the adopted son and should be treated in this way in accordance with rites". The statements help us understand that it was in compliance with rites and custom that the adopted son was given the guarantee of succeeding to the estate in the deed.(Luoyang, p.253) In other words, the transfer of land title can be deemed an important part of the rites related to adoption.

If the adopting person was a widow, then the adopted son was indisputably the only heir of the family. Therefore to let the adopted son inherit the entire estate was a

³ A total of 21 deeds of adoption are included in *Luoyang*, spanning from 1760 to 1962. 11 of these stated that the adopted son would obtain the property.

matter of course. In the deed of adoption made by Mrs Cao, nee Ding, it was stated that "the property and implements are to be administered only by the adopted son and *fenxi*(dividing up) is not allowed".(Luoyang, p.254) The widows were concerned about their rights after the handover of the property. Therefore, to divide up the family property or to apportion the earning were restricted. In another deed, Mrs Mao, nee Jiao, also made the stipulation that all property would be administered by the adopted person, and there should be no dispute.(Luoyang, p.255)

Besides, Mrs Mao, nee Ding, committed herself to hand over all the property, while the adopted son Mao Baodan and his son Mao Taisheng acknowledged in another deed that Mrs Mao had the right to supervise and discipline them. Mrs Mao even kept the right to "petition to the officials".

CHONG did not transfer the land title in full, nor did she transfer the title of all her land. She was either still keeping an eye on the adopted son, or she planned to complete the procedure according to TANG's performance. But the verdict did not reveal why CHONG had not made the final transfer. One lot of land was still kept by CHONG, and this was reserved for making provision for her old age. Again, it was a means of self-protection when elders were dividing up family property. Land registration with the District Office was reliable if no clansmen served as witnesses. The arrangements made by CHONG should be regarded as different means to achieve the same result.

5. No Prescribed Procedures of Adoption in the *Qing Code*

The expert witness, pointed out that the *Qing Code* did not prescribe the related rules and procedures for adopting an heir, and has no stipulation on how a widow or head of a clan should carry out.(Judgment, para.34(1)&(2)) We could however find some descriptions of such affairs in novels.

Feng Menglong(1574-1646) described the process in which a landowner, Wang, adopted a carpenter's son. Some arrangements and etiquette are noteworthy:

A banquet was arranged in the hall in which was thronged with relatives and friends. Learning that Zhang and his son had arrived, they all came to greet them. Zhang and his son went to the hall and bowed to them all, and were led to the family temple to make an obeisance. Then Esq and Mrs Wang being invited to be seated in the hall, Zhang Tingxiu came forward, prostrating himself four times and knocking his head on the ground twice at each prostration. Subsequently Tingxiu and Mr and Mrs Zhao(Esq Wang's eldest daughter and son-in-law) bowed to each other, and Tingxiu went inside to exchange greetings with Yu Jie (Wang's second daughter). He then finished greeting the male and female relatives one by one, took his seat and drank wine. He was thereafter renamed as Wang Tingxiu. (Feng, p.404)

Relatives and friends attended the banquet especially for the adoption, and the adopted son was introduced to them. Making obeisance to the family temple meant that the son returned home. Then the adopted son performed the etiquette of four times kneeling and eight times kowtowing to the adopting parents, bowed to the eldest sister and brother-in-law on equal terms, greeted the second sister, met the relatives, and was lastly renamed as Wang Tingxiu. All the steps and etiquette were well

organized in the order of importance. Witnesses in the banquet was the evidence of the adoption, and hence the value of the event.

Reference can also be made to a story in *The Scholars* about a lawsuit of adoption. The widow, nee Zhao intended to adopt a 12-year-old boy who was the fifth son of Yan Dawei, the eldest brother of her late husband. However, Yan would like his second son to be adopted. As a result, the widow brought a lawsuit against Yan. Although Yan had connections with local officials, he failed to get his wish fulfilled. The Magistrate ordered that "the issue should be settled by the decision of the clan and relatives", because they had not been consulted, and the widow did not choose the second son of the eldest branch to be the heir. Consequently, the widow invited clansmen and relatives to a feast. The clan head and the village chief, the brothers of the deceased legal wife of Yan Dayu, the widow's brother and nephew participated. But the meeting turned into a blazing quarrel between Yan and the widow. The clan head made a non-committal report to the Magistrate without causing offence to either party in the dispute. The Magistrate then ruled that "it is up to the widow Zhao to choose an older one or an able one to be adopted" (*The Scholars*, Chapter 6, pp.65-68) and allowed the widow Zhao to exercise the right of appointing an heir. This story shows that in addition to the requirement that the adopted person should belong to an appropriate generation of the clan, the consent of relatives and clan members should be obtained, and the widow herself still had the ultimate power of giving or withholding her endorsement. Of course, in such cases as promoting a concubine to the position as legal wife and getting someone adopted as a heir, the role of coordination played by the clan head.(Ju, pp.18-27) and the participation of the family members and relatives would help the adopted heir obtain recognition.

The story of Mr Lu is also related to adoption. Mr Lu, who was a compiler of the Han Lin Academy, had only a daughter. All his relatives came to attend his funeral and they "discuss the adoption of a son from his clan". The importance of the meeting of family members and relatives is obvious.(*The Scholars*, pp.128-129)

Yet humble as the musical instrument mender Ni was, when he got his son adopted by the entertainer Bao, he went through all the formalities and had all the witnesses and deed of adoption as required:

The Pao family invited Mr. Ni and his son to a feast to draw up the contract for the adoption to be witnessed by the left-hand neighbour Mr. Zhang the draper, and the right-hand neighbour Mr Wang the Chandler. When they had all arrived, the contract was drawn up as follows: ...When the document had been signed by Mr Ni and the two witnesses, Pao Wenqing produced twenty taels and gave them to Mr. Ni, then thanked them all.(*The Scholars*, pp.248-249. *The Scholars*(Trans), pp.277-278)

The two families involved in adoption might be of humble origins, and their clans might have only a few members. But at any rate, feast and witnesses and the deed of adoption were all necessary. Regarding those cases where there were no agreements of parents, clan meetings, deeds of adoption and feasts for adoption, there would be a lack of witnesses and evidence to show the existence of adoption or double succession.

Verbal pledges are not to be relied upon in adoption.⁴

The consensus of the family and relatives was reflected in the deed of adoption. The deed as a symbol of solemnity was usually written on a red cloth, which enabled conservation for a longer duration. The deed included the names of contracting person, adopting person and adopted person, date of the deed, the rights and obligations of the parties, and the signatures of witnesses, and middleman. In the deed of adoption from Mrs Mao, nee Jiao, there were up to 14 persons who put down their names and marked their signatures. (Luoyang, p.255) In the TSANG case, as for the direct evidence of Tang's being adopted, nothing of this sort could be found.⁵ Adoption was an important event for the clan and many people would have participated, however, perhaps it was so far back in time that they had already passed away. And more crucially, the two daughters were absent in the lawsuit, so the court could not have their testimony.

6. The Importance of Expert Witness

The court and parties sometimes have to handle the dispute with recourse to experts' opinions. Professor Baker was frequently invited to be the expert witness in cases involving the *Qing Code* and Chinese traditional customs. He also provided expert evidence in the LIU case and the TSANG case.

Baker emphasizes that the line of succession of a family should not be broken. The branch of TANG Tin Yau would come to an end if TANG did not succeed him. As the Tangs did not have any family elders to handle the adoption of an heir, thus CHONG had to implement all the tasks on her own. Baker agreed that the transfer of land title was a strong indicator that CHONG was taking steps to adopt TANG as the heir. (Judgment, para.32)

Regarding the District Office's query that Tang's adoption was posthumous, the judge again quoted Baker's opinions. 1. The *Qing Code* laid down only the principles for the adoption of an heir. 2. The appointed heir should, ideally, come from the same clan. 3. The only son, the only appointed heir, and the only candidate for posthumous appointment of an heir would all succeed to the property automatically, so Tang as the closest paternal nephew, was not necessary to have any document or discussion. 4. Daughters' succession to the property of an extinct household was a deviation from the basic principle of the *Qing Code*. (Judgment, para.34)

These opinions were advantageous to TANG's succession. It should be noted that Baker's opinions were consistent in various cases, which was noted by the judge. (Judgment, para.38) In the Liu case, Baker, as the expert witness of the paternal nephew, showed pointed out that a paternal nephew usually would not succeed to his father and his uncle at the same time, but the paternal nephew was entitled to succeed his uncle because there was not any feasible option in the culture other than the paternal nephew. (Judgment, para.32)

⁴ In the novel, the hero was the first-person narrator, "I". Although the hero agreed to have double succession, it is a mere empty agreement without any document and formality. The matter ended up with nothing definite. See Wu (1978), p.117, pp.167-172.

⁵ The conclusion of a contract is usually shouldered by common people. See Shiga, pp.79-80.

The judges of the LIU case ruled against the paternal nephew. The judges emphasized two points: firstly, the paternal nephew should not inherit both his father's property and his uncle's; and secondly, it was impossible for the paternal nephew to get adopted posthumously because it was against the Adoption Ordinance(1972). Therefore, the court did not deny the expert opinion, but the paternal nephew did not satisfy the court's requirement.

The judge also noted Baker's opinions that paternal nephew is the appropriate candidate for succession to his uncle's estate was agreed by both sides in other case.⁶ The crucial point in dispute was whether the deceased had adopted the paternal nephew as the heir. Baker insisted that the estate should be handed down to the nephew of the paternal line after the widow's death. The judge agreed but he pointed out that the situation of a case of daughters versus paternal nephews was different from that of a case of a paternal nephew versus the government because the government usually would not forfeit a deceased person's estate on the basis of 88(2). (Judgment, para.51)

Baker's opinions in all these different cases were consistent, and this shows his confidence and professionalism in his research. His interpretations of and explanations for the *Qing Code* command the respect of the court.

7. Concluding Remarks

The *New Territories Land (Exemption) Ordinance* (1994) and the adjudication for the LIU case(2003) were originally expected to be a favourable development for the women in the New Territories to inherit their parents' estate, but the adjudication for the TSANG case was advantageous to the paternal nephew.

There were some loopholes in the *Qing Code* which attached great importance to the restoration of the broken line of succession, but some details were overlooked. As a result, the judges had to resort to expert opinions. *Qing Code* emphasized the importance of restoring the broken line, yet it allowed the household to be extinct.⁷ This is another option that the judges have to consider.

The precedent cases form an important part of the Common Law. Their judgment made by the court higher in the hierarchy, is extremely valuable for consultation. Judges and lawyers must make full use of the precedent cases. Moreover, evidence and procedures are important. Courts emphasizes evidence and only accept statements based on them. Any disputes, requests and evidence must be presented to courts in accordance with a definite procedure.

The courts in HK will certainly put more emphasis on the idea of the rules of law. A judge will consider whether the case of "restoration" is in compliance with the law, and whether the evidence presented to the court can be accepted.⁸ More frequently,

⁶ HCA 1348/2000. The Hon Mr Justice Andrew CHEUNG Kui-nung was also the judge of the first trial in LIU case.

⁷ Xue Yunsheng thinks that the adoption of an heir was intended for elites, such as scholars, officials and those in the rank of nobility, and not for common people. See Xue, p.177.

⁸ Qing officials consider the factors of affection and reason beyond the realm of law. See Shiga,

to make the court accepts the existence of a relationship between the adopted and the adopting parties is more important than "restoring the broken line of succession". The courts will not be lenient with any party merely because of no heir to restore the broken paternal line. Every case is different. In the TSANG case, the daughters were absent from litigation, then the paternal nephew won. However, it does not mean that a paternal nephew has an indisputable right to succession because the paternal nephew did not convince the judge merely by reason of his status as paternal nephew. Lastly, as law based on Confucianism, *Qing Code* is never an advocate of the gender equality. The cases mentioned in this paper indicated that only when women consciously uphold their right, would the court then have opportunity to consider it. If women do nothing to protect their right, they will lose it.



p.80. They usually do not follow a certain objective standard to judge which litigant is right and which wrong, but recommend a solution to settle the dispute. See Tereda, p.194.

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The Existence of the Tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province

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Abstract

This article aims to investigate the existence of the tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province. The data of this qualitative study were gathered from related documents, research reports, and in-depth interviews with Thai Chinese in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province. The study found that the tradition of Moon Festival could still exist but with adaptations in two types of ritual. One is a ritual performed in the morning in which Thai Chinese take offerings to pay respect to the Goddess of the Moon at a shrine. The other is a ritual performed at night at home with a shorter ritual of paying respect at an earlier time because the working-age group of people has to wake up early in the morning to go to work. Offering items have been changed to suit the modern time, and bought in smaller quantity due to the sluggish economy. It can be said that the tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai can still exist amidst social changes because Thai Chinese in Hat Yai unite to adapt the ritual and make it suitable for life in the age of globalization.

Keywords: Moon Festival, Thai Chinese, Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province, existence

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1. Introduction

The tradition of Moon Festival originated in China, and when Chinese migrated to Songkhla Province, they still adhered to Confucius philosophy of tradition and belief, especially gratefulness for one's ancestors. Therefore, Thai Chinese in Songkhla Province have continued to organize traditional festivals, and Moon Festival is one of them. The tradition of Moon Festival is organized yearly to commemorate the liberation in China in the past when their ancestors wrote a note expressing their protest against the Mongol rule and they were successful in chasing the Mongols away. Therefore, worshipping the moon has become one of the traditional Chinese festivals that Thai Chinese in Songkhla Province still practice until nowadays.

Moon Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth Lunar month of every year. Thai Chinese organize the moon worshipping ceremony because they believe that it will bring them good luck. They also ask the moon to bless them and make them successful and prosperous in their occupations. The rituals of worship are performed at home in front of the house or on the deck of the house where they can see the moon clearly at night. Offerings used in the moon worshipping rituals are fruit, moon cake, cosmetics, tea, flowers, joss sticks, candles, lanterns, silver and gold joss paper, etc.

2. Methodology

2.1 Informants

The informants of this study consisted of 5 elderly Thai Chinese, and 5 working-age Thai Chinese.

2.2 Research instrument

The research instruments used in field data collection from the two groups of informants were in-depth interview questions sheets.

2.3 Data analysis

The data collected from related documents, research reports, and in-depth interviews were analyzed and interpreted before a conclusion was drawn, and descriptive analysis was presented.

3. Results

3.1 The tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province

In the past, when Moon Festival came, every family set a table to pay respect to the moon. Offerings included moon cake, Khanom Ko (a kind of dried cake made of glutinous rice flour), bean cake, and other kinds of sweet, three to five kinds of fruit, sugarcane, tea, cosmetics, silver and gold joss paper, lanterns, etc. The ritual of paying respect to the moon begins when the moon is seen rising in the east, and the ritual has to be finished before the moon rises making a right angle with (the land) one's head. Women are to be the first to perform the ritual followed by everyone else in the family. The number of joss sticks to be lit for each family member to pay respect to the moon depends on the number of kinds of fruit offered. For example, if three kinds of fruit are offered, then three joss sticks are lit; if five kinds of fruit are offered, then five joss sticks are lit. One can pray to be blessed by the moon, to ask for

favors related to love, fulfillment, prosperity, etc. Using joss sticks is a means to send offerings to the Goddess of the Moon the same way as virtual actions done on the Internet. The joss sticks are the medium that takes the offerings to heaven. Thus, they are left to burn away while people are waiting as if to give enough time for the Goddess of the Moon and their ancestral spirits to finish the meal. Then silver and gold joss paper is burnt and that is the end of the ritual, and it is time for family members to drink tea and have snack together (Informant interview, October 17, 2015).

3.2 Adaptations related to Moon Festival in Hat Yai District

When Moon Festival comes, in Hat Yai City, some tables set for paying respect to the moon can still be seen, mostly in families with elderly people whose children or grandchildren, especially those in the working age group, help doing it. This group of people has become the main persons in their families to arrange the ritual of paying respect to the moon. They plan in advance what to buy, particularly silver and gold joss paper that needs to be folded in certain patterns, and different kinds of sweet from the shops they usually buy. They plan a few days in advance because most of them go out to work and do not have much free time. The younger generation of Thai Chinese has adapted their way of life to be more Thai due to economic reason. Some move out to have and live with their own family while others move to work in other provinces. Consequently, there are fewer Thai Chinese who continue Chinese customs and traditions. As a result, there are adaptations related to paying respect to the moon as follows.

3.2.1 The Rituals

The first one is the morning ritual. In the morning, Thai Chinese in their beautiful costumes go to the shrine near their homes which is crowded with people coming to make merit. Most of them bring offerings which are moon cake, Khanom Ko, fruits, silver and gold joss paper, flowers, and joss sticks, all of which are required for the ritual. People working at the shrine prepare tables for people to place offerings on in front of the shrine. While waiting for the joss sticks to burn away, people greet and talk to each other in a friendly way. After the joss sticks have burnt away, silver and gold joss paper is burnt, and then the offerings are packed. People say goodbye to gods and the Goddess of the Moon, and that is the end of the ritual. They go home to arrange another set of offerings on a table to pay respect to the Buddha image at home (Informant interview, October 20, 2015).

The second one is the night ritual. At night, the ritual is from around 8.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. because nowadays many Thai Chinese go out to work and have to get up early in the morning. Thus, they want to finish the ritual of paying respect to the moon early in the night and go to bed. They usually pray to the Goddess of the Moon for help in love, fulfilling their hopes, prosperity in making their living, fertility and happiness of their families, etc. (Informant interview, October 16, 2015). Moreover, Thai Chinese believe that using joss sticks in paying respect is to send offerings to the Goddess of the Moon because joss sticks are the carriers taking offerings to heaven. Thus, they let joss sticks burn away and they wait a little longer after that as if to give time to the Goddess and their ancestral spirits to finish with their meals. Then they burn silver and gold paper to end the ritual. After that family members drink tea and

eat sweet together for auspiciousness and to tighten their relationships (Informant interview, October 17, 2015).

3.2.2 The Offerings

Usually only small amount of important items of offerings are bought because they are now much more expensive than before. In addition to three to five kinds of fruit, silver and gold joss paper, joss sticks, and candles, cosmetics and beautiful designs and colorful cloths are bought because it is believed that the Goddess of the Moon is a beautiful lady who can use these beauty products. After the ritual is finished, the cosmetics can be used by women who have paid respect to the moon or their children because it is believed that the cosmetics that have been offered to the Goddess of the Moon are auspicious for users. Furthermore, an offering item such as sugarcane used to be considered important in the past because its sweetness was compared to smooth business and fulfillments. However, sugarcane is rarely seen nowadays and houses are decorated without it but only with lanterns (Informant interview, November 20, 2015). People who pay respect to the moon remain to be the elderly and some in the working age group while a few teenagers help preparing the offerings even though most of them participate in the ritual. However, it all depends on how much their families give importance to this tradition.

Nowadays, even though fewer Thai Chinese set tables for paying respect to the moon, there is a new phenomenon among them. That is they take the opportunity during the Moon Festival to take moon cake to the elderly or their relatives to make well wishes to them. Therefore, the pattern of paying respect to the moon has also changed. During the festival, many shops sell moon cake so people who do not perform the ritual also buy moon cake for consumption which helps stimulate the economy (Informant interview, October 26, 2015)

3.3 Adaptation in the time of paying respect to the moon

In the past, the ritual of paying respect to the moon began when the moon is seen rising in the eastern horizon at around 6.00 p.m. and gradually rises higher until the entire full moon is brightly seen. The time for the ritual of paying respect to the moon used to be longer and all family members gave importance to paying respect to the moon the whole time until midnight when the moon begins to go down towards the western horizon.

Nowadays the length of time for paying respect to the moon has been adapted to suit the way of life of the new generation who have to go out to work. The length of time for paying respect to the moon has been shortened, and thus, the ritual begins at 8.00 p.m. and lasts to around 10.00 p.m.

As can be seen, the ritual of paying respect to the moon has been adapted for conveniences, and adaptations have been made in terms of the ritual itself, the time, and the offerings due to economic reasons. In addition, the new generation has gradually replaced the older generation that has gradually passed away decreasing interest in doing activities related to Moon Festival.

3.4 The existence of the tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province

The data collected from in-depth interviews with the informants can be summarized as follows. The first group of informants thinks that the tradition of Moon Festival will be continued in order to commemorate the bravery of their ancestors, and for family reunion which results in the bond and unity among family members. However, presently the tradition is rather dull with only elderly people who still hold the belief in and worship to the moon (Informant interview, November 8, 2014). The ritual has been shortened, offerings have been reduced and some offering items have been changed or modified to suit the present time (Informant interview, November 20, 2014). The second group of informants thinks that the tradition will probably fade away from Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province because facts about the moon have scientifically been proved, and because Neil Alden Armstrong, an American astronaut who walked on the moon in 1969, has made the belief about the Goddess of the Moon less important (Informant interview, December 19, 2014). Another reason is that the new generation of Thai Chinese is in their working age and they pay less attention to worshipping the moon. Thus, whether the tradition of Moon Festival will continue to exist or not depends on how much importance the new generation of Thai Chinese gives to it (see Figure 1).



Figure 1 A simple arrangement of offerings to the moon in a family in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province <http://gimmynaruk.wordpress.com>

4. Conclusion

The practice of the tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province has gradually declined because of modernity and consumerism. This reflects the fact that elderly people who become older and will one day be all gone while fewer Thai Chinese of the new generation have such belief and value towards the tradition which may eventually result in a complete loss of the tradition in Songkhla society.

5. Discussion

Thai Chinese in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province have held the tradition of Moon Festival for a long time. However, the festival has gradually been less bustling because of various causing factors. The viewpoints of the informants on the existence

of Moon Festival can be classified into two groups. One group thinks that the tradition will still continue its existence; this corresponds with Wankaew (2003) who states that social changes such as changes in traditions and family system can either go forward or backward permanently or temporarily. The other group thinks that the tradition of Moon Festival will be lost due to the environment, and modern technology without borders that flows in and influences Hat Yai where people respond and accept culture from outside all the time. This is in agreement with the Modernization Theory of Eisenstadt (1966) that underdeveloped society transforms to modern society. In addition, Modernization is a process of change that affects Songkhla Province socially, economically and politically, and Thai Chinese in this province have to adapt to the present society. This is why the tradition of Moon Festival in Hat Yai, Songkhla Province has to change accordingly.



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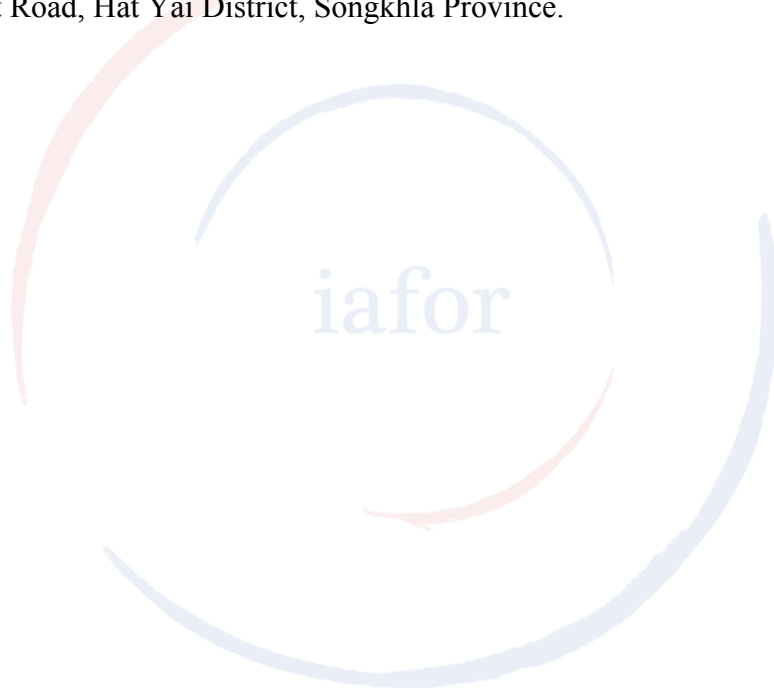
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***Standard Chinese Characters and their Role
in Chinese Cultural Heritage***

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Abstract

Hanzi is a system of ideograms that encodes the Chinese language built on the integrated representation of form, sound and meaning of matters and deeds. Over several thousand years, it has been playing an important role for cultural heritage in establishing a record of the language, history and life of the Chinese people. Only until the 19th century that some people regarded Hanzi as scripts which is difficult to recognize, write, learn and memorize, hence is a backward writing system, which hindered the progress of China. Thus the demand to reform hanzi fermented gradually. Coming to the mid-1950s, with less than ten years' research and preparation, a scheme of standardized Chinese characters was implemented in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Then in October 2000, PRC adopted the Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language which provided Standard Chinese characters the legal foundation of its irreplaceability; till now it has been utilized for over half a century. Standard Chinese characters are used by many people. The characters are composed of fewer strokes, thus faster and easier to write. While their communicative function is apparently not anything weaker than the traditional Chinese characters', however, the system of Standard Chinese characters has many intrinsic weaknesses that conflicted with traditional culture. The present paper will identify some of the defects in the system of Standard Chinese characters and examine from the cultural perspective how these might affect its otherwise important role in cultural heritage.

Keywords: Standard Chinese Characters, Traditional Chinese characters, cultural heritage

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Chinese characters are ideograms; they are symbols in a writing system to record thinking, consciousness and concepts. They keep an account of the Chinese history and culture of the past millenniums, and besides, their written forms also have great cultural significance. Chinese characters do not directly indicate their pronunciations, but they show the meaning by specific symbols and it is known as "showing the meaning through the written form". As to the structure of the written form, a Chinese character is made up of strokes and components (radicals) to form a whole symbol (which includes pictographic, phonetic and semantic symbols), and express the meaning. According to the information obtained from induction and analyses, the ways of making the customarily used Chinese characters ("traditional characters" or "fantizi" (繁體字)) have their own features and development trend, which are known as "six principles" ("liushu", 六書). Four of the "six principles" are ways of making Chinese characters, namely, pictographs ("xiangxing", 象形), ideographs ("zhishi" (指事)), compound ideographs ("huiyi", 會意), and picto-phonetic compounds ("xingsheng", 形聲). The other two principles are regarded as the ways of using the characters, namely, phonetic loan characters ("jiajie", 假借) and "derivative cognates" ("zhuanzhu", 轉注). When people came to new objects or things, they will make new derivative characters on the basis of the six principles.

Since the establishment of the system of six principles and the stabilization of regular script (kaishu), people have some basis to rely upon when they have to coin new characters. In the history of recent two thousand years, this set of square-shaped characters based on regular script (kaishu) become the prevailing tool for written communication. They inherit and pass on the Chinese cultural heritage and are still the most frequently used regular written form for daily life. However, following the popular use of the "standard characters" ("simplified characters"), this set of "traditional characters" (or "fantizi") with more strokes are gradually losing their dominant position. The structures of "traditional characters" have a rich cultural heritage behind their written forms and manifest many special features, such as the properties of reproduction, condensation, psychological association, absorption, artistic quality, and unity. Every character has its own story and message and the new characters coined according to the "six principles" have the same characteristics. Even though people may not be familiar with some characters, they can still guess, on the basis of their structures and radicals, what these characters roughly mean. "Traditional Chinese characters" contain a system of complicated social information. In addition to their plentiful meanings, the traditional characters may also carry positive or negative connotations. For example, just for the death of a person, there are various characters to describe the situation, and the use of a different character conveys some different message: "beng" (崩) for the death of an emperor, "hong" (薨) for a feudal prince or lord, "shi" (逝) for an official, and "si" (死) for a commoner. "Traditional Chinese characters" have a high capacity to show their meanings. Each character looks like a picture itself and a glance at it may lead to psychological association. For example, the character "jia" (家, family) has a "house" (宀, a symbol representing the "roof") as its upper part, and some "wealth" (豕, pig, a symbol of wealth in the ancient China) as its lower part. It extends from family and material needs to necessities for daily life and gathering of family members, and forms a picture of a happy and harmonious family. The dreary language at once has got some

significance and a flavour of elegance. Besides, the Chinese characters are monosyllables and each of them is a morpheme and at the same time a syllable. Therefore they produce the properties of rhyme and tone, level and oblique tones, and verbal parallelism in the Chinese language, and these properties also lead to various plays on words, such as couplets, riddles and rhymes, and also different genres in classical literature, including poetry, ci (lyrics) and poetic prose ("fu", 賦). The variety of written forms and the beauty of their structures are unique to Chinese characters and bring about the creation of various styles of calligraphy exclusively found in the Chinese culture. The most distinctive feature of the "traditional Chinese characters" is that the message conveyed by the characters can break through the limit of space and time, so that it can be "preserved in different locations, and passed on to different periods".¹ Today when we read these lines in the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing*, 《詩經》): “關關雎鳩，在河之洲，窈窕淑女，君子好逑” (A pair of turtle doves are cooing on the sandbar of the river; here is a good fair lady whom the young man was after), we are no longer able to recite these characters with the pronunciations in the ancient time, but we are entirely able to understand what these lines mean. In the meanwhile, the Chinese people in different regions can still recite the poem according to their own dialects. The pronunciations of these characters differ in various dialects, but with the traditional Chinese characters as a bond, people still understand what these lines say. To sum up, it is obvious that "traditional Chinese characters" played an important part in unifying and fusing together the territories, ethnic groups and culture of China in history.

2

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the government enthusiastically carried out the reform of the writing system, with the aim to use the pinyin system and abolish the traditional square-shaped characters. However, the researches and trial implementation in the early 1950's showed that the plan was not feasible, therefore the government changed the plan and carried out the Chinese Character Simplification Scheme in which a large number of traditional complicated characters were changed into simplified ones. In 1964, the *List of Simplified Chinese Characters* was published and the characters in the list were to be the standard written characters for education and daily use. In 1986, the amended *List of Simplified Chinese Characters* was published. However, the government rushed in a very short time from the initiative of using simplified characters to the universal adoption of these characters, and thus there were many errors with them. Following the passing of the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* (《國家通用語言文字法》) and its implementation with effect from 1 January 2001, the simplified characters were formally named as “standard characters” and their legal status was established. In 2013 the *Table of General Standard Chinese Characters* 《通用規範漢字表》 was promulgated in alignment with the legislation, with the aim to promote the standard written forms of these characters and the use of them. But to date, controversy about the use of the “standard Chinese characters” has never ceased.

The “standard Chinese characters” still keep the strokes and lexical principles of the “traditional Chinese characters” and have proved that they are not unusable.

¹ See Zhang Pengpeng(2007), pp.3-5.

However, the Chinese government at that time was rushing into implementing the reform of the writing system and carry out the scheme for simplified characters in a hurry, so it promulgated the use of these characters by government directive. It did not extensively and seriously consult the academia, especially the linguists, nor did it consider circumspectly how to handle the oversights of the scheme and the impact of the promulgation. In the political atmosphere at that time, not to mention any opposition to simplified characters, the scholars who suggested any different ideas for the implementation of the scheme for simplified characters might be suppressed and criticized, or even labelled as Rightists. Therefore it can be said that the scheme for simplified characters was not a product of well-prepared work. The government did not consider any different opinions, let alone the Chinese characters' natural trend of long-running development. As a result, many shortcomings are found in this set of characters. The "standard characters" inevitably affect, in a negative way, the inheritance of the traditional Chinese culture.

After the 1980's, scholars began to be dubious about the effectiveness of the reform of Chinese characters and they dared to raise questions regarding the shortcomings of the simplified characters. Qiu Xigui first points out that simplified characters affect Chinese characters' semantic and phonetic functions. He raises the following queries in this regard:

1. The logographic and phonetic functions of traditional Picto-phonetic characters are damaged in simplified characters.
2. Traditional characters' semantic functions are impaired or weakened.
3. The number of basic radicals/components is unnecessarily increased.

He thinks that some simplified characters do not satisfactorily fulfill the semantic and phonetic functions; and some even completely destroy or at least weaken the phonetic components' function of showing the pronunciation in the traditional Picto-phonetic characters. He points out that the simplified characters create the problem that one single word may have several different pronunciations and thus cause confusion of meanings. He is also doubtful about the application of "homophonic substitution", i.e. to substitute a difficult character with its homophone with less strokes, in simplifying the traditional characters.²

As to the simplified characters' impact on the semantic function, Li Chuanxu gives a more direct and comprehensive description and criticism. He points out that the damage done to the traditional characters' semantic function can be seen from several aspects:

1. Simplification does not follow a regular pattern for generalization: a certain component is simplified in some characters but not simplified in others.
2. There is no uniformity in simplification: a certain component is simplified in one way in some characters but in another way in other characters.
3. Simplification is quite casual. Some characters' simplification neither complies with the major means used by the *List of Simplified Chinese Characters* (namely, simplification by generalization, change of the method of character coining, change of pictographic symbols, change of phonetic symbols, and using caoshu strokes in kaishu characters), nor follows the traditional principles of making

² See Qiu Xigui(2004), in Shi Dingguo ed. (2004), pp.35-40.

characters (namely, pictographs ("xiangxing"), ideographs ("zhishi"), compound ideographs ("huiyi"), and picto-phonetic compounds ("xingsheng").

In short, as regards the incorporation of the component parts of cursive script (caoshu, 草書) and generalization of components in simplified characters, damage and confusion are obvious. Cursive script (caoshu) originally has its etymological foundation and also its artistic heritage in calligraphy. It is rooted in the Chinese culture and not made up out of thin air. However, characters in cursive script have many strokes linked together, and if their curved strokes and zigzag lines are rigidly changed into straight strokes, and linked-up lines are separated so that the characters are simplified and popularized for use, then a lot of inconvenience will be caused and they may even become difficult to identify. For example, “長” (“chang”, long) is simplified as “长”. The structure of the simplified character is no doubt simple, and it has only four strokes. But its structure is often perplexing to beginners, mainly because its third stroke is a long vertical hooked one passing through the second stroke (i.e. the horizontal one) and ends with a hook to the right, which is quite uncommon. As a result, the character “长” is easily miswritten with five or six strokes.

Similarly, damage and confusion are also found in the simplified characters in which some components are substituted by symbols. Most symbols used in simplified characters are very simple, with only two to three strokes – even illiterates can easily write them out. Nevertheless, substitution by symbols is used so extensively and so frequently that the components’ basic semantic and phonetic functions are lost. These characters are simplified purely for sake of simplicity, and consequently damage is greater than gain in simplification. For instance, the symbol “又” (“you”) is used as the component of the simplified characters (those in brackets): “鄧” (邓), “艱” (艰), “難” (难), “歡” (欢), “勸” (劝), “雞” (鸡), “對” (对), “戲” (戏), “鳳” (凤), “僅” (仅), “漢” (汉). It replaces the original pictographic and phonetic symbols without building up a new relationship of pictographic, phonetic and semantic symbols. The phonetic symbols in these characters all disappear.

The damage of pictographic, phonetic and semantic symbols is done not only to individual characters but also to the whole system. The Chinese character system requires categorization: characters with the same radical are arranged to form one group. If a component is damaged, the characters in the whole system will be damaged as well. Based on this point, Li Chuanxu asserts that to enforce the use of simplified characters by mandatory measures will “sever the close link between the modern Chinese and the classical Chinese... and discard the rich cultural heritage inherent in traditional characters.” He cites the two characters “后” (“hou”, empress, queen) and “後” (“hou”, behind, later) as examples. These two characters have nothing to do each other, but they are simply regarded as one and the same character merely because they have the same pronunciation. Consequently, when traditional characters are used, some ridiculous errors may occur. For example, “慈禧太后” (Empress Dowager Cixi) is changed into “慈禧太後” (Cixi far behind), and “后羿射九日” (Hou Yi shot down nine suns) into “後羿射九日” (Later Yi shot down nine suns). Besides, “radical” is also an important concept for looking up Chinese characters in dictionaries. It is very obvious that the simplified “standard Chinese

characters" make a great impact on the radicals system because the radicals of some simplified characters are removed. For example, in the simplified characters (those in brackets being their traditional counterparts) “表” (錶), “电” (電), “巩” (鞏), “复” (複), “号” (號), “产” (產), “离” (離), “雨” (麗), “亲” (親), the original radicals which carry meanings to the characters are all cut away. The radicals in these characters are: 金 ("jin", metal), 雨 ("yu", rain), 革 ("ge", leather), 衣 ("yi", clothing), 虎 ("hu", tiger), 生 ("sheng", give birth to, grow), 隹 ("zhui", short-tailed bird), 鹿 ("lu", deer), 見 ("jian", see). The semantic function of these characters are undermined when their radicals are removed.³

3

A written language can record and also develop culture. The relationship between traditional characters and the Chinese culture is particularly close, because traditional characters' features in their construction and written form carry plentiful culture messages. In the long river of history, "traditional Chinese characters have been a tool for recording and developing culture for 2000 years. Once their written forms are changed, especially if the semantic function is damaged, difficulties will inevitably be caused to the succession to the traditional Chinese culture. Riddle and couplet are the typical games of Chinese characters in the cultural activities. Riddles are designed in various ways, such as combination of meanings, separation and recombination of characters, adding or cutting away components, combination of parts, inclusion relation, homophones and doggerel, which adequately embody the intelligence and wisdom of the Chinese. Couplets are written in a succinct language and neat patterns, with syllables arranged in symmetry, and level and oblique tones at regular intervals. They accentuate the beauty of Chinese characters which integrate the pictographic, phonetic and semantic elements in harmony. In addition, the traditional poetry and poetic prose of the Chinese literature express the feelings in a vigorous and dynamic style, with rich and varied diction. These works, accompanied by the cadence and rhythm, reveal the ancient men's profound wisdom and rich sentiments. They are all excellent cultural treasures. There is also the art of calligraphy for Chinese characters. With the integration and varied forms of lines and tones of ink, calligraphy shows the beauty of Chinese characters and the calligraphers' posture and mental outlook at the same time. Therefore it has great artistic merit and aesthetic value, and is also an immortal treasure from the Chinese tradition.

However, if Chinese characters are reduced from complex to simple, and their components, including pictographic, phonetic and semantic symbols, are changed, then some of the riddles will become unintelligible, and the play with characters can no longer go on. Li Baiyao (565-648) recorded in the *Biography of Xu Zhicai* in *Beiqishu*:

(Zhicai,) making fun of Wang Xin's surname, said, "It becomes cheating when going with a word, turns mad when getting near a dog, becomes a horse when neck and feet are added, and turns into a goat when horns and tail are added." Then Lu Yuanming also ridiculed Zhicai, "Your surname shows that you are not included in the category

³In Shi Dingguo ed. *Studies on Simplified Characters* (《简化字研究》) (Beijing: Commercial Press, 2004), pp.296-307.

of human being, and your name is a miswritten character. The character Zhi (之) should be correctly written as "fa" (乏, be short of)." Zhicai immediately replied, "Your surname becomes cruelty when death comes, and turns into empty on the hill; it becomes captive when you give birth to a male child, and a donkey if you keep a horse."⁴

Xu Zhicai was a very intelligent person. When he was an official, his colleagues and he made fun of each other when they got together. He once made fun of Wang Xin's surname. The jokes in the above dialogue are based on riddles, the changes of meaning cannot do without adding, cutting away, splitting up and combining the radicals and components of Chinese characters. Because of various reasons, "kuang" ("言王", a variant form of 誑, cheat), "kuang" (狂, mad), "ma" (馬, horse) and "yang" (羊, goat) are still related to the surname "Wang" (王), and "zhi" (之) becomes "fa" (乏, be short of) when a left-falling stroke is added on its top. However, now that "lu" (虜, captive) is simplified as "虏", and "lu" (驢, donkey) as "驴", the written forms and meanings of the riddles in the dialogue can no longer match each other. The surname "Lu" (盧) is already simplified as "卢" and it does not match the component on the right of the simplified character "lu" (驴) either. The riddles with characters do not work now.

Besides, according to *Qian's Private Records* (《錢氏私志》, *Qian Shi Si Zhi*) written by Qian Shizhao in the Song Dynasty, it is said that Wang Anshi also created several riddles:

目字加兩點，不得做貝字猜；貝字欠二點，不得做目字猜。

Two dots are added (加 "jia") to the character "mu" (目, eye), but it should not be taken to be "bei" (貝, shell-fish); The character "bei" (貝) is short of (欠 "qian") two dots, but it should not be taken to be "mu" (目). They are "he" (賀, celebrate, congratulate), and "zi" (資, money, capital). And there are four "kou" (口, mouth), all in square shape; and add the character "shi" (十, ten) to the middle of them. It should not be taken to be "tian" (田, field) or "qi" (器, utensil). It is "tu" (圖, picture).⁵

Since "he" (賀), "zi" (資) and "tu" (圖) are already simplified as “贺”, “资” and “图” respectively, such traditional riddles will become meaningless. Nowadays the creation of riddles can only stick to 會意法 (the analysis of the character's meaning) and character splitting (the splitting up of the character's structure). If the methods mentioned above are not applicable, the heritage and development of riddles will definitely negatively affected.

The damage done to couplets is more or less the same as that of riddles. Let us consider the example:

四口同圖，內口皆歸外口管；
五人共傘，小人全仗大人遮。

⁴See *Beiqishu* (《北齊書》) (1972) Vol. 33, pp.447.

⁵Quoted from Li Tusheng (2009), pp.105-106.

Four mouths are in the same picture,
the inner mouths are all subject to the control of the outer mouth;
Five persons are sharing an umbrella,
the little persons all rely on the big person for shelter.⁶

As the characters "tu" (圖) and "san" (傘) are simplified as “图” and “伞” respectively, the structure and the meanings of characters of the two lines in the couplet can no longer constitute a symmetrical relation as they previously did. The couplet become unbalanced. Below is another example:

或入園中，逐出老袁還我國；
余行道上，義無回首瞻前途。

Someone entered the garden,
expelled the old monkey and gave back us our nation;
I walked on the road,
could not bear to look back the past, and were forward looking.⁷

Now that "yuan" (園) and "guo" (國) are simplified as “园” and “国” respectively, the beauty of symmetry and the feeling of sadness about the destiny of the country expressed in the couplet are undermined. This shows that the heritage and development of couplet are affected to a certain extent by the simplification of Chinese characters.

In the aspect of calligraphy, the traditional characters are formed with graceful structures. Each of them has an elegant figure, and they are rich in variety when different characters are put together to form a piece of work. Thus the exquisite art of calligraphy is accomplished. However, since some of the simplified characters consists of few strokes, there seems to be too much blank space between characters and also lines. Furthermore, there are not many variations in the width and length of the simplified characters, and even when the characters are grouped to produce a whole piece, it still looks insipid and monotonous. Worse still, many simplified characters fail to show any symmetry and balance in their configuration, and so their forms do not look pleasing to the eye. For example, the simplified characters, such as “严” (“yan”), “厂” (“chang”), “队” (“dui”), “广” (“guang”), “产” (“chan”), “扩” (“kuo”), “泻” (“xie”), “坠” (“zhui”), “儿” (“er”), “习” (“xi”) and “飞” (“fei”), are with unbalanced configuration and it is difficult to give their written forms a beauty of symmetry. For some other characters, like “岂” (“qi”), “丽” (“li”), “间” (“jian”), “军” (“jun”), “卫” (“wei”), “仓” (“cang”), “亿” (“yi”), “乡” (“xiang”), “当” (“dang”) and “显” (“xian”), their form and structure are monotonous and uninteresting, and do not show any grace and beauty. Some simplified characters are based on the incorporation of some characters in cursive script (Caoshu) into regular script (kaishu), e.g. “为” (“wei”), “韦” (“wei”), “专” (“zhuan”), “马” (“ma”), “鸟” (“niao”), “买” (“mai”), “练” (“lian”), “尧” (“yao”), “书” (“shu”) and “发” (“fa”). The strokes

⁶Quoted from Shen Xiaolong (2014), pp.269.

⁷Quoted from Xian Yu(2013).

of these characters lose the original smoothness and grace in cursive and semi-cursive scripts (行書, xingshu) and become rigid and unnatural. It is indeed difficult to write such characters, to say nothing of adding smoothness and beauty to them.⁸

In the cultural heritage, literary works, such as poetry and poetic prose, and historical relics are believed to have suffered the greatest impact. When China began to enforce the use of simplified characters in all aspects in the 1950's, the government did not attach much importance to the traditional culture and customs. During the Cultural Revolution from the 1960's to 1970's, the government even painstakingly eliminated the traditional heritage. Only when the reform and open policy was implemented in the late 1970's, the traditional culture was highly valued anew and had the opportunity of getting resurgent. But the cultural tradition had been injured for a long time and it had difficulty in recovering. In the early 1980's, an article entitled *Book of the Later Han Was not found in Peking University Library* was published in *People's Daily*, which caused a sensation to the academic circle. As a matter of fact, a professor wished to borrow the original edition of the *Book of the Later Han* (《後漢書》, *Houhanshu*) from the Peking University Library, but the title was in traditional characters, so the library staff member who could not read the title told the professor that there was not such a book in the library. This incident reflects the situation that the number of people in China who can read traditional characters has been hugely decreased. Obviously there is a gap in the succession to historical classics. Today the Chinese are no longer hostile to the traditional culture: many classics are in free circulation. But traditional characters in the writing system have already given place to simplified ones, therefore the number of people who can read or use "traditional characters" is getting smaller and many time-honoured classics have to be reprinted in simplified characters. In the process of replacing the traditional characters with the simplified ones, the simplified characters derived from "homophonic substitution" (i.e. to substitute a character with its homophone), bring about many serious errors. These errors are often found in printed media and texts on websites, and the problem is still going on today. Among a large number of examples, the most obvious ones are those inscriptions on horizontal boards of cultural buildings. For example, the inscription on the horizontal board in the Guozijian Street in Beijing should be “聖人鄰里” ("shengren linli", the sage's neighbourhood) but it is written as “聖人鄰裡” ("shengren linli", the sage's neighbour and inside of a garment). “里” ("li") means the place where people live together, and also alley or lane, whereas “裡” ("li") is a variant form of “裏” and it originally means the inside of a garment. It does not make any sense at all.

4

To sum up, a language cannot remain permanently unchanged. For thousands of years, the pictographic, phonetic and semantic symbols of Chinese characters have been changing ceaselessly. In the past, facing the demand of a world of myriad things, Chinese characters' strokes, written forms and structures naturally underwent various changes - some complicated and some trivial. It is most obvious that the phonetic elements are in an upward trend to prevail over the system of ideograms. Nowadays the great majority of frequently used Chinese characters are "picto-

⁸See Chen Weide: *Written Language and Calligraphy*.

phonetic" ones, but on the whole, it is still very obvious that people "get the meaning by observing the character". The simplified characters promulgated in recent decades have been standardized. However, for the characters included in the *List of Simplified Characters*, it can be seen that their strokes are more symbolized and become various forms of line. Some components gradually deviate from the fundamental structure of "traditional Chinese characters" and their semantic function is impaired. Consequently, the cultural messages in these characters, and even the heritage of the traditional Chinese culture, are also affected. Therefore it is indeed reasonable to infer that "standard Chinese characters" make a negative impact on the heritage of the traditional culture. Fortunately, a certain amount of characters which have not yet been simplified are still in daily use. The structure of their components are still in compliance with the "six principles" of Chinese characters, and the messages in pictographic, phonetic and semantic symbols still partially survive. Hence the speed of losing the semantic function can be lowered, which also diminishes the negative impact on the cultural heritage.

Hopefully, Chinese characters can maintain their semantic feature. The Chinese government can squarely face the natural development trend of the Chinese language, proceed to review and amend those unreasonably simplified characters in the *List of Simplified Characters*, and the *List of Standard Chinese Characters*. It can even resume the use of some or all of the discarded traditional Chinese characters, and let Chinese characters go through a natural process of change and recover their strong vitality so that they can help inherit and develop the splendid traditional Chinese culture. It is believed that this is also the shared hope of those who cherish the traditional Chinese culture

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***The Birth of Contemporary Culture: The Unwanted Child? Or, Contemporary
Reactions to The Emergence of Postmodern Culture***

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Abstract

The paper proposes to investigate two threads that eventually intersect. On the one hand it aims to look at the evolution of contemporary global (consumer) culture, more specifically the culture of neoliberalism. On the other hand, it looks at some of the critical reflections that pondered upon these phenomena at the time they came into being. One of the major questions I will try to contextualize is how “subversive sensibilities” became “conventional sensibilities.” In terms of the contemporary, i.e., 1960s, 1970s critical reflections upon the then emerging consumer culture I will specifically look at some of the works of Enzensberger, McLuhan and Sontag. All three of them contributed, in major ways, to how we try to make sense of various cultural phenomena today (mass media, the political potentialities of culture, the role of the social and economic context, etc.). These thinkers are the most significant but by no means the only ones who supported and theorized the kind of culture that was emerging in their time. Today we call that culture “(global) consumer culture.” I will examine and reconstruct the shift in their thinking that marked the realization of the potential transformation of “subversive sensibilities” into “conventional sensibilities.” The 21st century context of my investigation is provided by the process that has witnessed the most recent changes in culture (the shift from classic to global culture industry; the effects of the 2008 crash on culture; the theories about the end of neoliberalism etc.).

Keywords: global consumer culture, culture of neoliberalism, subversive sensibilities, conventional sensibilities

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In the early hours of Monday, February 29, 2016 almost the whole country of Hungary was, very impatiently, sitting in front of the TV sets or computer screens because a Hungarian movie was shortlisted for the Academy Awards. Sometime between 2 and 3 a.m., local time, the miracle did actually happen: *Son of Saul* won the Oscar. A very artsy film by first time director László Nemes Jeles.

The film had already opened in cinemas when an article appeared in the flagship Hungarian cinema journal *Filmvilág*, stating that “the history of European film art came to an end on July 30th, 2007” (Földényi, 2015, p. 5). That was the day when two undisputed masters of European cinema died: Michelangelo Antonioni and Ingmar Bergman.

The two unrelated but synchronic events have symbolic value for me: they show, in unambiguous terms, the deep seated uncertainty as to how to relate to the scene of contemporary global culture. Like most readers of this paper, I am sure, I simply cannot accept such apocalyptic views and prophecies. Globalization and consumerism have surely changed contemporary culture, but these—often dramatic changes indeed—do not necessarily imply the end of anything, however fashionable it has become since the end of the 1980s to envision the end of this and the end of that: history, capitalism, nature and most recently neoliberalism.

Few would doubt that the phenomenon of what we commonly refer to as postmodern, contemporary consumer culture is tightly linked to the emergence of globalization. Theories of culture in the postmodern age thus need to engage in theoretical and critical questions pertaining to the notion and practice of globalization. While some welcome the challenge and try to work out new concepts and strategies that help us better understand the conjuncture of the present, others would still prefer to work using somewhat older, more traditional conceptual frameworks. This paper proposes to investigate two threads that eventually intersect. On the one hand it aims to look at the evolution of contemporary global (consumer) culture, and, on the other hand, it looks at some of the critical reflections that analyzed these phenomena at the time they came into being. In other words, I would like to describe the present through an analysis of the past forces that created it, using some of the most significant voices of that historical moment, e.g., the work of Susan Sontag, Marshall McLuhan and others.

Recently, the very idea of the postmodern seems to be having an unlikely renaissance.¹ One is tempted to read, for example, Jeffrey Nealon’s *Post-Postmodernism* (2012) in this vein. In the first chapter of the book he says that his “project makes no claims to overcome Jameson’s analyses or displace them. Rather, *Post-Postmodernism* follows his analyses precisely through intensifying them [...]. Postmodernism is not a thing of the past [...] precisely because it’s hard to understand today as anything other than an intensified version of yesterday” (p. 8).

Modification and intensification of past phenomena are also important to Scott Lash’s and Celia Lury’s understanding of the contemporary cultural scene (which they characterize as the product of global culture industry). What Jameson is for Nealon, Horkheimer and Adorno are for Lash and Lury. As they argue, “moving on” means change on the one hand, and intensification on the other. The global culture industry is a modified and an intensified version of Horkheimer and Adorno’s classic culture

¹ For more on this phenomenon see the essay “Postmodernism Revisited” in Leitch.

industry. They claim that the famous Frankfurt School description of the contemporary cultural scenario in 1945 holds equally true in 1975, but no longer in 2005 (p. 4). In my reading, intensified aspects of the kind of culture that began to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s constitute our present.

In retrospect there seems to be a pattern discernable in the writings of some important figures of cultural and media criticism from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. The pattern in question is a gradual, sometimes subtle, but—looking at the end result—always dramatic change in their thinking about the nature, function, relevance and major characteristics of contemporary culture. My hypothesis is that the most sensitive cultural critics of the period in question took note of some radical changes in the deep structure of contemporary culture(s) that were generally invisible not only for the “public,” but also for the less tuned-in critics of the era.² It is not “only” that they took note, but they were the ones who were at least partially responsible for the implementation of these rather consequential changes. What also unites these diverse thinkers is that after the initial enthusiasm with which they welcomed, recognized, described and promoted the changes as they were taking shape, they seemed to step back and stare, bewildered, at what the changes brought into existence. A couple of decades later a critic described this as the shift in their thinking that marked the realization of the potential transformation of “subversive sensibilities” into “conventional sensibilities” (Kennedy, 1995, pp. 80-82)

Marshall McLuhan, the “high priest of popcult,” for example, did not like popcult, to say the least. He viewed it with “total personal dislike and dissatisfaction” (McLuhan, 1995, p. 267) and had “nothing but distaste for the *process* of change” (McLuhan, 1995, p. 267). Around the turn of the millennium Michael Denning argued that even some leftist “champion[s] of cultural studies” (2004, p. 75) claim that the discipline, and more generally, the phenomenon that is often labeled as “cultural turn,” dangerously (and “uncritically”) flirts with the “market’s own *infatuation* [emphasis added] with the popular” and “wallow[s] in cheap entertainment” (2004, p. 75-76).

The way a certain thought is expressed is important and telling, and—especially in academic writing—not a matter of chance. Viewed from this angle, it might indeed be seen as more significant than just a question of lexicon, that the way Denning describes the phenomenon in question is very similar to the way it was described thirty years earlier by one of its most fierce critics and adversaries, Irving Howe. In his “The New York Intellectuals: A Chronicle & A Critique” (1968) he writes the following: “Others felt that the movies and TV were beginning to show more ingenuity and resourcefulness [...] though no one could have anticipated that *glorious infatuation with trash* [emphasis added] which Marshall McLuhan would make acceptable” (p. 35). Howe, and many others, for the record, were not really aware of how McLuhan felt about pop culture.

² It is almost always artists who first recognize that something new seems to be emerging. Sontag, as a fiction writer, will be cited later in the essay to this effect, but one could also refer to the mid century Italian genius, Pier Paolo Pasolini, who, on the very first page of his recently released novel *Petrolio* (written in the early 1970s), observes that in 1960 “neocapitalism” [i.e., postmodernism] was just beginning to show its features, and that the new kind of knowledge it afforded was the privilege of so few people that the general perception of reality had not yet changed.

In 1969, when asked in the famous *Playboy* interview about the contemporary changes, McLuhan confesses that “I view such upheavals [i.e., the cultural transformations taking place in the period] with total personal dislike and dissatisfaction” (p. 267). He adds, however, that

I do see the prospect of a rich and creative retribalized society—free of the fragmentation and alienation of the mechanical age—emerging from this *traumatic period of culture clash* [emphasis mine]; but I have nothing but distaste for the *process* [emphasis in original] of change. [...] I do not personally cheer the dissolution of that tradition through the *electronic involvement of all the senses* [emphasis mine]. (p. 267)

He was heavily criticized by leading contemporary Cultural Studies scholars, including Raymond Williams himself, who claimed that “McLuhan’s technological determinism acts as an ideological justification of dominant social relations” (Stevenson, 2010, p. 26). McLuhan only saw any value in the emerging (postmodern/consumer/electric) culture in so far as he could regard it as a stepping stone in a long process that would eventually lead to the establishment of a “retribalized society.” He was *not* interested in the political potentialities of certain elements of the emerging new culture, most prominently that of electronic mass media, the spread of which, by the way, seems absolutely unstoppable in our own time.

I should very briefly mention another contemporary reading of McLuhan, this time by the leading contemporary West German Leftist thinker, culture critic, author, public intellectual Hans Magnus Enzensberger. Because of the lack of any potentially politically active Marxist interpretation of the emerging new culture, Enzensberger claims that this oversight (on the part of the contemporary Left) creates a “void” that necessarily invites other types of interpretations. McLuhan’s is the most visible, misleading, and self-deceiving of these. It is dangerous and to be avoided because it lacks any political valence, maintains Enzensberger. That missing political grounding, in his frame of mind, can only be Marxist -- and McLuhan is most certainly not Marxist. This is why the Canadian media and culture theorist was so fiercely rejected and ridiculed by some on the Left; it was not only his supposed “apolitical” stance that provoked the Left but also more importantly his anti-Marxist leaning. Enzensberger also claims that McLuhan “promises the salvation of man through [...] technology” (p. 17), very much implying the lack of human intervention in the development of technology.³ On top of the fact that McLuhan does not advocate for a (Marxist) political intervention, his understanding of the function and mission of the new culture, including the electronic media points in a radically different direction from that of Enzensberger and the engaged Left of the period in question.

Another very good case in point is the work of Susan Sontag. In 1996 she wrote an afterword to the Spanish translation of her most well known book *Against Interpretation* (1966). Looking back on the essays collected in that volume, written between 1961 and 1965, she melancholically muses over the changes that had happened to “culture,” “the arts,” and “values” during the thirty-odd year period that

³ In the scholarship McLuhan is repeatedly accused of “technological determinism,” see for example Kittler.

had elapsed since she wrote the essays. What for me is the most interesting in these melancholic notes is that she does not take credit for the initial implementation of the changes, and furthermore, does not even appear to be aware of her own role in it. What she sees in contemporary (postmodern) culture is met, on her part, with dislike and dissatisfaction. Describing the contemporary, in 1996, she uses the very term that Irving Howe used in 1968 (partly against the work of Sontag): “barbaric” (Sontag, 2001, p. 311).

Liam Kennedy rightly observes that “[w]hereas in the early and mid-1960s Sontag pushed herself to some optimism about the ‘shock’ value and ‘transgressive’ impetus of the new sensibility arts, by the mid-1970s she is sharply critical of the value of such ideas in a post-industrial consumer society” (p. 80). Andrew Ross also claims that this kind of attitude is already present in Sontag, even in the early essays that make up *Against Interpretation* (p. 147). According to Sontag, under the consumer capitalist conditions, “subversive sensibilities” become “conventional sensibilities,” and this neutralization is due to the democratizing effect of consumer capitalism on culture (Kennedy, 1995, p. 80-82).

The way Sontag describes the new and emerging culture of 1965 could, without any difficulty, be applied to our contemporary culture as well:

What we are witnessing is not so much a conflict of cultures as the creation of a new (potentially unitary) kind of sensibility. This new sensibility is rooted, as it must be, in our experience, experiences which are new in the history of humanity—in extreme social and physical mobility; in the crowdedness of the human scene (both people and material commodities multiplying at a dizzying rate); in the availability of new sensations such as speed (physical speed, as in airplane travel; speed of images, as in the cinema); and in the pan-cultural perspective on the arts that is possible through the mass reproduction of art objects. (“One Culture” p. 296).

She talks about the birth of a “new sensibility,” based on which a “scientific culture” comes into being and defines the contemporary. The new culture is preeminently tied to and based on (new) sensory experiences. The conviction that the new emergent culture is/will be based on the ever expanding field of (new) sensory experiences found its way into her first fictional work as well, the novel *The Benefactor* (1963). Hippolyte, her main character, says that “I am extremely interested in revolutions, but I believe that the real revolutions of my time have been changes not of government or of the personnel of public institutions, but *revolutions of feelings and seeing, much more difficult to analyze*” (*The Benefactor* 6-7, qtd. in Kaplan, 2012, p. 118, emphasis added).⁴ Although Sontag does not yet make the connection, looking back from the 21st century and taking into consideration the major changes that have taken place since the mid 1960s, one can, I think, do it: it is the universally available (ever new) sensory experiences that are responsible for the process, the end results of which she so vehemently disapproves. The transformation of, for want of a better term, modern/pre-postmodern culture into the postmodern, consumer culture as we now know it is the same force that neutralizes the “subversive sensibilities” and makes

⁴ Note the similarity in tone and content of this quote with the paraphrase from the Pasolini novel on the first page of this paper.

them “conventional sensibilities.” This transformation was possible (actually unavoidable) because of the democratizing force of the contemporary cultural context that was, by the way, very much anticipated and welcomed in the 1960s. High hopes were, as we see, followed by harsh disappointments. Sontag, for example, was convinced that the “non-literary” “pan culture” will challenge the “conventionally accepted boundaries”: “not just the one between the ‘scientific’ and the ‘literary-artistic’ cultures, or the one between ‘art’ and ‘non-art’; but also between many established distinctions within the world of culture itself—that between form and content, the frivolous and the serious, and (a favorite of literary intellectuals) ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture” (“One Culture” p. 297). On the list of the generally accepted characteristics of our own, i.e., contemporary global consumer culture these items would surely sound more than familiar.

Ironically enough, thirty years later, writing in the mid 1990s, Sontag’s melancholic and sadly wistful phrases echo those of the 19th century intellectual whom she so fiercely criticized on more than one occasion, Matthew Arnold. If one puts the following two quotes next to each other, one just cannot help recognizing the very close similarities. Sontag, in 1996, says “How one wishes [...] its [the 1960s] disdain for commerce had survived” (“Afterword” p. 311). Matthew Arnold, many decades earlier, expressed the same kind of contempt: “Consider these people, then, their way of life, their habits, their manners, the very tone of their voices; look at them attentively; observe the literature they read, the things which give them pleasure, the words which come forth out of their mouths, the thoughts which make the furniture of their minds; would any amount of wealth be worth having with the condition that one was to become just like these people by having it?” (quoted in Jenks, 2004, p. 23). Equally ironic is the fact that Sontag refers to the 1960s era (in which for her and for some others the “new” showed its features) as a “bygone age” (“Afterword” p. 312), as a world which “no longer exists” (“Afterword” p. 311)—without realizing her own role in the process that ended so sadly and so hopelessly (for her).

She either does not take credit for the changes (implying the results of those changes as well) or claims that her aims were very different: “The ever more triumphant values of consumer capitalism promote—indeed, impose—the cultural mixes and insolence and defense of pleasure that *I was advocating for quite different reasons*” (“Afterword” p. 311, emphasis added). Thirty years later she understands certain very serious implications, which she claims was not aware of when writing the essays of *Against Interpretation* in which, by the way, she does promote “the cultural mixes” and a “defense of pleasure.” She writes: “What I didn’t understand [...] was [...] that some of the more transgressive art I was enjoying would reinforce frivolous, merely consumerist transgressions” (p. 312).

My point here is to show that there was a group of critics, theorists, intellectuals like McLuhan and Sontag who did indeed initiate the implementation of the radical changes that resulted in what is known today as “consumer culture,” “contemporary culture” or “postmodern culture,” but—contrary to some widely held beliefs—they were not the ones who eventually fulfilled the implied promises, or rose to the task of fully embracing and academically analyzing and interpreting the “new.” What is more, they—directly or indirectly, implicitly or explicitly—turned away from it and criticized it. In sync with its emergence they saw the features of the “new,” welcomed it, but eventually distanced themselves from it. By that time, however, and with their

significant help, the genie was already out of the bottle—and nobody had the power to return it. The newer generations of scholars, critics and (in growing numbers) academics could only whole-heartedly accept and embrace that which was eventually rejected by prominent members of the previous generation of scholars, who had first recognized the newness, relevance and potential of, for want of a better term, postmodern culture.

At the risk of over-simplifying the rather complex process of the birth of contemporary consumer culture, one could describe it as the process in which the ever more translucent mask of modernism begins to fade away and give way to the true features of the real face behind it: those of postmodernism. Martin Bull recently argued, in a most articulate way, that what we today commonly refer to as “postmodern culture” or “postmodern features” or “postmodern characteristics” have *always*, always already, been part of modernism. The signs, the fault lines have always been there: they just remained invisible for most. What the decade between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s brought into light, for those who had the eyes and intellect to see and sense the tectonic movements in the depth of contemporary culture(s) was “just” an *accelerated* and *intensified* phase of the process. Bull presents modernism as a cultural epoch that *always* had this kind of duality: the synchronic presence of the experimental, the avant-garde *and* the commercial, the kitschy, the market- and profit oriented. Before the 1960s, 1970s the latter kind of culture was called “mass culture,” and after that, “postmodern” culture. What many (including the Hungarian film theorist quoted at the beginning of this paper) see as a dramatic and tragic caesura could also be seen as nothing else but the tipping over of the balance of the dual tradition of modernity. The driving forces behind this shift are not very hard to identify either: intensification and extensification of electronically-mediated culture; the rise of multiculturalism; the triumph of commodity culture; the world wide spread of consumer societies; the birth of infotainment; sociological changes; democratization on a world wide scale, etc. To put it simply: the real face of modernity has always been that of the postmodern, or as Clement Greenberg puts it: “commodity culture and classicism [classic, experimental, avant-garde modernism] were manifestations of the same thing, the former merely a debased version of the latter” (quoted in Bull, 2001, p. 101).

So far we have seen two kinds of reactions to or reflections on the emergence postmodern consumer culture: one I would describe as the attitude of “recognition and rejection,” (Sontag) the other as “neutral recognition in retrospect” (Bull). Very consciously I do not deal with either contemporary or later evaluations of postmodern consumer culture that reject it wholesale (either on aesthetic, educational, political or any other grounds). In the remaining part of the paper I would like to look very briefly at some 21st c. reflections that I would label as “recognition and acceptance.” Using the broadest possible terms I would characterize this latter attitude as one which not only recognizes and accepts this kind of culture, but at the same time offers tools to better understand it.

Scott Lash and Celia Lury’s introduction to their book *Global Culture Industry* (2007) helps us see more clearly how the classic culture industry gave way, *no earlier than in the mid 1990s*, to the global culture industry. They make it clear that they disagree with Horkheimer and Adorno’s classic account of the culture industry on several grounds. First, just as in classic British Cultural Studies scholarship, they see the

realm of culture as the site *not only* for domination, *but* also for resistance as well. Second, as they phrase it: “things have moved on.”

In 1945 and in 1975 culture was still fundamentally a superstructure. As a superstructure, both domination and resistance took place in and through superstructures—through ideology, through symbols, through representation. When culture was primarily superstructural, cultural entities were still exceptional. What was mostly encountered in everyday life were material objects (goods), from the economic infrastructure. This was true in 1945 and still so in 1975. But in 2005, cultural objects are everywhere; as information, as communications, as branded products, as financial services, as media products, as transport and leisure services, cultural entities are no longer the exception: they are the rule. Culture is so ubiquitous that it, as it were, seeps out of the superstructure and comes to infiltrate, and then take over the infrastructure itself. It comes to dominate both the economy and experience in everyday life. (pp. 3-4)

The claims by Lash and Lury that in the era of postmodern global consumer culture the super- and the infrastructure collapse into each other and that *this is what defines* the age echo earlier claims of Fredric Jameson and Lawrence Grossberg. These claims also mean that the conceptual frameworks that have been in use to describe the cultural sphere are not necessarily relevant any longer. Although culture has undergone enormous changes due to the forces of globalization, (i.e., culture became commodity culture) the concept of culture has not changed accordingly. In his essay “Culture and Globalization” (2003), Imre Szeman states that “globalization has made it impossible to maintain any of the fictions that have continued to circulate around the Western concept of culture” (pp. 92-3). Such fictions include: the autonomy of culture; the role attributed to culture in identity formations, particularly that of national identity; the ahistorical and apolitical nature of cultural/artistic “values,” etc.

“Over the past 40 years, the legitimacy of the concept of culture that continues to underwrite the humanities has been under concerted attack—and not [only] from without, but from within the humanities itself. ... In the Western academy, the development of cultural studies has drawn attention to other blind spots” (p. 100)—declares Szeman in the same piece. A decade later, in 2012, one of the leading authorities in Cultural Studies, Graeme Turner approvingly observed that the discipline “has helped to place the construction of everyday life at the centre of contemporary intellectual inquiry and research in the humanities” and, as a result of that, “the landscape of the humanities and social sciences has been transformed by cultural studies over the past 30 years.” (p. 12)

In the past couple of decades, mostly due to work done by the discipline of Cultural Studies, the meaning of the term in academic discourse “culture” has significantly broadened. Furthermore, exactly those characteristics/features which were originally present in mass or popular culture have become more and more obvious. Yet the discipline claims that they have always been there: “culture has never been what we believed it to be; it has always had a different function than the guardians of the humanities would have liked to have assigned to it” (Szeman, 2003 p. 102).

My most important question in this paper has focused exactly on this issue: when did contemporary theorists note the transformation and how did they reflect on it? The

way I see this is that we are still struggling to come to grips with these phenomena and this uncertainty explains the diverse attitudes that we have heard about earlier in my presentation. Becoming "conventional," in this context, means that a given characteristic/feature of culture becomes part of the ubiquitous postmodern consumer culture. That, I think, is a given. The question that remains open is how one relates to that reality and in this paper I've tried to show a couple of possibilities. Certain, already existing phenomena get displaced into such a new context that they become more visible, more full fledged, more dominant. Simplifying it, these phenomena are those features that are associated with postmodern culture; and the context is that of the peculiar culture and cultural practices of global consumer capitalism. This is the contemporary constellation that replaces the previous ones and this is the one that needs to be understood and explained.



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Construction of Lukang's Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci) in the Qing Dynasty: A Study Based on Shih Shu-Ching's Walking Through Lo-chin and Lin Hui-Cheng's The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period

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Abstract

In 1976, Shih Shu-Ching published *liuliWa* (*Glazed Tiles*), which captured public attention to the importance of cultural heritage preservation. The well-known scholar and architect, Han Pao-Teh, even attempted to an open dialogue with Shih's work with his "Glazed Tiles and Soil Tiles: Discussing Local Art Preservation via Shih Shi-Ching's Glazed Tiles." In 1977, Han launched "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project and published *Lukang gufengmao zhi yanjiu* (*The Study of the Ancient Fabric of Lukang*). Han and Lin Hui-Cheng were the main researchers for Lukang's architecture, street and town. For the handcraft, Shih and Kuo Jen-Chang were the ones in charge. Via this project, Han attempted to drive Lukang's old street and town preservation in the way of urban planning. Such attempt provoked conflicts with local inhabitants, though. In 1983, Lin published *Qingmo Lukang jiezhen jiegou* (*The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*). After 20 years, Shih published *Walking Through Lo-chin* (2003). "Lo-chin" is Lukang's old name. In this study, regarding to Shih and Lin's participations in "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project, I would like to focus on how novelist and architect "re-build" the narrative of space for Lukang in the Qing Dynasty. Besides, from both Shih and Lin's works, I would like to probe how the contemporary imagine the so-called "das kulturelle gedchtnis" and "genius loci" of Lukang in Qing. In Shih's *Glazed Tiles*, her attempt to construct the Lo-chi image in the vein of cultural memories is not unobvious. How can we discuss her attempt in *Walking Through Lo-chin* since Shih is an intellectual growing up in Lukang? How Shih, as a writer and an intellectual, intervenes the historiography of Lukang and even strengthens public's imagination of Lukang? If Shih is the right spokesman for Lukang, how she adopts her cultural and social capital to describe and construct "possible Lo-chin" in her narrative?

Keywords: Lukang, Lo-chin, Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis, Genius Loci, Glazed Tiles

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Introduction

My research is based on the two authors' similar concerns—how to preserve the cultural memories of Lukang. In 1976, the novelist Shih Shu-Ching published *liuliWa* (Glazed Tiles), which catches public attention to the importance of cultural heritage preservation. The well-known scholar and architect, Han Pao-Teh, even attempted to an open dialogue with Shih's work with his "Glazed Tiles and Soil Tiles: Discussing Local Art Preservation via Shih Shi-Ching's Glazed Tiles." In 1977, Han launched "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project and published *Lukang gufengmao zhi yanjiu* (The Study of the Ancient Fabric of Lukang). Han and Lin Hui-Cheng were the main researchers for Lukang's architecture, street and town. For the handcraft, Shih and Kuo Jen-Chang were the ones in charge. Via this project, Han attempted to drive Lukang's old street and town preservation in the way of urban planning. Such attempt provoked conflicts with local inhabitants, though. In 1983, Lin published *Qingmo Lukang jiezhen jeguo* (The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period). After 20 years, Shih published *Singguo Lo-chin* (Walking Through Lo-chin) (2003). "Lo-chin" is the name for the ancient Lukang. In this study, regarding to Shih and Lin's participations in "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project, I would like to focus on how a novelist and an architect "re-build" the narrative of space for Lukang in the Qing Dynasty. Besides, from both Shih and Lin's works, I would like to probe how the contemporary imagine the so-called "Cultural Memory (das kulturelle gedchtnis)" and "Spirit of Place (genius loci)" of Lukang in Qing.

I will focus on *Singguo Lo-chin* (Walking Through Lo-chin) and *Qingmo Lukang jiezhen jeguo* (The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period). How can we discuss Shih's attempt in Walking Through Lo-chin given that Shih is an intellectual growing up in Lukang? How Shih, as a writer and an intellectual, intervenes the historiography of Lukang and even strengthens the public imagination of Lukang? If Shih is the right spokesperson for Lukang, how she adopts her cultural and social prestige to describe and construct a "possible Lo-chin" in her narrative? And finally, with her observations, can we find some problems in our generation?

I will give this essay in three parts. The first part deals with the text structures between Shih Shu-Ching and Lin Hui-Cheng. The second part concerns the two concepts of Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci), and finally the last part is related to Cultural Imagination in the space of Culture and Education, Sacrifice and Economy. With these "memory texts," which I would call the above books in comparison, have constructed Lukang's Cultural Memory and Genius Loci in Qing Dynasty,

My principal concern is the larger problem behind this event—the issue of diaspora—that is, why should we look back to history? In our times, almost everyone may leave his hometown in his whole life, and go to the other places to find their jobs. These texts reflects a great anxiety about that people lose their roots. At the moment of leaving our hometown, it's hard to imagine that someday we will lose our hometown—to the extent that we have lost it in our memories.

Introduction: Analyzing *Walking Through Lo-Chin* and *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*

	Lin hui-cheng's <i>The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period</i>	Shih shu-ching's <i>Walking Through Lo-Chin</i>
Year	1983	2003
Identity	Architect	Novelist
Text type	History of architecture	New historical novel
Feature	Words and 35 plane graphs	Abundant text descriptions
Attitude towards the past	Comprehensive discussion on formation and history of lukang's settlement, relatively objective	Historical information selected by the writer to tailor, relatively subjective
Attitude towards the time	Relative time concept	Time concept of the relation
Relation with Lukang	Research object	Hometown
Relation with <i>Study on Lukang's Ancient Style</i> in 1977	<i>Study on Lukang's Ancient Style</i> (architecture, street and town) writer	<i>Study on Lukang's Ancient Style</i> (handicraft) Writer
Space type of Lukang	Discussion on absolute space is emphasized. The focus goes to study essential life organization and environment in the settlement.	Based on relational space, the interaction between the protagonist xu qing and people in lukang is described in the novel to present some life situation, let [people] walk into space and form [life space] of lukang in qing dynasty in her imagination.
Both of them have provided the lukang's construction of das kulturelle gedchtnis and genius loci in qing dynasty from modern people		

Lukang was a very important economic center in Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty, but it started to decline from the Japanese colonial period. What are the reasons for the Lukang falling into decay? Many Culture Workers have their own opinions, just like Shih Shu-Ching and Lin Hui-Cheng. Shih Shu-Ching's *Walking Through Lo-chin* and Lin Hui-Cheng's *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period* are extremely important texts for reviewing Lukang's history.

Both authors have different purposes of writing. The former is novel creation, while the latter is historical writing. However, both of them aim at helping later generations to reconstruct Lukang's Cultural memory and Spirit of place in Qing Dynasty. With the table 1, we can compare and understand the differences of their writing.. Shih Shu-Ching's novel was published in 2003, and Lin Hui-Cheng's work published in 1983. Shih is a novelist, and Lin is a architect. They have different attitudes towards the past. In *Walking through Lo-chin*, Shih selected the historical information she wants to create this novel, which proves a relatively subjective text. So we can see the *Walking Through Lo-chin* is historical information selected by the writer to tailor and relatively subjective. In *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*, the architect gives us a comprehensive discussion on formation and history of Lukang's settlement in this region, so that his book is relatively objective. Both authors, as I've mentioned, participated in the "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project and published *Lukang gufengmao zhi yanjiu (The Study of the Ancient Fabric of Lukang)*.

With the similar concern regarding the history of Lukang, the main difference between the "objective" and the "subjective" texts is the focus on "absolute" or "relational space." David Harvey said: "Absolute space is fixed and we record or plan events within its frame. This is the space of Newton and Descartes and it is usually represented as a pre-existing and immovable grid amenable to standardized measurement and open to calculation. " (p94) In Lin's work, he try to represent the 'Absolute space'. In his writing, Lukang as a river port settlement, he emphasized that physical space, and focus on essential life organization and environment.

And what's relational space mean? qoted from David Harvey : "the relational view of space holds there is no such thing as space or time outside of the processes that define them..... Processes do not occur in space but define their own spatial frame. The concept of space is embedded in or internal to process. " (p96)

In Shih Shu-Ching's writing, the author focused on the "process," or the interaction between the protagonist Xu Qing (許情) and people who lived in Lukang, which is described in the novel to present everyday life situations. Without understanding the everyday life of the commoners and how these dwellers "relate" with the town "space," it would be difficult to gain a full view of Lukang in Qing Dynasty.

Both of the authors constructed their imaginations for Lukang in Qing Dynasty. In this essay, I would like to discuss how two different areas of intellectual property to examine Lukang's space cultural imagination in following directions—culture and education, sacrifice, as well as economy. This essay reviews the concepts of Jan Assmann's Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Norberg-Schulz' Spirit of Place (genius loci) to analyze Shih Shu-Ching's *Walking Through Lo-Chin* and Li Hui-Cheng's *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*. With the help of their texts, my essay hopes to propose what kind of the problems in our generation.

Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci): “possible Lo-chin”

The concept of Cultural Memory is introduced by Jan Assmann and his wife Aleida Assmann. They define cultural memory as the "outer dimension of human memory". Jan Assman said "This book deals with the connection between these three themes of memory (or reference to the past), identity (or political imagination), and cultural continuity(or the formation of tradition). Every culture formulates something that might be called a connective structure. It has a binding effect that works on two levels - social and temporal. It binds people together by providing a 'symbolic universe' (Berger and Luckmann)-a common area of experience, expectation, and action whose connecting force provides them with trust and with orientation.....Both the normative and the narrative elements of these -mixing instruction with storytelling create a basis of belonging, of identity, so that the individual can then talk of "we." What binds him to this plural is the connective structure of common knowledge and characteristics - first through adherence to the same laws and values, and second through the memory of a shared past. "

Cultural memory is no less than a traditional custom. When Jan Assmann regard "memory" as "culture" or Cultural Memory, the concept also contained the concept of "tradition", but it emphasized that cultural accumulation is not merely a constantly continuous developed process.

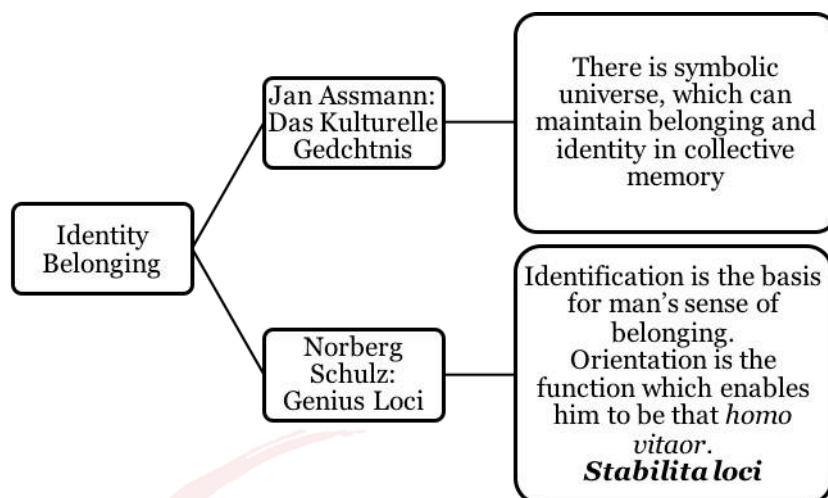
Instead, cultural memory means that we need time to "connect with" the past. In this ongoing process, cultural accumulation also involves the long-drawn "forgetting" and "repression". As time goes by, some familiar "traditions" are handed over or are repressed and recovered by multiple factors, including the force of social economy. However, cultural memory not only is the accumulations of all kinds of historical events, but also contains a great number of emotional factors and consciousness of humans, restrains contemporary "us" to contact with the past. "Continuity" and "continuing writing" are features of cultural memory, which has been implemented on multiple texts, including literature, art, and history as varied types of cultural heritage.

Norberg-Schulz considered architectures the visual carriers "being-in-the-world" by using a phenomenological approach to architecture. The Genius Loci, which means "Spirit of Place," was derived from the inspiration in Animism of Romans. That is to say, Universe has guardian spirit and The life area must compromise to gods from ancient time. Nowadays, it is significant for us to take the perception of commoners who live in the space into consideration. Norberg indicated that the most important peculiarity of space is "orientation", a concept stretching out identity and belonging. Moreover, local cultural features are also determined by Genius Loci.

Obviously, both scholars had their different theoretical cores to be emphasized. Whilst cultural memory emphasizes the cultural accumulations, Genius Loci emphasizes on orientation and settlement. In the light of the two concepts, such a dimension reflects on the inter-relation between space and humans. A space shall be combined with cultural memory of its inhabitants—in other words, it is impossible for cultural memory to exist outside space. Cultural memory, in this sense, can

“happen” in alternative occasions but still needs a real or even symbolic place for its “occurrence”.

Cultural Imagination in the space of Culture and Education, Sacrifice and Economy



This part proposes that there is an interesting intersection between cultural memory and Genius Loci, namely the association between space and belonging/identity. Jan Assmann pointed out that every culture forms a kind of “coherence structure” in universal meaning to construct the space, which can gather common experience and expects to behave with it, so as to generate “symbolic system” for people to connect and restrain in the same community. The “symbolic system” is also the important basis to maintain “belonging” and “identity”, so that people can identify and connect with the community¹. Actually, the concept explores how to form culture on the basis of Jan Assmann’s Collective Memory.

How can different culture imagine and construct its own self-presentation? Norberg-Schulz also used his term “Loci” to talk about the generation of belonging and identity by virtue of “stable spirit”². As quoted above, one’s existence—which deals with direction and belonging—and identity constitutes the core spirit of loci. Jan Assmann thought that there must be a set of circumspect symbol system—symbolic system behind identity to loci and place. How to stabilize symbolic system? The answer found from Norberg-Schulz is the “stable spirit”.

	Culture and Education	Sacrifice	Economy
Characteristics of the Space	It can be divided into a place gathered by scholars and a place occurred literature anecdotes	It is related to religious belief of residents and has specific sacrifice paths	It refers to the contacts between various business places and economic groups
The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period	To regenerate physical space, to divide 10 life circles, to make it become figurization, to try to restore objective history and to distinguish from three kinds of spaces		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Less formation of ink culture, how to interact with space. ➤ Lukang was the natural settlement, so it had some advantages, including insufficiently direct actions, too dense roads, and poor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Temples were important public construction and also were representative landmarks in Taiwan at early stage. ➤ Lukang had four important sacrifice activities: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ River harbor drove the economic development. Lukang has always maintained traditional commercial type of Chinese businessmen and formed a long-type settlement in space.

¹ Written by Jan Assmann, translated by Jin Fu-Shou and Huang Xiao-Chen, *Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis: Characters, Memory and Political Status in Advanced Culture at Early Stage*(Peking: Peking University Press, 2015), pp. 4-17;

² Loci structure is not a fixed and permanent state. Generally speaking, Loci will be changed. Sometimes, such a change is extremely fierce. However, it doesn’t mean Genius Loci will be changed or lost...The precondition of forming loci refers to keep its identity within a period. “Stable spirit” is a necessary condition of human life. “identity and direction are main opinions of humans “being-in-the-world, thus identity is the foundation of belonging. The function of direction makes people become a natural part of homo vitor. The feature of modern people is to act as an arrogant vagrant for a long time. He wants to live with unconstraint or event wants to conquer the world. Now we start to realize that the real freedom must be based on the belonging. “Settlement” is a specific place”, written by Christian Norberg-Schulz and translated by Shih Zhi-Min, *Genius Loci, Towards Phenomenon of Architecture* (Taipei: Rural Urban Cultural Undertakings Co., Ltd, 1995), pp. 18, 22;

	direction. However, these factors also have caused environmental enjoyment and ancient and simple peculiarity. ➤ The representative position was Wufu Street.	1. Purdue (普渡) in July 2. Investigation in secret (暗訪) 3. King of the inferno (地藏王跳乩) 4. Jian-Jiao (建醮, Taoist sacrificial ceremony)	➤ Representative places: Quanzhou Street (泉州街, Rimaoxing), Lukang Docklands, and Xingan Temple.
Walking Through Lo-chin	<i>With relation space and the subject of the story, space is the background for humans and things. All of these connected together closely.</i>		
	➤ Love stories were combined with ladies-in-waiting room. (青樓空間, Ancient Chinese Whorehouse). ➤ The specific location referred to Houche Ln (後車巷) of Lukang.	➤ Purdue song in July ➤ With the status of outsider, Davy Jones spirit stretched by dangerous flow of water was treated. ➤ Ladies-in-waiting was gorgeously dressed to perform Mulian Saved His Mother as Purdue in July.	➤ It has a close relation with religion. Goddess Matsu (媽祖) was also the “Kau of God (郊神) --Priest of god for businessmen in Lo-chin. ➤ The mutual competition between business and business extended by ladies-in-waiting.
In Walking Through Lo-chin and The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period, they have discussed culture and education, sacrifice and economy to construct “symbolic system” of Lukang in Qing Dynasty, a special ladies-in-waiting room in Lukang, Purdue ceremony in July, and Chinese Businessmen and to construct Lukang’s Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis and Genius Loci.			

Interestingly, when we read *zhu-zhi-ci* (竹枝詞, ancient folk songs with love as their main theme; occasional poems in the classical style devoted to local topics) in Lukang in Qing Dynasty, it often described the romances between gifted scholars and attractive women. About regeneration of space narration, the ladies-in-waiting room and House of Opium located in the narrow street, Walking Through Lo-chin regards them as important areas to break and recreate new power structure. However, the Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period avoids talking about the life relations between the whorehouse, merchants and commoners, and also neglected possibility for the whorehouse to create popular style of writings. This differed from the brothel of commoners’ home. At earlier stage, it was an important commercial place for business contacts. The importance of Lukang’s economy was transferred from materials to human bodily life. Luxury leads to sex, except for merchant contacts, the “whorehouse” is the cultural heterogeneous space developed by refined scholars and famous prostitutes. It has provided lots of literature creative themes since from ancient times, but it was also easier to be neglected in formal historical data.

Conclusion

No matter it is the architectural scholar Han Pao-teh's Study on Lukang's *Ancient Style and the Study on Lukang's Save Area of Ancient Style*, or Lin Hui-Cheng's *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*, or Shih Shu-Ching's *Glazed Tile and Walking Through Lo-chin*, all of those texts have recorded and created imaginary Lukang's space narration in Qing Dynasty in modern times. At that time, people liked to go to the opera and joined the art or liberty cult. In a full of one month in a year, commoners devoted themselves worshipping for spirits. These life details of commoners are left without being recorded in material space conservation. However, it is in literature, such as novels, that the construction of cultural memory provides an imaginary clue. *Walking Through Lo-chin* emphasized on describing relational space. By virtue of virtual affairs in ladies-in-waiting, it accused that every times had the seamy side. It seemed that yearbook settlement was listed clearly, but it lost warm memory in the past. This was the reason for using novel "imagination" to make for the insufficiency of history. *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period* recorded the dissimilarities between Lukang and other towns in Taiwan by regenerating physical space. For example, it was the river-harbor settlement(hanging open seas alone) without walls. Meanwhile, it was a settlement formed naturally and had no entire planning. There were distribution units, including villages, banding and U-type housing blocks, resulting in space waste and public repetition.

In the texts of Shih Shu-Ching and Lin Hui-Cheng, it can be observed that since *the Study on Lukang's Ancient Landscape* in 1977 and until *Walking Through Lo-chin* submitted for publication in 2003, the "diaspora" issue behind the entire event is going to be universal and necessary. Lin Hui-Cheng used a lots of specific figure mapping and range definition to represent the imagination of architects for old space. Lukang is Shi Shu-Ching's hometown; when she wrote the story about Lukang, it's hard to avoid lacing with nostalgia. But through a comprehensive range of historical reading, identity is the most important thing—where am I from? And where am I going? With the fast speed of globalization phenomenon, the landscape of Old Street tends to be consistent. Our identities rely explicitly on active processes of identification, so construction of cultural memory is not just a descriptive account , but also a normative account. In the times of diaspora, settlement in somewhere forever has already become a tough task, and mobility becomes a normal state. It is difficult for people to stay somewhere forever. How can we face the the truth is our hometown was vanished so quickly? Even if writers and historians record our hometown with characters and pictures, does anxiety ever entirely go away? It is hard to draw a conclusion. Obviously, it is a more complicated problem about emotion. Just like Norberg-Schulz said "human identity presupposes the identity of place."(p22). Since that Heidegger said "being thrown into the world", we finally will encounter with the real homelessness, if there is no "symbolic system" formed by cultural memory and contains hometown imagination in it. Those texts tell us, we need more actively to think about the problem of diaspora.

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***Breaking the Fourth Wall in K-Pop: Voyeurism and Talking About
Reverse Panopticons***

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Abstract

Objectification is common in the media and entertainment industry; if you're in the limelight, there is no way to escape objectification, irrelevant of gender. While prevalent in both Western and Eastern entertainment industries, this objectification borders on voyeurism when it comes to the Korean entertainment industry, mainly the music sector. Artists, particularly "idol" musicians live in a fishbowl environment, a reverse panopticon of sorts where every gaze is on them and their actions are scrutinised step by step, both internally by their agencies, and externally by the paparazzi and further still by their fans. This essay looks at this panopticism present in the K-pop industry, where idols are constantly under surveillance, and how they cope with the lifestyle of living in a reverse or inverse panopticon. The focus of this paper is from the other side, where artists break the fourth wall using their songs, and consequently music videos to talk about the voyeurism and objectification they face. Using three music videos, Xia Junsu's "Tarantallegra" (2012), G-Dragon's "Who You?" (2013) and FT-ISLAND's "Pray" (2015) as points of focus, this paper analyses and examines the varying degrees of voyeurism faced by idols as they live in a panopticon society.

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Introduction

The public life is one of constant scrutiny and surveillance. To paraphrase a quote that Arjun Appadurai once wrote as a reference to books, “a rolling celebrity gathers a lot of moss, in the form of fans, critics, media and their gaze”. And when we talk about gaze, we cannot leave out objectification, which whether intentional or incidental, is very much an aspect of gaze. Whether done by critics, fans, or the media, gaze ends up becoming a means of subjection by objectification when trained on a public figure, a notion that is prevalent in both the Western and Eastern media cultures, regardless of gender.

Gaze is unavoidable if you operate in a media society, particularly in the case of celebrities who live in the public eye. But when gaze lingers, it can traverse into a form of voyeurism: one that does not necessarily seek to be sexually exploitative (as voyeurism is usually defined to be) but rather one that assumes an omnipresent aspect. This is the form of objectification or voyeurism found in the South Korean music industry, home of K-Pop. That is not to say that artists are not seen in a sexual manner. A lot of the girl groups in the industry have strong sexualised elements in their concepts, choreography and music videos. A similar case can be made for male groups too, where artists are given charismatic and macho or soft masculinity concepts. But this aspect of the topic is one that I shall not be delving into much in this paper, since it requires in-depth analysis of its own.

To return to the topic at hand, the idea of voyeurism has been depicted rather interestingly in K-Pop, so this is a topic that deserves to be explored properly. Firstly, it is to be noted that the Korean entertainment industry is a highly monitored one. It is controlled tightly by the agencies and music labels on the inside and the paparazzi and media on the outside. Thus, no one is really out of surveillance. This can cause it to be labelled a panopticon society, but one in reverse, where the gaze of many is focused on one or some.

This essay will be looking at the flipside of the coin: the portrayal of voyeurism and panopticism as explored by music artists themselves in their various music videos. This idea of breaking the fourth wall to talk about prevalent situations first came to me when Xia Junsu released his song ‘Tarantallegra’ in 2012. It was successively followed up by G-Dragon’s ‘Who You’ (2013) and then recently by FTISLAND’s ‘Pray’ (2015). As more and more artists get involved with the portrayal of objectification and voyeurism and this breaking of the fourth wall, it is important to analyse the movement. I am sure, if I were to go further back, I would be able to find more music videos and songs that depict these themes. However, as they have been produced in the last five years, these three videos work perfectly well to portray the current situation in the K-pop industry, and so they shall be my primary focus.

Panopticon and Reverse Panopticon in the Media Society

To understand how the society we live in today resembles a reverse panopticon, we need to first understand the concept of the panopticon itself. The idea of the panopticon was originally put forth by Jeremy Bentham in a series of letters he sent to a friend in England in 1787, “containing the idea of a new principle of construction

applicable to any sort of establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection". This word, "inspection", is one we shall return to in a bit. The construction itself is a circular architectural structure where there is one central tower that's surrounded by rooms/cells at the periphery. The peripheral rooms have two windows, one outside and one on the inside, while the central tower has a complete 360 degree view courtesy of its windows that open up to the inner ring. The guard or supervisor at the central tower can view the prisoners all the time since he can see all the cells from his room. The light from the outside allows the silhouette of the room's occupants to be visible even if the person isn't. Given this, the prisoners in turn feel like they are being watched all the time, even if they aren't, and as a result pay attention to their actions and "behave".

This idea of the panopticon was later expanded by French philosopher Michel Foucault who applied it to modern society as a means of discipline and control. In his book, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault talks about the theory of panopticism, where he discusses Bentham's Panopticon at length and talks about its application as a "compact model of the disciplinary mechanism" (1977, p 195). He argues that, "visibility is a trap", a notion I shall be returning to further below, and one that reinforces the idea of inspection that Bentham had included in his description of the panopticon. Foucault further discusses panopticism again in his book *Power/Knowledge* (1980), where he has a dialogue with Jean-Pierre Barou and Michelle Perrot. The ending of that discussion focusses on the power of the media and the application of panopticism in a media society. Media, Foucault posits, has the power to turn and shift opinion, and thereby it can cause revolts against the "gaze" if needed, which was a point that Bentham had not taken into account when he proposed the plan. Does that mean that the Panopticon and its power mechanisms cease to exist in a media society? Not really, as Foucault and Perrot discusses at the end of the chapter "The Eye of Power", "Bentham doesn't merely formulate the project of a utopian society, he also describes a society that actually exists...he describes, in the utopian form of a general system, particular mechanisms which really exists." Ergo, we can argue that it's only the "architectural" structure that changes because Bentham's Panopticon describes a society that really exists in contemporary time: the omnipresent gaze is very much a built-in feature of the current media society we live in.

Coming forward further to contemporary times, in media societies such as the ones we live in today which are highly digitalised, panopticism can be seen to work in a slightly different way. Yes, we are under constant scrutiny of the gaze, but it isn't a singular gaze upon many but rather many innumerable gazes. So instead of the one-to-many scenario of the panopticon, it's a reverse panopticon of many-to-one, and going deeper still of many-to-many. Bentham's idea of the panopticon was for "inspection". He equated the concept of inspection with control; he who inspects has control. That idea of inspection still exists in a reverse panopticon, though it is now through many gazes. But the idea of control is different. I think an example using social media works best here to illustrate this. Social media sites such as Twitter have a timeline where the tweets of everyone you "follow" updates in a continuous loop. Likewise, anyone who follows you can see what you post or tweet. Both the "follower" and the "followed" takes turn watching each other so to speak, and in a network of millions of users, many eyes follow many others, and vice versa. But in all this, there is also the question of power and control. In a normal panopticon, the

watchman has all the power, but here the surveillance is split up into multiples, and on top of that you are inviting the gaze upon yourself. So, who has the power and control? I hope to address this question when I'm discussing the videos in a subsequent section.

This brings us to the scenario in focus: the K-pop industry, whose landscape poses an interesting view. Referring back to Foucault's statement, "visibility is a trap", we can see this being played out to excruciating detail in the lives of the celebrities in the industry. The idols and artists who form the talent of the industry are **always** watched and have to live their lives under surveillance by agencies, fans and paparazzi. This attention is actually more voyeuristic than mere objectification. Having objectifying comments is an unfortunate reality of celebrity. But having your private life under microscopic scrutiny as well is another affair altogether. To cite a few examples of how voyeuristic the lives of idols are in the Korean entertainment industry, a recent article came out that revealed pictures that netizens had dug up of Song Joong-ki (a popular actor) and his ex-girlfriend from before he entered the industry. Song Joong-ki later mentioned in an interview how uncomfortable this was for him and for his non-celebrity ex. Another example can be found in the "dating scandals" as they are called. The media is deeply interested in this and paparazzi routinely try to expose dating news between celebrities, following them everywhere doggedly. They are perhaps only surpassed by the obsessive behaviour of fans where they routinely stake out homes of popular artists, as well as their agencies' offices. In fact, the derogatory term, "sasaeng" has been given to fans who go beyond the normal boundaries of being fans and take on the behavioural patterns of stalkers. Agencies have gone so far as to sometimes take out lawsuits against them to protect idols' privacies. The more popular the idols or groups, the higher the levels of voyeurism they face, such that private matters like dating, having meals with friends and even passport pictures have been leaked online.

These examples only tell about fans keeping a constant gaze on their objects of admiration (the idols), and also reveal how penetrating the gaze of the media is in keeping tabs on the movements of celebrities. But scrutiny is not limited to only them; idols actually deal with a trifecta of gazes daily. The last side of this triangle being the agencies artists belong to. A defining characteristic of the Korean music industry is the fact that it is known for grooming and training idols from scratch. It has often been called a "star factory", where the idols are "manufactured" under agencies that train kids from a young age, preparing them in all the aspects of being a star, from basics such as vocal and dance training to instructing them on clothing and mannerisms. Under contract with these agencies, artists spend a majority of their lives under their control and surveillance until they are deemed old enough, popular enough or rich enough to have a say in the decisions about their careers.

While this level of scrutiny is nothing new, in recent times though, K-Pop artists are seen breaking the fourth wall with their songs and music videos to talk about the situation and show the level of the gaze they face. In the three music videos I have chosen for the purpose, each reveals a different type of gaze, which will become clear once I discuss the videos themselves.

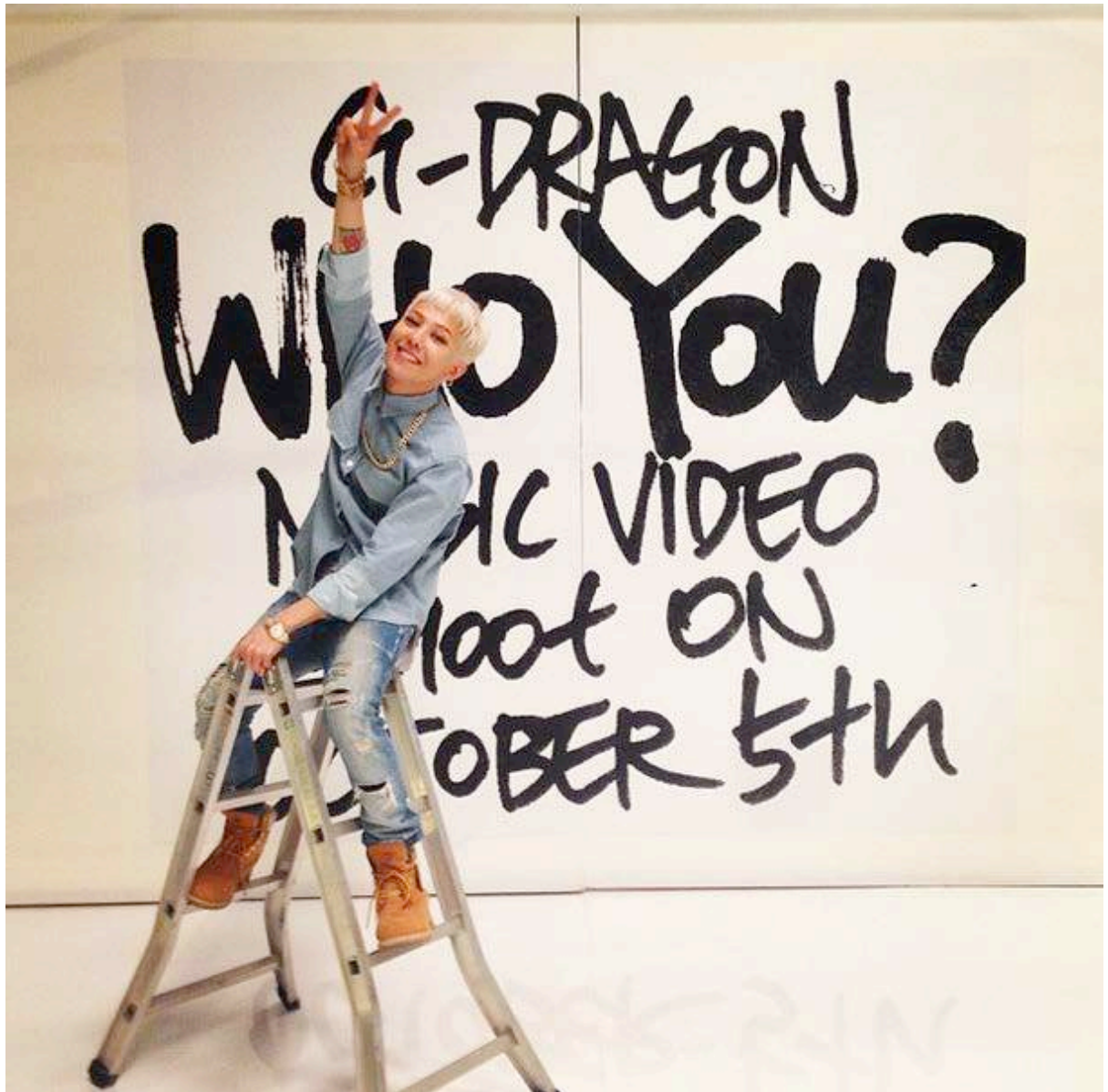
Breaking the Fourth Wall: Discussing Voyeurism and Reverse Panopticons through ‘Tarantallegra’, ‘Who You?’, and ‘Pray’

The music videos I have selected for my focus each have underlying themes and motifs they talk about, and the ideas they convey, which fans have actually analysed and dissected in their blogs, but I shall mainly be looking at the references to panopticism they contain. Before that, let’s take a cursory glance at each music video separately, since each song falls in a different genre musically and the music videos reflect that. First off, Xia Junsu’s ‘Tarantallegra’ is a highly artistic and theatrical creation, brimming with themes, symbols and images. Given Junsu’s theatre and musical background, this is not surprising, however the portrayal of his subject matter is done in a more subtle and symbolic way through the concepts and images used in the video. Unlike the other two videos, ‘Tarantallegra’ does not broach the subject of voyeurism explicitly. Rather this is weaved narratively into the MV’s concept, and is introduced in the latter half of the video, when Junsu enters the room with the sofa (images below). The idea of being constantly under scrutiny is conveyed by the video cameras following him in the chambers as he stalks around the area. His every move is monitored and recorded, but then in a reversal, he takes the camera from one of the dancers and points it at them, in turn recording their moves. This subversion of positions is curious in itself for the different elements it plays with: directing public scrutiny onto itself; transforming the watcher into the watched; and finally, keeping the audience aware of this change. It’s an interesting thought of subversion, where the watcher becomes the watched and yet at the same time remains the watcher.



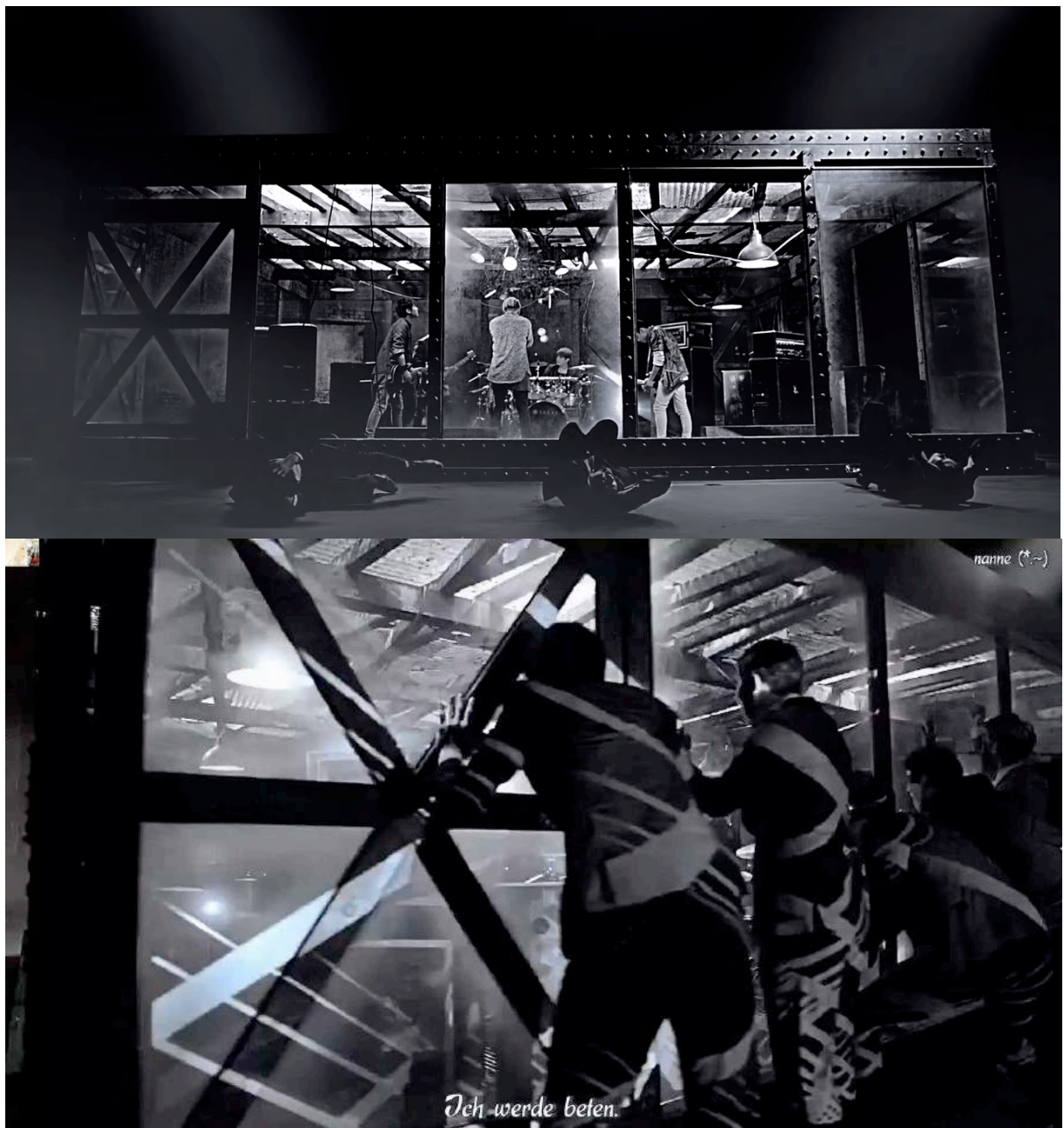


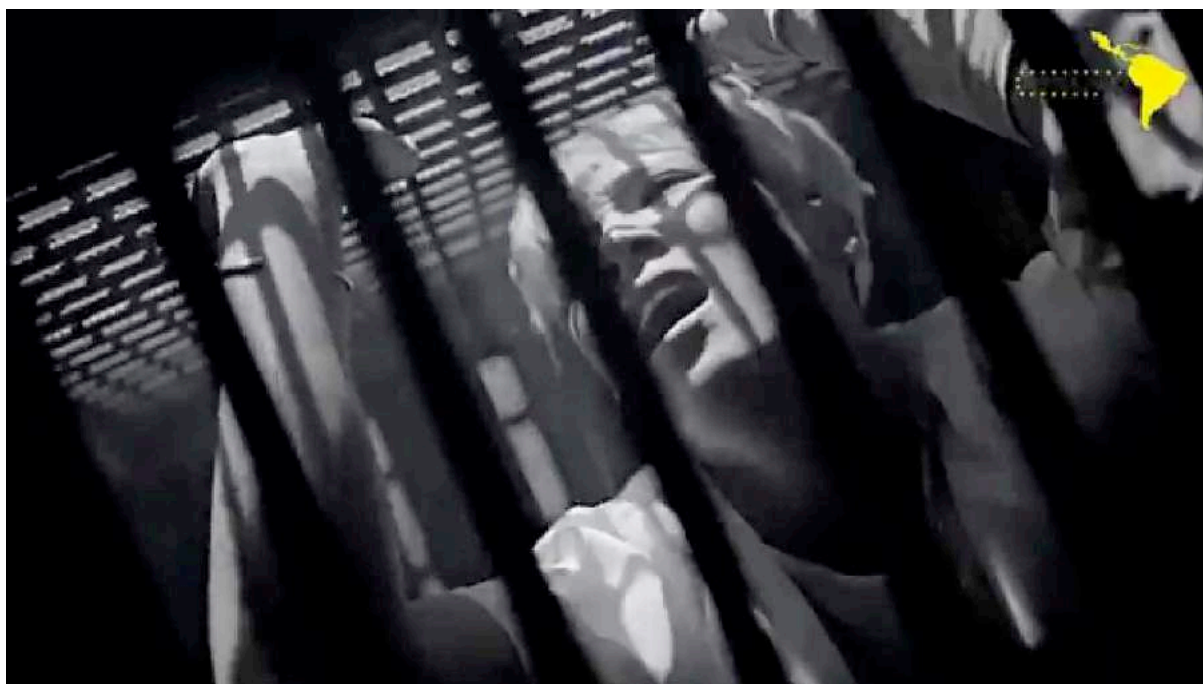
In 'Who You?' the approach is rather different. The music video is shot with the artist G-Dragon performing inside a glass house surrounded on all sides by an audience comprising of his fans. One thousand fans were asked to attend the shooting for the MV with their phones and cameras and participated in the recording by sharing the footage with the crew. G-Dragon entered the warehouse and stayed inside a glass house for the song, lounging around and just playing by himself, interacting with the crowd watching him when he felt like it, taking their pictures in return before finally entering in his car and zooming off. At the end of the video, the credits roll, acknowledging and thanking all the fans who participated in the event.





In the final music video, 'Pray', FTISLAND is similarly contained inside a glass box, with the difference being that G-Dragon willingly put himself in his glass house and FTISLAND are placed there against their will, as we are made to believe since the members are seen struggling to get out. They are watched by men in suits with painted faces who jeer and leer at them. They are also seen trapped inside gridded cages and in scenes interspersed within the shots of the group performing in the box, we see the boys trying to get free from the gridded boxes that trap them. Finally, the glass box they are in is shattered when main vocal Lee Hongki throws a chair and breaks the glass.





While each of these music videos chose to portray the theme of surveillance and voyeurism, each introduces us to different type of gaze existing in the Korean music industry. Looking at how they portray the gaze, we can infer that G-Dragon's 'Who You?' looks directly at the fans, FTISLAND's 'Pray' looks at agencies, and 'Tarantallegra' shows the constant eye of the media. Starting with the latter, in 'Tarantallegra', while we can gather that the subject in reference is the media (the back dancers are seen following Xia Junsu with cameras in the distinct style of paparazzi), the idea is to also keep the audience as a participatory element. Near the climax of the music video, after being followed by cameras constantly, Junsu takes one camera from a dancer's hands and turns it on them, recording them. Furthermore Junsu is perfectly aware of what he is doing since he interacts directly with those filming him and keeps his gaze locked to the cameras in a very "in your face" manner. This depiction in the video shows awareness about the contemporary media society where the gaze is constant and omnipresent: every movement Junsu makes is tracked, and he notes it. The role of the watcher and the watched goes back and forth several times here. The dancers are being recorded by Junsu who is in his turn being recorded, and all this is being watched by the external audience who's outside the screen. This can be related to the layers of panopticism we have present in the contemporary media society. For example, as in the case of Twitter: we follow people who follow us in return and at the same time we can also view public timelines too without personally following them. Furthermore, the song's lyrics keeps asking repeatedly "what music will you listen to?" and broaches the subject of being controlled externally.

In 'Who You?' the matter is clearer when we look for the heart of G-Dragon's message: it's the fans who are the focal point. First off, G-Dragon invited them to the shooting of the music video himself and then he uses their active participation in his performance. He directly interacts with them, and some of the footage from the video itself is gathered from the videos of the fans. This is interesting because it reveals something necessary about the gaze that artists face: sometimes the attention is perpetuated by the artists themselves. G-Dragon is there in his glasshouse willingly: he put himself out there to be gazed at and he utilises this to improve his performance

and quench the curiosity fans have about the lives of idols. The use of a glasshouse is particularly a good addition because it reveals how close fans come to the personal lives of artists, a house carrying the meaning of privacy and security it does, but one which has often been invaded by *sasaengs*. Yet, G-Dragon only plays/interacts with his fans as much as he wants. When he (and the song) is done, he drives off. This reveals the level of control he exercises over his actions. Once again, using the example of Twitter, you only tweet what you want to tweet, and the public is privy only to this information. Control can be retained on the part of both parties, since you can also choose to ignore information.

Lastly, we have FTISLAND's 'Pray'. The music video is dark: from the setting, to the colours, to the theme. Along with images of the band being locked up in individual grilled cages, they are also seen performing in a glass box. In addition to that, they are surrounded by men wearing formal corporate and business attires and wearing masks to hide their faces. Throughout the video, these men are seen constantly watching, jeering, and pawing at the glass box. Given the depiction, it is quite easy to imagine what is being inferred in the video: the omnipresence of the agencies. Agencies exercise an astonishing amount of control over the lives of K-Pop artists. In all honesty, though it might sound rather brutal, they can be called puppeteers since they are in charge of pretty much all aspects of an idol's life: from training and grooming, to music production and performance, to media handling. Until idols artists can breakeven with the amount of money invested in them by agencies, they usually follow every order and whim of their management and are treated like products. High-end products but nonetheless commodified.

This brings us back to the objectification of artists in the K-Pop industry. It is quite evident from the way these themes are depicted in the videos that artists do understand the level of objectification and commodification they go through. It should also be noted that each video depicted the gaze of numerous watchers upon one person. Nonetheless, it is also obvious that each artist also tries to retain and regain back some control over their movements and actions. In G-Dragon's case, he puts himself out there, in some ways at the mercy of his fans, in other ways he only reveals as much as he wants. Junsu on the other hand, turns the tables around on the "watchman/guard" and gives them a glimpse of the constant scrutiny that depicts an idol's public life. FTISLAND's case is the most aggressive of the three: the shattering of the glass and literal "breaking free" from the cages signifies a shift in control from the agencies to the artists. Coincidentally and amusingly enough, the album 'Pray' belongs to was the first one that was produced and composed by the members of the band without agency interference. So, does this mean that the objectification of artists and the voyeuristic nature of the industry will shift and change overnight? Probabilities are low, but it does show that artists are very aware of the kinds of gazes they face and the level. And if they can start speaking out about it, then they can find some way to regain control of their own freedom.

Conclusion

As time goes on, more and more artists are daring to speak out and up about the situation in the K-Pop industry. Yes, it is a given fact that artists are objectified and sold as idols for the public. The industry runs on this revenue. Agencies create images for their idols that they must sell. Fans participate in this auction both as a consumer

and as a seller. In the middle are the artists themselves, who at once both propagate this consumerist society and make their living off it, and consequently are caught up in all the cons it presents.

I started this paper with the question of control. Who has power and control in a reverse panopticon such as that of the K-Pop industry? Is it the watchers or the celebrities? In my analysis, I came to the conclusion that control can be retained by both; it is a matter of push and pull. While artists face a constant gaze in their lives, they are well-aware of it and also invite the gaze in a bid to equalise and lower the curiosity and through that regain some control over their lives. Now the question can arise, that if the industry is as highly controlled as it seems, then are these artists really speaking up or out for themselves, or is all this merely another ruse or illusion created by the agencies? To answer that question is quite difficult, however once idols become seniors artists in the industry, they have more “freedom” of movement than rookies, and more creative input into the making of their art. For example, all the three musicians I have focused on write their own lyrics and music and partake in the production of their albums as well as in the creation of their music videos. In fact, as I have pointed out, in the case of G-Dragon’s ‘Who You?’ the fans had come at G-Dragon’s request to participate in the shooting of the music video. There is also the fact that time and again, artists have spoken up against *sasaengs* and the pressures they face when under constant scrutiny by them. Furthermore, in recent days artists are coming out with more and more creative material which reflects their ideas, world view and social awareness. Given all that, I think it is somewhat safe to make the assumption that artists are speaking up and shedding light on the pre-existing situations, even if through fourth wall breaks.

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Immigration, Identity and Mobility in Europe: Inclusive Cultural Policies and Exclusion Effects

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Abstract

The European cultural policy programs, such as ECC (European Capitals of Culture), seek to develop new forms of civic cohesion through inclusive and participative cultural events. The cultural assets of a city elected "ECC" are mobilized to attract a wide range of new audiences, including populations poorly integrated into local cultural life – and consequently distant from pre-existing cultural offers. In the current context of increasingly heterogeneous individual perceptions of Europe, the ECC program aims to promote cultural forms and institutions that should accelerate both territorial and cross-border European cohesion. The new cultural consumption pattern is conceived to stimulate integration and mobility, but also to create a legitimate and transnational ideal European citizen type. However, cultural struggles and identity conflicts that are emerging in contemporary Europe, especially in the context of increasing immigration issues, raise new challenges for European cultural policies to cope with inclusion and integration with populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

Our comparative research confronts contrasting cases of "European Capitals of Culture" from the south and from the north of Europe, cities recently concerned by the ECC political mechanism and cities that were elected ECC in the past, multi-centered cultural models vs. highly centralized cultural models. We aim to explore the impacts of European policies on the urban cultural geography, but also to understand the current obstacles for their efficient implementation on everyday experiences.

Keywords: Cultural Policies, Immigration, Cultural Institutions, Europe, European Capitals of Culture

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1. The exclusion paradox of inclusive policies

Since the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the European Community has enhanced its competence in the field of culture. The use of culture as an economic tool has become a central concern in contemporary European political thought, promoting the impact of inclusive cultural policies to strengthen European regional and municipal cohesion and mobility. This New Political Culture is primarily based on the creative potential of urban renewal to generate new cultural scenes promoting more “participative” and “multicultural” experiences for EU citizens.

Historically associated with melting pots of cultures and traditions, European cities appear as training grounds for local policies that aim to foster the successful inclusion and participation of EU citizens. Coping with strongly heterogeneous and multicultural contexts, European regions endorse inclusive cultural policies depending on their own local and regional cultural contexts. In July 2010, the European Commission published a work document¹ that considers the implementation of inclusive cultural tools and infrastructures as part of regional socio-economic development. This document refers to various national and regional support measures for national heritage industries, such as the theater production and the audio-visual sector, and recommends engaging a mapping approach of the EU cultural and inclusive policies, to identify the diverse areas that require further progress.

With the aim of promoting a better understanding of the common cultural heritage and bringing closer together European citizens, several political programs were created and applied to territories that needed top-down political intervention for raising their international profiles. For instance, the “European Capitals of Culture” program (ECC), which was created in 1985 by the European Union Council of Ministers and focused initially on major big cities (Paris ECC-1989, Madrid ECC-1992, Stockholm ECC-1998), has changed the rules and criteria of attribution of this status in favor of smaller, cross-border or economically fragile agglomerations (Marseille ECC-2013, Umeå ECC-2014, San-Sebastian ECC-2016).

The new cultural consumption pattern is conceived to stimulate integration and mobility, but also to create a legitimate and transnational ideal European citizen type. Inclusion is conceived as an equal participation of all citizens, both nationals and foreign nationals, without considering foreigners as a separate group, in all sectors and in all aspects of city life. However, cultural struggles and identity conflicts that are emerging in contemporary Europe, especially in the context of increasing immigration issues, raise new challenges for European cultural policies to cope with inclusion and integration with populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

2. Analyzing cultural struggles in European cities with contrasting profiles

Focusing on European cities and regions that were elected "European Capitals of

¹ The European Agenda for Culture – progress towards shared goals. Accompanying document to the Commission Report to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of the European agenda for culture, SEC(2010)904, 19 July 2010, 3.

Culture" (ECC), our CURRICULA² research project seeks to understand obstacles for the integration of populations poorly integrated into local cultural life. The work program topic of this research focuses on cultural dynamics in different European regions with highly contrasting historical and cultural profiles. By comparing different "European Capitals of Culture", we aim to explore how immersive cultural institutions, historically rooted and implemented in a territory, are called upon to renew their perimeter while redefining their relationships with audiences.

By examining the reorganization and renewal of cultural institutions in the "European Capitals of Culture", the CURRICULA research project focuses on relationships between European inclusive cultural policies, the immersive cultural institutions (theaters, museums, operas, etc.) and European mobility issues, all closely related to immigration and cultural identity concerns.

By varying the contexts, sizes, politics, and cultural histories of cities elected ECC, the analysis includes cases of cities recently concerned by the "European Capitals of Culture" program, such as Marseille (ECC-2013), Umeå (ECC-2014), Wrocław (ECC-2016), to their counterparts who were elected ECC in the past (Genoa (ECC-2004), Bologna (ECC -2000). From this framework, we aim to explore the implementing and anchoring processes of European dynamics at the local level, but also to understand how the ECC political mechanism integrates the collective memory of targeted populations. Finally, our project focuses on heterogeneous immersive cultural institutions (operas, theaters, museums) that are analyzed and compared according to the criteria of their impact on inclusion of populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

The table below shows the crossovers between chronological dimensions (former "ECCs" vs. current "ECCs"), the geographical positions (northern cities vs. southern cities), and the politico-administrative orders (centralized countries vs. de-centralized countries) that differentiate the cases of each selected city (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 - Crossovers between four European cities with contrasting profiles

	Current ECC	Former ECC
Northern Capitals	Umeå (2014) (Sweden – centralized country)	Wrocław (2016) (Poland – de-centralized country)
Southern Capitals	Marseille (2013) (France – centralized country)	Bologna (2000)/Genoa (2004) (Italy – de-centralized country)

3. Research methodology

The CURRICULA research program has been launched in 2013 with the study of Marseille ECC-2013. The experience and methodology conceptualized and developed during the case study of Marseille ECC-2013 has been afterwards replicated in several

² The Cultural crucible: the Reorganization and Renewal of Institutions in the Cultural capitals Landscape – CURRICULA <http://www.agence-nationale-recherche.fr/?Projet=ANR-14-CE29-0001>

international case studies. On its current stage, the project is deployed internationally in Poland and Sweden. The long-term impacts of the European cultural policies, the cases of Bologna (ECC-2000) and Genoa (ECC-2004) will be analyzed at the final stage of the project.

In this paper we will present only results of our study on Marseille ECC-2013 that we collected during the first stage of the project. The results of surveys realized in Sweden, Poland and Italy are expected in the coming years.

For the specific case of Marseille ECC-2013, our investigation started from the following problems and questioning: How do the cultural institutions in Marseille renew their scope and redefine the relationships they have with their audiences during the period of the ECC year? How do these institutions react to the restructuring of the competitive field? Are they managing adaptive or hybrid strategies with new conceptions of culture? Or, conversely, do they gradually become obsolete? How do the audiences (esp. youth and immigrants) react on the new European cultural policies? Are they becoming more participative, or conversely, do they remain resilient to cultural institutions, and the new cultural offer?

We started our survey with two important theaters of the city that were integrated into the Marseille ECC-2013 program: the National Theater of La Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene. This choice was determined by two main causes: (1) the two theaters are durably anchored in the Marseille's cultural landscape, and (2) they present dissimilar institutional profiles, and are located in two economically and socially very opposite neighborhoods (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Two National Theaters in Marseille impacted by European cultural policies



Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene
(North Side Marseille)

National Theater of La Criée
(Downtown Marseille)

The National Theater of La Criée was founded in 1981. Since its foundation, La Criée is based in the prestigious downtown neighborhood near the Old-Port. Despite its central location among the upper-middle class housings, the theater was created to promote a non-elitist approach of the classical theater. The historical building of the Theater of La Criée was previously occupied by the Marseille's central fish market, a place traditionally associated with multiculturalism and immigration.

The Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene was founded in 1980. The main objective of

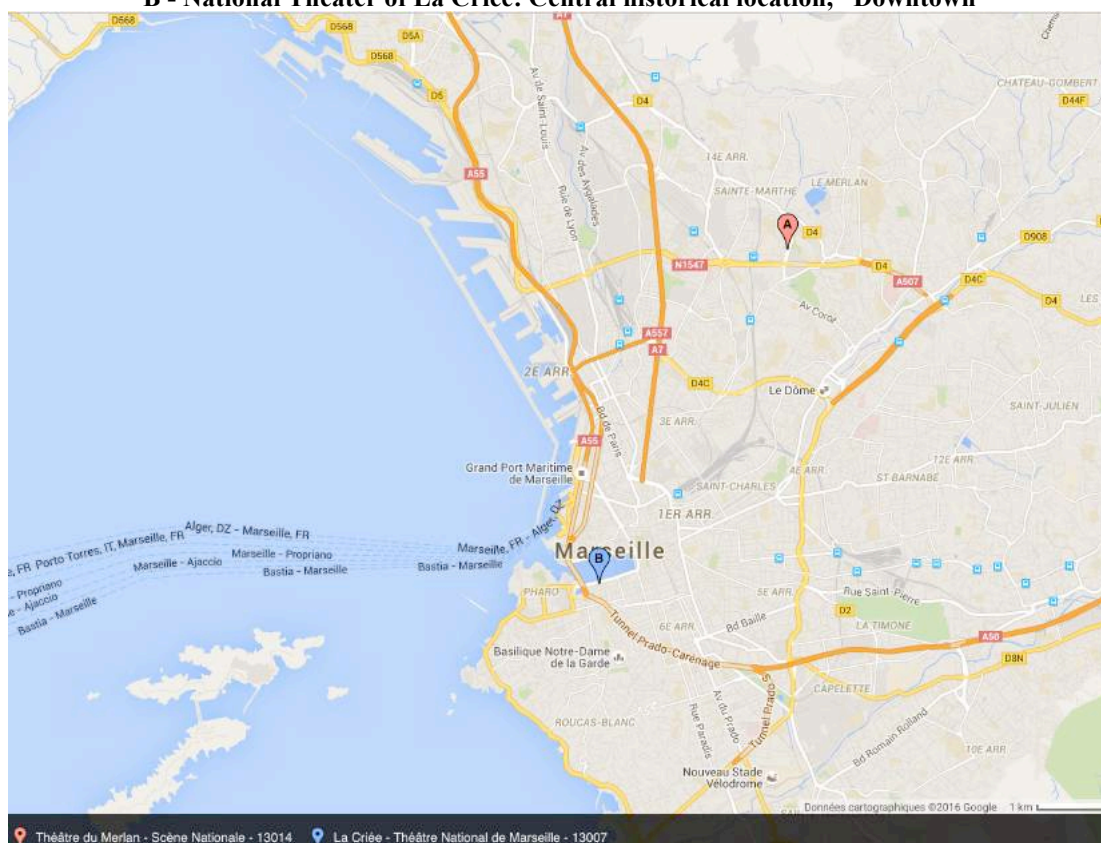
this institution consisted in the promotion of theater and cinema among the poor populations of peripheral neighborhoods. The Theater of Le Merlan is based in the north side of Marseille, in a neighborhood typically associated with immigration, drug dealers, and crimes. The premises of the Theater of Le Merlan are shared with a supermarket, a police station and a library for the children.

The map below shows the location of the two theaters in the Marseille's urban landscape (see Figure 3):

Figure 3 - The geographical and institutional cultural heteronomy of two theaters in Marseille

A – Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene: Peripheral location, the “hood”

B - National Theater of La Criée: Central historical location, “Downtown”



In 2013, the Theater of La Criée has integrated the “European Capitals of Culture” program. The newly elected artistic director of the theater, Macha Makeïeff, has enriched the theatrical program with new artistic genres, such as circus, dance, orchestral music, jazz and cabaret. The new institutional branding was led by Ali Baba, the musical show created by Macha Makeïeff in the spirit of tolerance and integration of the city of Marseille toward its multicultural inhabitants. The collaborations with several foreign theaters have been also engaged in order to attract in Marseille new international audiences.

The Theater of Le Merlan has also been strongly impacted by the European inclusive policies that strengthen and support the broad vision of the open theater to everyone; regardless incomes, cultural origins, age, and education level. The new artistic director of the Theater of Le Merlan, Francesca Poloniato, started with the public presentation

of the new program by an African dance that symbolized the “young” image of the institution. The annual program of the theater combines rock, rap, slam, juggling and hip-hop shows, with several “intellectual” avant-garde representations. By offering free tickets to the youth and family associations of the neighborhood, the Theater of Le Merlan is also engaged into the municipal social politics towards the immigrants.

The methodology of our research is built on the articulation of several types of statistical and cartographical data analysis. Since 2013, we work on the analysis of the Theater of La Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan ticket office databases. These databases contain addresses and zip codes of every subscribed and non-subscribed tickets buyer, but also information available on shows that he/she prefers to visit during the year. To deepen our results, we also proceeded several paper and online questionnaires with a number of detailed questions on personal cultural experiences and practices.

For the survey by questionnaire, we've chosen five different shows from the program of the Theater of La Criée, and four shows from the program of the Theater of Le Merlan. This approach allowed us to analyze the socio-demographical differences between the audiences of each show, and to understand how inclusive programs of the two theaters meet the expectations of different types of spectators. The table below describes the main characteristics of each show that we've included in our comparative scope (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 - The main characteristics of theatrical shows included in our analysis

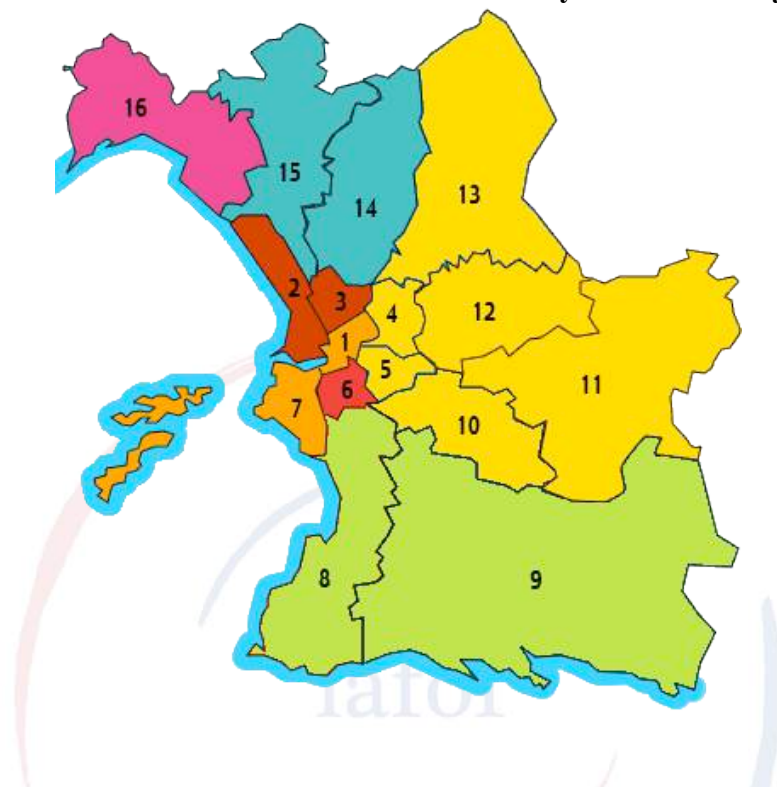
Institution	Show	Main characteristics of the show
Theater of La Criée	Cyrano de Bergerac (Georges Lavadant)	French Classical theater
Theater of La Criée	Queen of Hearts (Juliette Deschamps)	Retro cabaret style songs
Theater of La Criée	De Nos Jours (Ivan Mosjoukine Theater Company)	Modern circus
Theater of La Criée	La Mouette, Uncle Vania, Trois Soeurs (Christian Benedetti)	Modern theater based on classical pieces of Anton Chekhov
Theater of La Criée	A Midsummer Night's Dream The Comedy of Errors (Propeller Theater Company)	Modern interpretation of Shakespeare in English with French subtitles
Theater of Le Merlan	Smashed (Gandini Juggling)	Artistic juggling with apples
Theater of Le Merlan	Asphalte (Cie Denière Minute)	Modern dance and hip-hop
Theater of Le Merlan	Dormir 100 ans (Pauline Bureau)	Youth and family show
Theater of Le Merlan	Diner with André (Tg Stan & de Koe)	Avant-garde theater

The qualitative questionnaire surveys give us information about the cultural mobility and the subjective preferences of each respondent, while the ticket office databases provide an overall view on the audiences' morphology. Thus, we build a number of small-scale datasets containing multiple dimensions about living areas, lifestyle, as well as urban, regional and cross-border cultural mobility patterns of audiences of the two theaters, and then, confront them to broader statistics databases such as those from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), to find correlations with socio-economic characteristics of Marseille's population.

Two main geographical units are structuring the INSEE databases: the zip and district codes (commune/arrondissement level) and the IRIS codes (infra-communal level). The city of Marseille is divided into sixteen districts. Each district has its own zip

code (13001, 13002, etc.). These codes allow us to locate the different urban zones inhabited by theaters' audiences, but also, to find those where individuals are not concerned by the cultural offer. The map below shows the Marseille's districts distribution (see Figure 5).

Figure 5 – The administrative division of the city of Marseille by district



The IRIS (Aggregated Units for Statistical Information) geographical division is more detailed than zip and district codes. France is composed of around 16 000 IRIS codes that cover infra-communal territories scaled at the target size of 2000 residents per basic unit. Thus, the combination of big data (National statistics by zip codes and IRIS codes) and small data (ticket offices' databases and qualitative surveys on theaters' audiences) allow us to create new databases for the analysis of European cultural policies impacts in Marseille. In this way, we have the possibility to test and evaluate the inclusive power of cultural institutions concerned by the ECC program, such as the Theater of la Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan, by finding correlations between the social profile of theater audiences and socio-economic characteristics of Marseille's population. This original methodology will provide a better understanding of cultural participation and mobility in the city, as well as insights on how social and cultural stratification can be impacted – or not – by European cultural policies.

4. The case of Marseille, European Capital of Culture 2013

Since ancient Greeks have established their first settlement around 600 BC, the city of Marseille has a long historical tradition of cosmopolitanism. As a Mediterranean port, Marseille has benefited from different migration waves that have marked over time, the identity of the city. Today Marseille is still one of the most cosmopolitan cities in France, but also in Europe. In 2013, the city has been designated European Capital of Culture, and in order to confirm the status of Marseille as a cultural crossroad of

populations, the city has received from the European Union and the French Ministry of Culture, the Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations (MuCEM). The brand new and iconic museum has been built just at the entrance of the Old-Port, on the docks where most immigrants and refugees were landing in the past after WWII, when the time of colonial powers was definitely over. To celebrate the event of the new European Capital of Culture, the New York Times published two articles between 2012 and 2013 about the spirit of tolerance and integration of the city of Marseille toward immigrants. In a first issue dealing with the historic French republican concern about “who gets to be French?”³ the Journal already asked “can and should the Marseillais spirit of civilized tolerance spread northward?” The following year, the Journal highlighted Marseille as “the Secret Capital of France”⁴. Based on these consensual considerations and in the context of identity conflicts and cultural struggles that are emerging in contemporary Europe about immigration issues, it could be interesting to ask what is the real situation of immigrants in Marseille and what relation do they have toward European institutions of culture? Are they reactive to inclusive European cultural policies? Are they becoming more participative, or conversely, do they remain resilient to cultural institutions and to the new cultural offer?

5. The cultural identities of the city of Marseille: is Marseille an exception?

Marseille is historically recognized for being a cultural crossroad of populations in Mediterranean as well as in Europe. The city is the second largest city in France and counts around 1 727 000 inhabitants for the metro area. While Paris metro area is far ahead Marseille in population (12 405 426 inhabitants), Marseille is nonetheless one of the largest city in France for the surface area with 240,62 km², compared to Paris with only 105,40 km². Because of its pre-eminence as a Mediterranean port, Marseille has always been one of the main gateways into France. This geographical situation has attracted many immigrants and made Marseille a cosmopolitan melting pot. According to the national statistics, almost ½ person is from immigrant ancestors. The Muslim population reaches more than 250 000 inhabitants. Marseille is also the third Jewish city in Europe after Paris and London. Many people in Marseille come from elsewhere in France or from abroad. By the end of the 18th century already, about half the population originated elsewhere from southern France mostly, but also from the northern part of the country. Since 1999, almost 25% of the population is now born outside metropolitan France. This cosmopolitan situation has made Marseille and the region of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur very diverse culturally and geographically. According to a research comparing different regions in France, the Region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur is now clearly identified as a land of immigration (Yvan Gastaut, 2009). “Today the PACA region is a very highly urbanized area with a population of 4.5 million of urban residents, or 90% of its population approaching 5 million. A majority lies in the four major cities, Marseille, Nice, Toulon and Avignon, and in the many medium-sized cities over 20 000 inhabitants. The 300 000 foreigners or 430 000 immigrants recorded in PACA, according to the distinction drawn by the INSEE, represent almost 10% of the

³ “Who gets to be French?”, by Karl E. Meyer, The New York Times, April 11, 2012.

⁴ “Marseille, the Secret Capital of France”, by Michael Kimmelman, The New York Times, October 4, 2013.

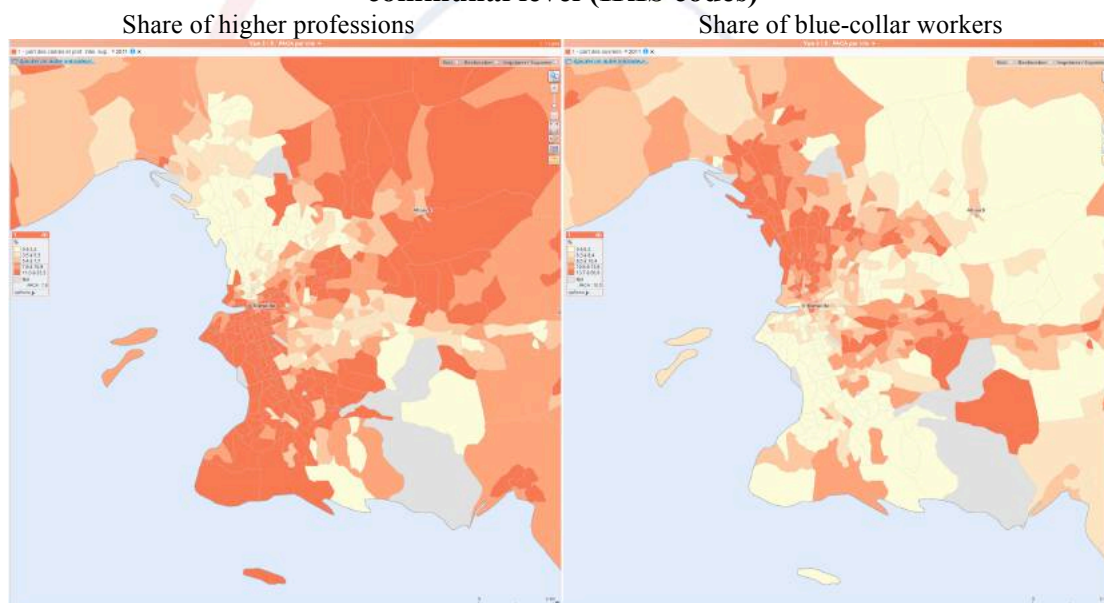
population and live, too, mainly in the urban areas, although their presence in rural areas cannot be overlooked.”

6. The geographical distribution of the population in Marseille

Despite its very singular and cosmopolitan composition, Marseille is also a very divided city. By analyzing the city by profession, income, age and ethnicity, we find dramatic results when it comes to the socio-demographic distribution of the population.

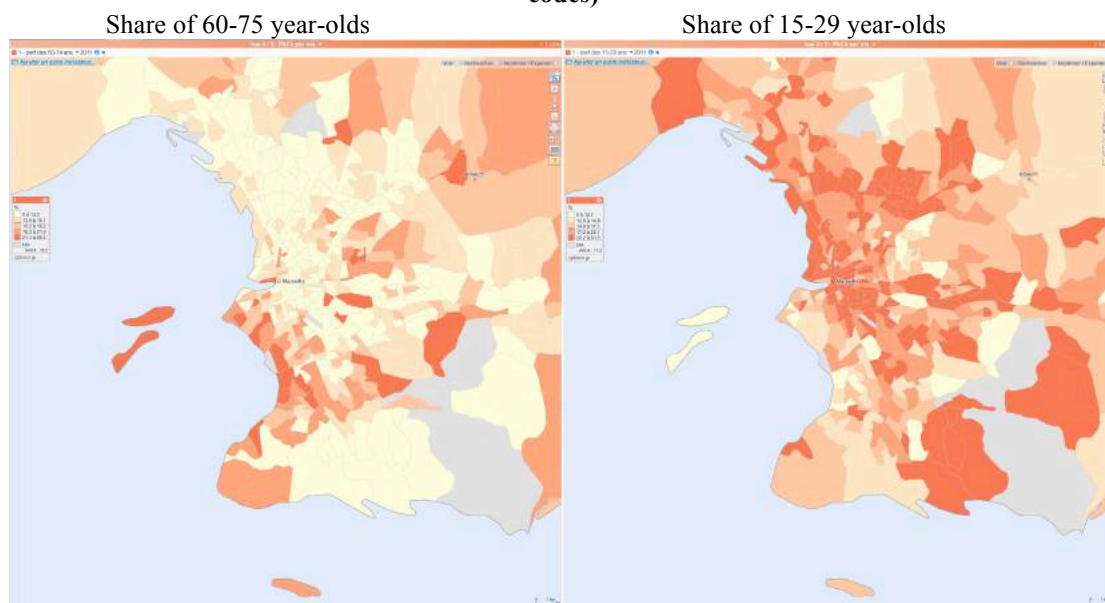
When we first start to compare the distribution by profession in Marseille at the infra-communal level, we can see a clear division of the city between the north and the south. For instance the percentage share of higher professions (CEOs, intellectual professions, and managers) is much more important in the south side of Marseille, while the percentage share of blue-collar workers appears to be located much more in the north side of the city (see Map 1).

Map 1 - Distribution of the population by profession in Marseille at the infra-communal level (IRIS codes)



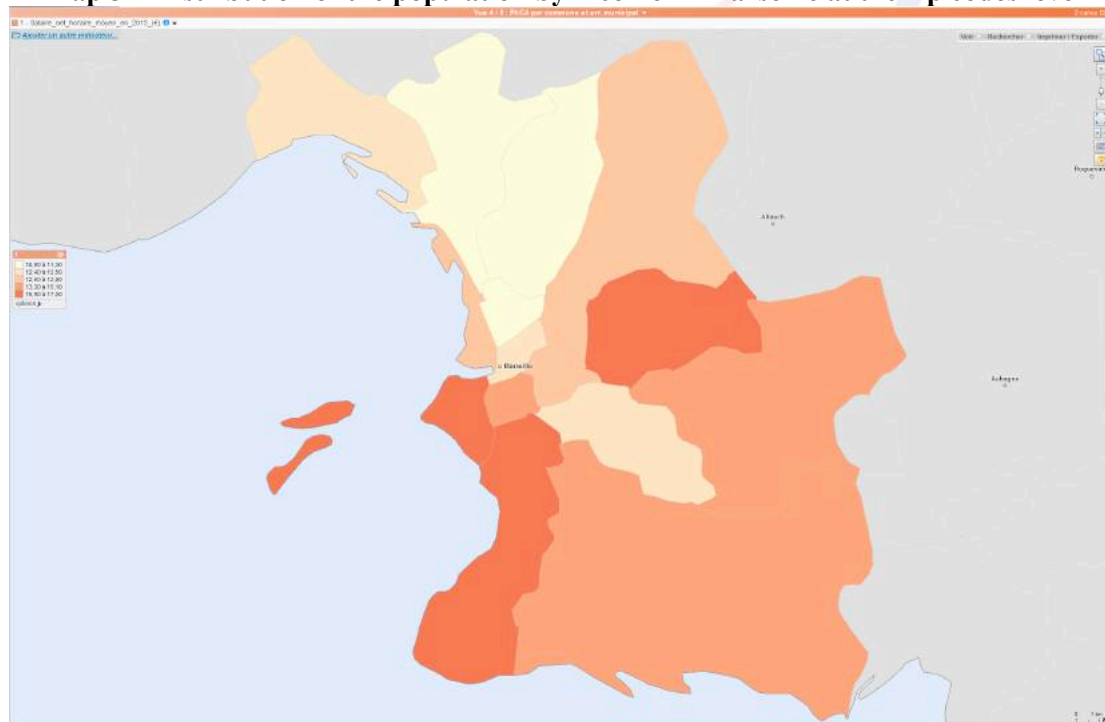
Now, when we compare the distribution of the population by age, we also find a quite divided city between the north and the south. When we look at the map of the share of 60-75 year-olds compared to the share of 15-29 year-olds, once again, it appears very clearly that the elderly population is not living in the same neighborhoods than the younger. Despite the fact that the youngers are quite numerous to live downtown in the historical center of the city – as it is the case in most cities in Europe –, a great part of them are nonetheless living in the north side of the city, in the northern neighborhoods of Marseille. By contrast, most of the elderly population is living in the south side of the city, in the neighborhoods of the Marseille’s waterfront (see Map 2).

Map 2 – Distribution of the population by age in Marseille at the infra-communal level (IRIS codes)



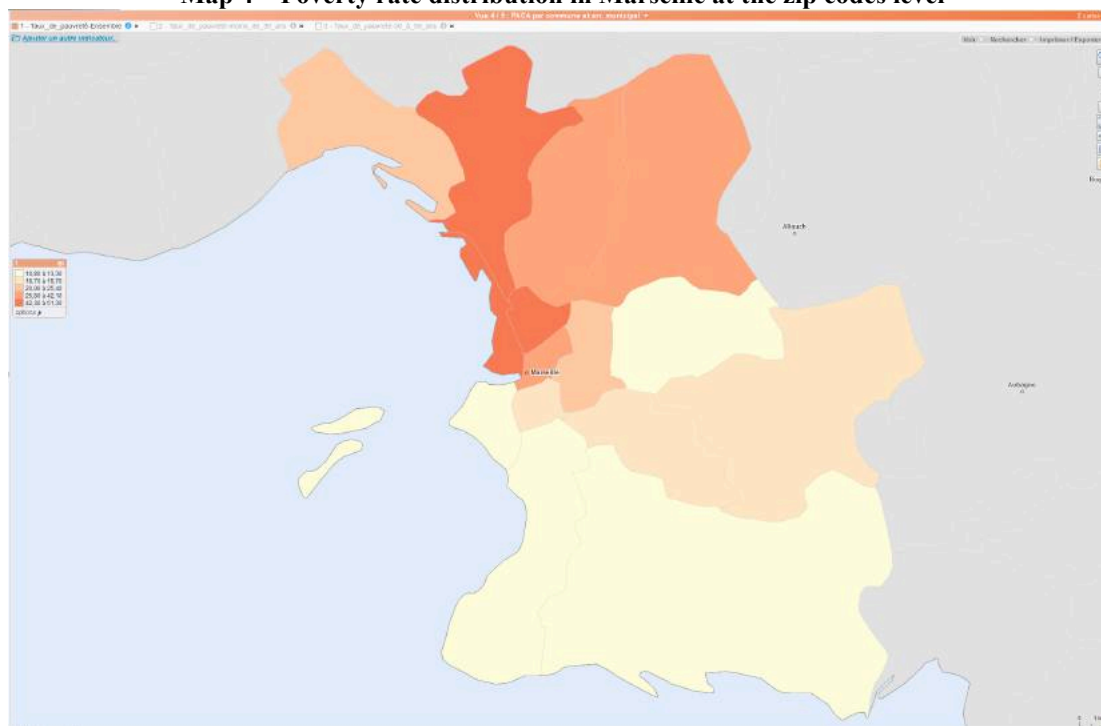
Then, if we compare now three different maps on incomes and poverty rate, we find strong relationships with the two variables we've just explored before, by analyzing profession and age. On the first map, we see the income distribution across the city of Marseille. As we can observe, the population with the highest incomes live in the south and east sides of the city. While the south side of the Marseille's waterfront appears to be very wealthy, conversely the northern neighborhoods seem to be rather disadvantaged economically (see Map 3).

Map 3 – Distribution of the population by income in Marseille at the zip codes level

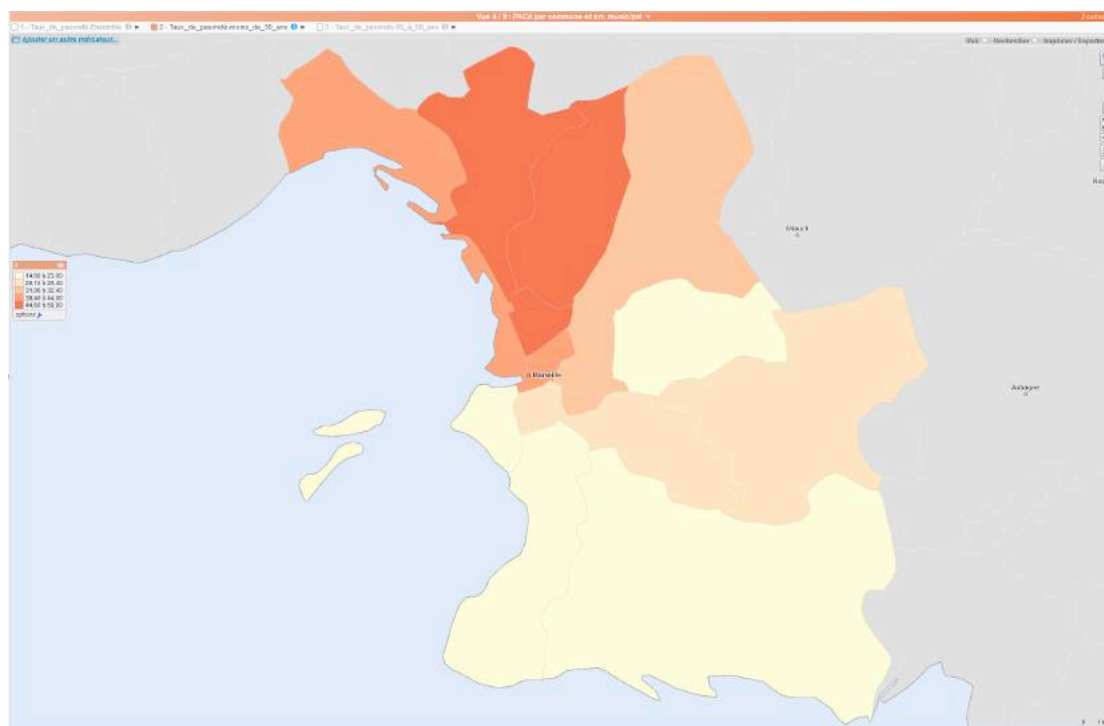


To contrast with this observation, we can compare the previous map on incomes with the following one that is based on poverty rate. What we can observe is the exact opposite of the previous one, where the poorest population is essentially based in the northern neighborhoods of Marseille (see Map 4). In this present case, and considering what we just analyzed before, we can see that the poverty rate is strongly correlated with neighborhoods where the population is not only undereducated, but also very young. This is exactly what we can observe on the next map on the poverty rate distribution of the population under 30 year-olds (see Map 5). Interestingly enough, the districts of the city that have the highest poverty rate are also the youngest ones.

Map 4 – Poverty rate distribution in Marseille at the zip codes level



Map 5 – Poverty rate distribution of the population under 30 year-olds in Marseille at the zip codes level

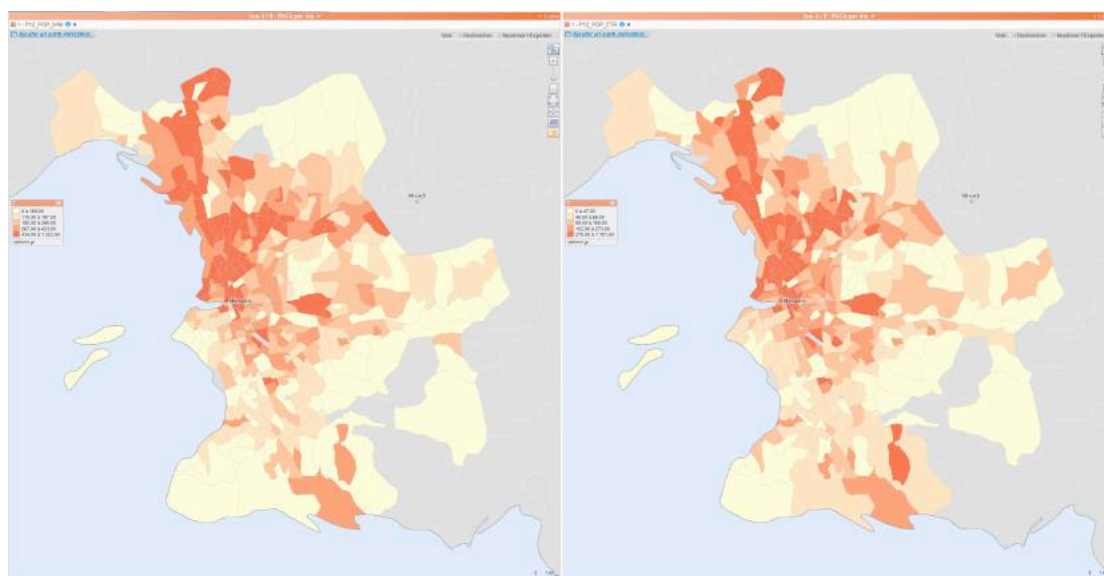


Finally, once we move on to the analysis of the immigrant and foreign population distribution in Marseille, contrasting by income, age and profession, we find strong evidences that these populations are likely to be correlated with young, undereducated and low incomes neighborhoods. The two following maps indicate the distribution of the immigrant and foreign population across the city of Marseille (see Map 6). As we can observe on the two maps, the districts with the highest immigrant and foreign population share are essentially located in the north side of Marseille, where, as we have seen before, the population is mostly young, poor, and undereducated. Furthermore, – all things being equal –, we also find strong correlations between district locations on the two maps, for both immigrant and foreign populations. These observations provide strong assumptions that the status of both immigrants and foreigners might be correlated and share the same social profile.

Map 6 – Distribution of the immigrant and foreign population in Marseille at the infra-communal level (IRIS codes)

Share of immigrants

Share of foreigners



Based on these results, we can now have a better idea about the social profile of the populations living in the north and south sides of the city of Marseille. From our observations, we can draw that while the population of southern neighborhoods of the city appears to be older, more educated and wealthier, the social profile of the population from the northern part however, is likely to be younger, undereducated and from both poor and low incomes backgrounds.

To test these assumptions, we made repeated measures through statistical analysis with SPSS. The database used for the test was coming from National statistics (INSEE) and was scaled at the city level of Marseille. The results we found give strong evidences to our analysis. When testing immigrants as dependent variable, and controlling for numbers of higher professions (*i.e.* CEOs, intellectual prof., and managers) and numbers of blue-collar workers, the regression analysis gives a significant and positive correlation with blue-collar workers ($t = 16.877$, Sig. = 0.000; see Table 1). Then, when we repeated the test with immigrants as dependent variable, but controlling for six age categories (from 0-14, 15-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60-74, 75-+), the results gave significant and positive correlations with age categories of 0-14 and 15-29 year-olds ($t = 9.646$, Sig. = 0.000 for 0-14 year-olds; and $t = 7.012$, Sig. = 0.000 for 15-29 year-olds). Conversely, correlations were significant but negative with age categories of 45-59 and 75-+ year-olds ($t = -5.257$, Sig. = 0.000 for 45-59 year-olds; and $t = -2.939$, Sig. = 0.004 for 75-+ year-olds; see Table 2).

Table 1 – Regression test – Professional status of immigrants in Marseille controlling for two categories

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	20,602	24,185		,852	,395
	Nombre de personnes de 15 ans ou plus Cadres et Professions intellectuelles supérieures	-,012	,067	-,008	-,184	,854
	Nombre de personnes de 15 ans ou plus Ouvriers	1,553	,092	,704	16,877	,000

a. Dependent Variable: Nombres de personnes immigrées

Table 2 – Regression test – Age of immigrants in Marseille controlling for six categories**Coefficients^a**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	51,677	25,970		1,990	,047
	Nombre de personnes de 0 à 14 ans	,702	,073	,626	9,646	,000
	Nombre de personnes de 15 à 29 ans	,365	,052	,377	7,012	,000
	Nombre de personnes de 30 à 44 ans	,021	,093	,018	,222	,824
	Nombre de personnes de 45 à 59 ans	-,580	,110	-,439	-5,257	,000
	Nombre de personnes de 60 à 74 ans	,292	,131	,184	2,219	,027
	Nombre de personnes de 75 ans ou plus	-,315	,107	-,176	-2,939	,004

a. Dependent Variable: Nombres de personnes immigrées

7. Analyzing immigrant participation into European institutions of culture: two National theaters with contrasting profiles

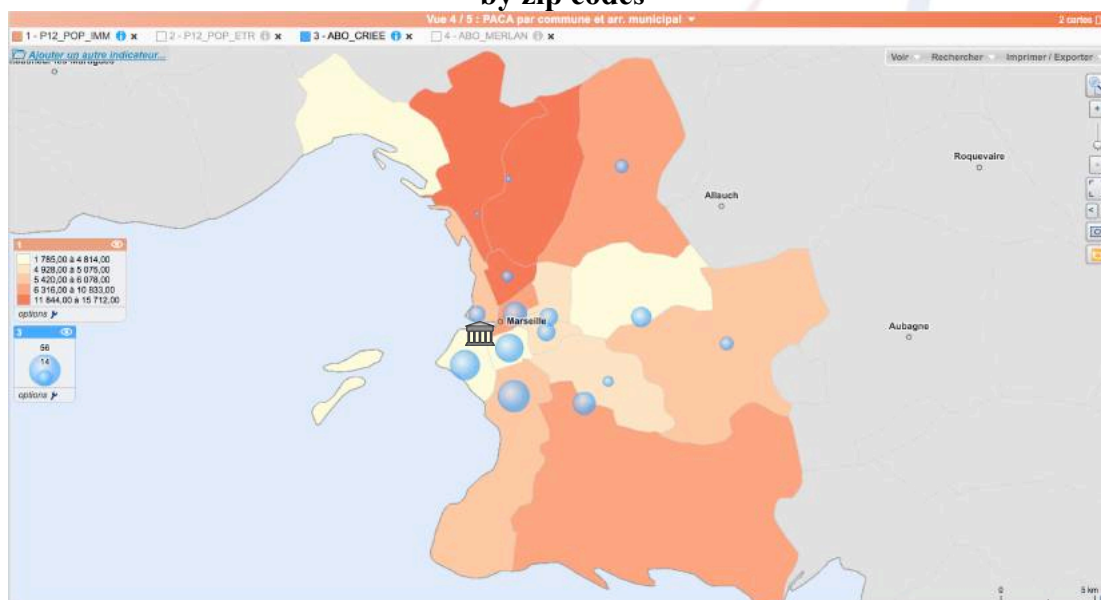
So what can be drawn from these observations? How do these results overlap with cultural practices? To what extent immigrants are integrated into cultural life of institutions? And what is the influence of European cultural institutions on these populations? To answer these questions, we started from the analysis of two National theaters' audiences with contrasting profiles. One is located in the historical center of the city (The Theater of La Criée). The other is integrated into a supermarket in a suburban neighborhood (The Theater of le Merlan).

To test the hypotheses about immigrants' participation into these institutions, we asked to audiences two very simple questions: (1) where do you live in the city?, and

(2) what is your means of transport? The first question gives us information about whether the person is living far or close from the theater. The second, what kind of means of transport he or she takes to come to the theater. The public had the possibility to choose between five choices: (1) by feet, (2) by public transport, (3) by bike, (4) by car, (5) other. Before analyzing the results, we merged the data provided by our surveys on the two theaters with data from the National census of population. We then mapped our results from the two theaters combined with data about immigrants' census. The first layer (with blue bubbles) indicates the proportion of the theaters' audiences by district. The second one (by the color intensity) indicates the proportion of immigrant population. On each map, we indicated with a temple symbol the theater location, in order to situate the institution in the city in regards to its audiences.

After testing these different variables and comparing maps, we find evidences that none of the two theaters' audiences is correlated with immigrant population. Furthermore, we find that whatever the location of the theater or cultural institutions (whether they are central or peripheral), there is no significant impact or influence on immigrant population. We find for instance no significant impact when the cultural institution is in a central location of the city such as for the Theater of La Criée. The immigrant population remains poorly integrated into local cultural life and doesn't necessarily feel the need to go downtown to have cultural practices. On the first map, we can observe that most audiences of the Theater of La Criée is coming from central, southern and eastern neighborhoods of the city. However, very few of them are coming from the north side of the city, where we find the highest proportion of immigrant population (see Map 7).

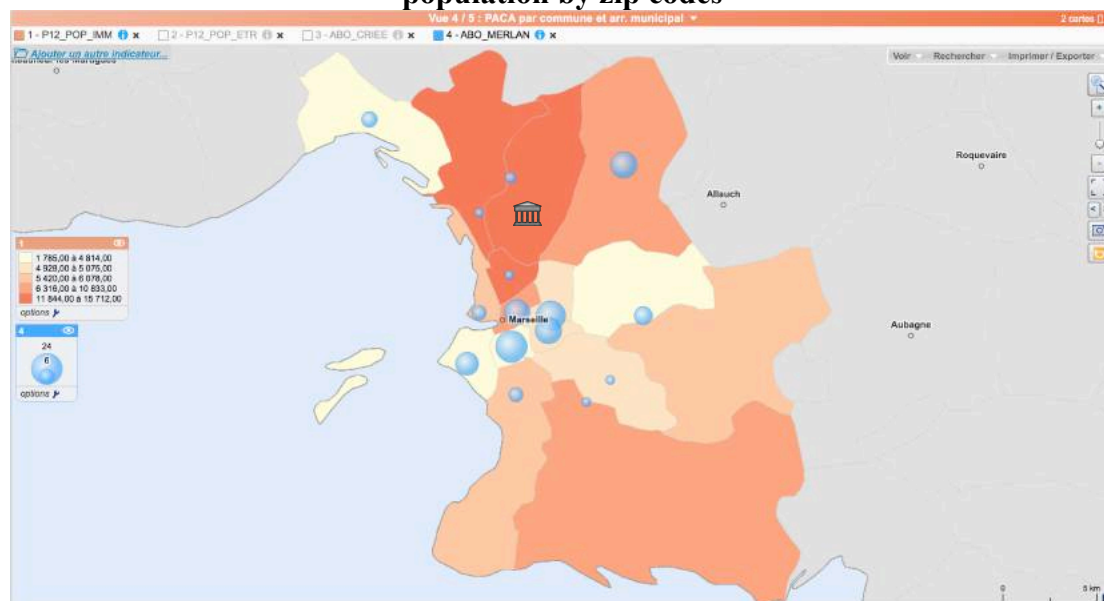
Map 7 – Distribution of La Criée Theater's audiences vs. immigrant population by zip codes



In the case of the Theater of Le Merlan, we find no significant impact either when the cultural institution is integrated into poor and peripheral neighborhoods. Despite the fact that since its creation in 1980, the Theater of Le Merlan has been specifically dedicated to attract populations poorly integrated into local cultural life, we can see from the following map that, even thirty five years later, there are still some significant constraints to make the institution accepted into northern neighborhoods of

Marseille. As we can observe, most audiences of the Theater of Le Merlan come from central Marseille neighborhoods, although we can find some exceptions such as in the 13th district (north eastern nearby neighborhood) or in the 16th district (north western nearby neighborhood). However, in districts where the proportion of immigrant population is the highest, the impact of the Theater of Le Merlan remains still very low. In other words, immigrant cultural practices stay apart from the top-down cultural legitimacy, even when European cultural offers are brought to these populations (see Map 8).

Map 8 – Distribution of Le Merlan Theater’s audiences vs. immigrant population by zip codes



To control these observations, we did some simple frequency tests about how people come to the theater, and by which means of transport, in order to compare factors of distance and proximity between audiences and the two theaters.

Unsurprisingly, we find that despite the fact that the greatest part of the La Criée's audiences comes by car (47,1%) – mostly from southern districts, see Map 7 –, nonetheless a significant part of them come by foot (28,7%). These results confirm the fact that the Theater of La Criée mainly attracts populations from downtown Marseille, given that most audiences live in the nearby central neighborhoods, when they are not from the south side of the city (see Table 3).

Table 3 – Means of transport used to come to the Theater of La Criée

How do you come to the Theater of La Criée?				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
– By foot	117	20,7	28,7	28,7
– By public transport	90	15,9	22,1	50,7
– By car	192	34,0	47,1	97,8
– By bike	9	1,6	2,2	100,0
Total	408	72,2	100,0	
Missing System	157	27,8		
Total	565	100,0		

By contrast, however, the Theater of Le Merlan does not get the same results. We find that 73,3% of the audiences comes by car, while only 0,5% of them comes by foot. These results confirm the fact that despite its location in a northern district of Marseille, the Theater of Le Merlan does not have any impact on the populations of its nearby neighborhood (*i.e.* immigrants), but rather attracts audiences from central and eastern districts of the city. As we see in the table, the factor of distance is stronger than proximity as the great majority of audiences come by car when it's not by public transport or by the Theater's shuttle (see Table 4).

Table 4 – Means of transport used to come to the Theater of Le Merlan

How do you come to the Theater of Le Merlan?				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
– By foot	3	1,6	1,6	1,6
– By bike	1	,5	,5	2,1
– By public transport	3	1,6	1,6	3,7
– By car	22	11,8	11,8	15,5
– By the Merlan theater's shuttle	137	73,3	73,3	88,8
Total	21	11,2	11,2	100,0
Total	187	100,0	100,0	

However, some differences appear when analyzing the attendance of Theaters depending on different shows offered. By comparing the audience's preferences between five shows for the Theater of La Criée, and four for the Theater of Le Merlan, we observe some significant variations between the two institutions.

For instance, in the case of the Theater of La Criée, despite the diversity of artistic offers varying from classical French theater to modern circus, we can see that we have no change in audiences depending of the different types of shows offered by the Theater. The new “inclusive” program of La Criée weakly attracts populations from the northern districts. Only 5 persons from the second district (13002) and the third (13003) attended “Cyrano de Bergerac” and “A Queen of Heart”; 4 persons from the thirteenth district (13013) attended “Trois Tchekhov” (see Table 5).

However, regarding the attendance of audiences living in the southern districts (esp. 13006, 13007, 13008, 13009) we can observe that the majority of them are more attracted by classical types of theater shows (“Cyrano de Bergerac”, “Trois Tchekhov”, “Cie Propeller”). The audiences from the eighth district (13008), particularly are strongly attracted by the “traditional” classical shows such as “Cyrano de Bergerac” (28 persons), and tend to be less interested by “modern” shows. Only four of them attended “A Queen of Heart” (cabaret show), and 3 “De Nos Jours” (circus show).

Thus, the inclusive European policies devoted to enhance the cultural mobility and attract new populations in the downtown of Marseille, mainly concern populations that are (1) already acquainted with the Theater of La Criée, and (2) essentially living in the wealthy southern districts nearby the institution.

The table below indicates the distribution of the audiences of the Theater of La Criée in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows included in the program during the “European Capital of Culture” year (see Table 5).

Table 5 – Distribution of the La Criée Theater's audiences in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows

Count		Nom de la représentation					Total
		Cyrano de Bergerac	A Queen of Heart	Trois Tchekhov (La Mouette, Oncle Vania, Trois Soeurs)	De nos jours (Cie Ivan Mosjoukine)	Cie Propeller – Shakespeare (Songe d'une nuit d'été & Comédie des Erreurs)	
Question 27 – Résidence Marseille (détail arrondissement)	13001	5	6	9	1	9	30
	13002	5	5	1	1	3	15
	13003	2	2	2	0	1	7
	13004	4	0	8	2	4	18
	13005	2	2	4	2	8	18
	13006	17	8	11	3	5	44
	13007	21	7	9	5	7	49
	13008	28	4	11	3	10	56
	13009	7	3	13	2	4	29
	13010	1	2	0	0	3	6
	13011	3	3	2	1	1	10
	13012	9	6	3	1	3	22
	13013	2	2	4	1	1	10
	13014	0	0	2	0	0	2
	13015	1	0	0	0	0	1
	13190	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total		108	50	79	22	59	318

However, the general assumption of the centralization and gentrification of theaters' audiences becomes more balanced in the case of the Theater of Le Merlan. The restructuring and “inclusive” rebranding of the Theater of Le Merlan was focused on the immersion of the Theater in its local environment (i.e. in northern poor districts neighborhoods), and on the attraction of local audiences (mostly young immigrants). The comparison between four heterogeneous shows from the Theater's annual program points out some differences among audiences depending on the types of shows offered.

While we find a strong presence of inhabitants from the Marseille's southern districts (13005, 13006, 13007) on certain types of shows such as “Asphalte” (hip-hop show), “Smashed” (juggling show) and “My Dinner with André” (avant-garde show), we find nonetheless a significant change of audiences once the Theater performs

dedicated shows to youth and families, such as with “Dormir cent ans”. Among the four shows, we can see that “Dormir cent ans” attracts most of the local population from the northern districts (12 persons from the 13th, 14th and 16th district). However, the specific artistic and avant-gardist staging form of “My Dinner with André” is more comparable with offers presented at the Theater of La Criée, and is clearly more in line with audiences from the Marseille's southern districts (19 persons coming from the 5th, 6th and 7th district). Thus, we can make the assumption that the downtown's residential populations, who attend the Theater of La Criée for its avant-garde shows, tend to come to the Theater of Le Merlan mostly for similar offers. However, we can assume that the inclusion into the Theater's program of more dedicated shows to youth and families could potentially raise the immigrants' population interest to come more often to the Theater of Le Merlan.

The table below indicates the distribution of the audiences of the Theater of Le Merlan in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows included in the program during the “European Capital of Culture” year (see Table 6).

Table 6 – Distribution of Le Merlan Theater's audiences in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows

Count		Representation				Total
		ASPHALTE	DORMIR CENT ANS	MY DINNER WITH ANDRE	SMASHED	
51 – 48. Si vous vivez à Marseille, pouvez-vous préciser l'arrondissement :	13001	4	2	3	7	16
	13002	0	2	1	2	5
	13003	0	1	0	1	2
	13004	5	6	2	8	21
	13005	5	2	7	3	17
	13006	4	4	9	7	24
	13007	1	1	7	4	13
	13008	0	0	3	2	5
	13009	1	0	1	0	2
	13010	0	1	0	1	2
	13012	0	1	0	7	8
	13013	2	9	2	4	17
	13014	0	2	1	0	3
	13015	1	0	1	0	2
	13016	0	1	1	4	6
	84000	0	0	1	0	1
	Total	23	32	39	50	144

Conclusion and discussion

Three main conclusions can be drawn from these different results:

Primo, we can observe a weak correlation between (1) the inclusive European policies applied to cultural institutions and (2) the participation of audiences poorly integrated into local cultural life. In the two cases of theaters investigated during our survey – the Theater of La Criée (downtown theater) and the Theater of Le Merlan (peripheral theater) –, immigrants, young and poor populations were underrepresented among the audiences of both “classical” and “contemporary” shows.

Secundo, the regular theater audiences can easily reach the peripheral districts to participate to new cultural offers, while populations poorly integrated into cultural life are not attracted by cultural offers of downtown Marseille, despite the new

“inclusive” programs of the La Criée central theater. This “one-way” urban cultural mobility is part of the “exclusion paradox” of inclusive policies that are effective mostly towards populations that are already familiar with local cultural offers. By contrast, populations poorly integrated into local cultural life are becoming even more excluded, particularly in the context of current European cultural policies, such as the “European Capitals of Culture” program.

Tertio, in the case of the Theater of Le Merlan, local populations from the northern districts of Marseille mostly participated in the youth and family show “Dormir cent ans”. Thus, cities and institutions could potentially be more attractive and inclusive for new generations of immigrants under the following conditions: (1) by increasing the geographical proximity of cultural institutions and amenities in low incomes neighborhoods, (2) by providing inclusive cultural programs more focused on youth and families as well as on immigrants' ordinary concerns and ambitions, (3) by improving urban mobility and public transports across the city between the center and periphery.



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