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Exploring University Students' Insights Towards the Field Trip Under the PBL Method

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Abstract
A field trip is sometimes used in a university class which brings both positive and negative aspects into the classroom. For instance, Kwan and So (2008) found that the field trip used under the PBL (Project/Problem Based Learning) method provided university students with authentic and deep knowledge of the subject and reduced learning gaps. However, Kent, Gilbertson and Hunt (1997) point out the field trip depends on the budget of the university which determines the destinations of the field trip and thus it is unfair for students if the budget for the field trip is small for the students. The aim of this study is to explore what extent a field trip activity is effective for students under the PBL method. Within a small budget for a field trip, this study is challenged to maximize the effect of using a field trip for a university class. This study adopts a small case study of the field trip for an introduction to presentation in Japanese for the first year students. In order to collect the data from this study, the authors used questionnaires for the participants to see their insights about the field trip for the class. The total of 26 university students answered the questionnaires including 21 Japanese students and five international students. The results revealed both positive and negative feedback towards the field trip. This study suggests two key suggestions to make the field trip meaningful and effective for students.

Keywords: PBL, field trip, university education

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Introduction

The authors of this study teach the class, "an Introduction to presentation skill" which is taught under PBL at one of the national universities in Japan. In this class, students try to find a problem with local tourism in the area where their university exists and try to find solutions for the city to attract people, from overseas in particular, to come to the city. Students form small groups in class and they do their tasks in small groups. At the end of the semester, students give poster presentations about their small projects which were a part of their assessment. In the classes, we used a textbook "Shin Kankou ritsukoku ron" written by Davit Atkinson, an English man who lived in Japan for over 20 years. Although the textbook is written in Japanese, the author of this book introduces his opinions based on the view as a foreign person. The city where our students study faces the issue that the city is losing its population rapidly. Although there are many causes for the problems faced by the city, the negative economic effect on the city is the most serious. The city could face the bankruptcy such as Yubari city in Hokkaido faced unless the population of the city increases. According to Atkinson (2015), increasing short-term immigrants, in other words, increasing numbers of tourists from overseas, will bring some positive impact on the Japanese economy. The authors of this study try to encourage students to think how the city can promote increasing numbers of tourists including both domestic and overseas tourists though the class. To support the student's small project, the authors believe that a field trip helps student's learning and thus the authors have organized a field trip for students in the class. The aim of this study is to explore what extent a field trip activity is effective for students under the PBL method.

Literature review

Both advantages and disadvantages of the field trip

The field trip activity is often used in university classes and some past studies point out the effectiveness of the field trip activity in classes. Behrendt and Franklin (2014) explain both experimental activities and field trips in particular science subjects are effective ways to motivate learners to study their subjects. Experimental activities and field trips also create authentic learning opportunities for learners. Kotabe et al. (2012) found the field trip used in a university class improved student's motivation to study a lot. Also they found that the field trip made students understand the contents of their class better. Sugihara (2010) points out the field trip can strengthen the network and exchange of the ideas between young generations (university students) and local communities. In Sugihara's study, he took his students to one of the local areas in the Tohoku area in Japan for the field trip. His study found that the field trip brought some positive effects not only for his students but also for local residences. Kwan and So (2008) found that the field trip used under the PBL method provided university students with authentic and deep knowledge of the subject and reduced the learning gaps. In addition, they received some positive feedback from their participants about the field trip. Tal (2001) found that the field trip was seen by the participants, as the informal characteristic learning environment which promoted student's problem-solving skills. Anderson and Zhang (2003) explained the field trip was highly valued as an educational experience by the majority of teachers in her study.

There were positive effects of using the field trip but there are negative aspects of the field trip used in classes. Kent, Gilbertson and Hunt (1997) point out the field trip depends on the budget of the university. The budget for the field trip determines the destinations of the field trip and thus it is unfair for students if the budget for the field trip is small for the students. Anderson and Zhang (2003) also found concerns with the budget for the field trip. Their study showed that school teachers were concerned with costs to visit the place for the field trip.

Problem Based Learning (PBL)

PBL often stands for either problem-based learning or project-based learning. This study adopts problem-based learning (PBL). Savery (2006:12) explains PBL as an instructional learner-centered approach that empowers learners to conduct research, integrated theory and practice, and apply knowledge and skills to develop a viable solution to define the problem. Hmelo-Silver (2004) points out that in PBL, the teacher acts as a facilitator to guide students in class and helps students learn the cognitive skills for problem solving and collaboration in a small group. Wood (2003) explains that PBL is often combined with a small group teaching method. Within a small group work, learners not only gain knowledge of the subjects with their peers but also learn skills such as communication, working in a team, problem solving, sharing information, responsibility to work, and respect for others. The authors of this study applied PBL to our classes. As the past studies above showed, the authors believe that PBL helps our students to find some issues faced by the local tourism industry where our students live and study. Also PBL helps our students to find some suggestions to solve the issues which they found through the semester. Collaborating PBL and the field trip to some tourist sites, the authors of this study try to encourage our student's motivation to their study and to support our student's learning as their facilitator rather than being a lecturer.

Methodology

Data collection

In order to collect the data of this study, the authors asked participants questions at the end of the field trip. All questions were asked in Japanese for both Japanese and international students since the authors of this study believed Japanese questions were easiest, for Japanese participants in particular, to answer. For international students, the authors instructed Japanese students to help them to answer all questions. The international students studied Japanese in the university and they were able to answer questions. Also since Japanese students supported international students to answer questions in Japanese, both Japanese and international students were able to have opportunities to communicate each other.

Participants

The total of 26 participants were involved in the questionnaires for this study. 21 Japanese students and five international students who are from European countries were involved in this study. The 21 Japanese students were doing their small projects in their classes and thus they were trying to collect some information for their projects. The authors recruited five international students for the Japanese students in this field

trip. Thus the authors of this study believed taking some international students to the field trip would help our students to gather more information for their projects once our students asked them questions on their field trip. Moreover, for international students, it was a good opportunity for them to make friends who are local Japanese students.

Questionnaires

All the questions for Japanese students and international students were separately written since all the international students did not take our classes. They came to the field trip to support Japanese student's projects and thus the authors of this study asked different questions for the international students. All questions were made in Japanese for both Japanese and international students. For Japanese students, the authors of this study believed that questions asked in Japanese made it easier for Japanese students easy to understand each question and then answer. For the international students, they were learning Japanese on campus and the authors of this study wanted to use this opportunity in particular for Japanese students to interact with the international students while they were answering questions. The authors of this study encouraged Japanese students to support the international students answering questions on the questionnaires. The authors of this study translated all questions from Japanese into English after they collected all the questionnaires. The total of 12 questions for Japanese students were asked and 11 questions were asked of the international students in this study. All the questions for both Japanese and international students were put in the appendix section.

The field trip of this study

The authors of this study took our students to Izu peninsula in the middle of the first semester. Izu peninsula aims to be nominated as the world natural heritage site by UNESCO and it actively promotes itself to tourists. Thus the authors of this study believed that Izu peninsula was good for our students to visit. The schedule of the field work is set out below.

1. Around 9:00, all of us arrived in Mishima city and then two tour guides took us on a tour to Rakukotobukien (Mishima municipal park), Shirataki park, and Mishima Taisha Shrine.
2. Around 11:00, students reviewed and searched what they prepared in their classes around Mishima city with their groups.
3. Around 13:00, all of us visited Georia Museum in Syuzenji.
4. Around 14:00, students reviewed and searched what they prepared in their classes around Syuzennji area with their groups.

The authors of this study arranged the one-day field trip for our students. The authors of this study combined both guided activities and group activities. Through the guided activities by tour guides, students learned things from them and also students were able to ask their guides questions. After the guided activities, students reviewed and searched what they prepared in their classes before they came to the field trip with their group members.

Pre and post field trip activities

The authors of this study believe that the pre-field trip activities are important for students to make their field trip successful. Orion and Hofstein (1994) explain the importance of the pre-field trip activities. They found that those who prepared well could successfully cope with the new issues which they faced in the field trip. Before the authors of this study took their students to the field trip, the authors of this study gave guidance on the field trip to their students. Through this guidance, students became familiar with the places where they were going to visit. In addition, the authors of this study also let students make some plans for what they needed to research in the field trip within their groups. For example, some groups were going to do a small interview with some shops and thus they tried to make some questions to be asked.

After the field trip, the authors of this study let their students discuss their results within the same small groups. In class after their field trip, each group discussed what they found and collected in the field. Through these discussions, each group kept working on their projects and started preparing both their final presentation (using the power point slides) and their poster presentations at the end of the semester.

Results

Overall, based on the questionnaire results, students tend to see the field trip positively. However, some negative aspects were also seen. Hereafter, the details of the results of each question are examined. Firstly, the results of questionnaires answered by Japanese students are shown. The results of Q1 are shown below.

Table 1: The results of Q1 (Have you attended a field trip?)

Yes	No
8	13

Over 62% (N=13) have never experienced a field trip before while 38% have experienced it before.

The results of Q2, Q3, Q5, Q7, Q10, and Q11 are summarized below.

Table 2: the results of Q2, Q3, Q5, Q7, Q10, and Q11

Questions	Average score
Q2: Do you think the field trip this time was useful for your project? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	7.95
Q3: Were you able to collect enough information which you needed for your project? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	7.67
Q5: Were you able to communicate with international students on this trip? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	6.19
Q7: There were some opportunities to ask questions about your projects to international students. Were you able to collect enough information which you needed? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	5.7

Q10: Do you think the time of the field trip this time was too short or too long for you? (1→too short, 10→yes very much)	5.05
Q11: Do you want to attend the field trip again? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	8.35

Overall, Japanese participants in this study tend to perceive the field trip positively as the results of Q2 (7.95 on average), Q3 (7.67 on average) and Q11 (8.35 on average). However, the Japanese participants found it difficult for them to communicate with international students during the field trip as both Q5 (6.19 on average) and Q7 (5.7 on average) showed.

The results of Q4 are shown below. There were ranges of answers for Q4 but some answers are very similar. Thus the authors of this study summarized answers such as below.

Table 3: the results of Q4 (Please tell us a reason(s) of your question on Q3)

Categories of the answers	Responses
Something with ability to collect information for the project (positive)	6
Something with ability to collect information from international students (positive)	2
Something with ability to do some interviews (positive)	6
A field trip is very different from learning in class (positive)	1
Something with able to collect information from a tour guide (positive)	1
Something with not able to collect information which they need (negative)	3

Overall, there were many positive reasons for participating in the field trip (16 responses in total). The participants saw the field trip was useful in that they were able to collect information for their project (6 responses). Also they found the field trip was useful in that they were able to do some interviews (6 responses). However, there were also negative responses about the field trip. Some participants were not able to collect information which they needed for their project.

The results of Q6 are shown below. Answers for Q6 vary and thus all answers are shown as the participants answered instead of summarizing answers. However, each answer is put into three categories. For those who scored over 7 on Q5, their answers were considered as positive reasons. For those who scored either 5 or 6 on Q5, their answers are considered as neutral reasons. For those who scores under 4 on Q5, their answers are considered as negative reasons.

Table 4: the results of Q6 (Please tell us a reason(s) of your question on Q5)

Positive reasons (over 7)	Neutral reasons (either 5 or 6)	Negative reasons (under 4)
I was able to talk with them a lot. (3 similar responses)	I was able to communicate with them in Japanese but I was not able to do it in English.	Although I was able to hear what they said mostly, I was not able to communicate with them in English.
I was able to talk with them. Also I was impressed in that they could speak Japanese very well.	When international students asked some questions, I was able to communicate with them.	I was able to communicate with them in Japanese but I was not able to do it in English.
We helped each other to communicate with each other.	I was able to ask some questions to them.	I tried to talk to them but I was not able to speak English. Thus our conversation ended in very short time.
I was able to communicate with them but it was not a lot.		We didn't talk much.
We walked around together from the beginning of the trip and so we were able to communicate with them a lot.		I was shy and it was difficult for me to talk with them. I tried to talk with them but it wasn't successful.
I was able to talk with them in Japanese.		I was not able to talk with them.
I was like an interpreter for my group.		

There were both positive and negative results for Q5. For the positive reasons, the participants were able to communicate with international students in either Japanese or English. The negative result was that the participants tended to show their English skills for communication with international students. As some participants who gave positive answers said, international students who participated in this field trip were learning Japanese and they could communicate in Japanese. However, those who gave negative reasons tried to use English to communicate with international students.

The results of Q8 are listed below. As the answers vary on Q8, all answers are shown as the participants answered instead of summarizing answers. For those who scored over 7 on Q8, their answers were considered as positive reasons. For those who scored either 5 or 6 on Q8, their answers are considered as neutral reasons. For those who scores under 4 on Q8, their answers are considered as negative reasons.

Table 5: the results of Q8 (Please tell us a reason(s) of your question on Q7)

Positive reasons (over 7)	Neutral reasons (either 5 or 6)	Negative reasons (under 4)
They knew Japan a lot.	I was not able to hear things from them as I expected.	I didn't talk much to them. (2 similar responses)
I asked them some questions and their answers were very interesting to hear. They liked places where they could feel the sense of Japanese culture such as a museum and etc.	I was able to hear opinions from international students.	I didn't have an opportunity to ask questions to them. (2 similar responses)
I heard their opinions. Also they explained to me that things of Japan were introduced a lot.		I didn't ask any questions to them. (2 similar responses)
They have their points of views towards Japan.		I was not able to explain things to them well.
What they explained to me was the same as what the author of our textbook explained in the book.		
I prepared some questions to them before the field trip and I was able to get answers from them.		
I asked three questions to them at least.		
I was able to talk to them.		
I asked them some questions about our project.		
I was able to interview shop assistants.		

The results of Q8 show both positive and negative answers. Among positive reasons, the participants found communication with international students was useful for their project. Some found that international students explained to them what their textbook explained. As opposed to positive reasons, there were some negative reasons. Some participants did not have opportunities to communicate with international students.

The results of Q9 are shown below.

Table 6: the results of Q9 (How much did you prepared for this filed trip including class work?)

Time	Responses
Under 30 minutes	1
Over 30 minutes under 1 hour	5
Over 1 hour under 2 hours	11
Over 2 hours under 3 hours	4

The results of Q12 are shown below. There are some similar responses for Q13 and thus the authors put similar responses into one category as shown below.

Table 7: the results of Q12 (In the field trip, you had time to research as a group. Please tell us both good points and bad points about the group work in the field trip.

Positive things of group work	Negative things of group work
We supported each other. (4 similar responses)	It was difficult to decide where to go in a group. (5 similar responses)
We shared ideas a lot. (3 similar responses)	It was difficult to decide things in a group. (4 similar responses)
Each group member had their role to work on. (2 similar responses)	It was difficult to research in a group since each of us is interested in different things. (2 similar response)
It was fun for me. (2 similar responses)	I was alone on the day since other members needed to take part in their club activities. (2 similar responses)
Very good teamwork. (2 similar responses)	It was difficult to research in a group since each of us is interested in different things. (2 similar responses)
My group members found things which I didn't realize. (2 similar responses)	Because I am shy, I wasn't participating in activities in a group.
Easy to research as a group	
Each group member shares their skills which are good at for our project. Thus it was easy for us to do things.	
Make sure what we are doing for our project each other.	
We went to different kinds of shops to interview.	
I am shy and so it is difficult for me to do things alone. However, it was easy for me to do things in a group.	
Our group got much information which we need during the trip.	

The results of Q12 show how the participants felt about group work for the field trip. There are both positive and negative answers from the participants. For those who found group work positively, they pointed out collaborative work in a group, sharing both ideas and each role in a group, enjoyment, and good teamwork. However, there were negative answers for doing a group work. The participants pointed out that it was hard to make their decisions as a group, because each person had different

interests, and other group members were missing. It is interesting to observe the similar answer in both positive and negative sides. On the positive side, "I am shy and so it is difficult for me to do things alone. However, it was easy for me to do things in a group." was observed. On the other hand, in the negative side, "Because I was shy, I wasn't participating in activities in a group." was observed.

Secondly, the results of questionnaires answered by international students are shown. For Q1 (Could you please tell us reasons for coming to Japan?), four of the International students answered "I want to improve my Japanese language skills." There was only one who answered "I want to learn subjects in which I am majoring in Japanese." For Q2 (Have you participated in this kind of field trip?), all international students answered "No". For Q3, Q4, Q5, Q7, Q8, Q9, and Q10 are summarized below.

Table 8: the results of Q3, Q4, Q5, Q7, Q8, Q9, and Q10

Questions	Average score
Q3: Do you have an opportunity to interact with Japanese students on campus? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	6.4
Q4: Do you have an opportunity to interact with Japanese students out of campus? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	3.8
Q5: On this field trip, there was an opportunity for you to talk with Japanese students. Were you able to talk with Japanese students well? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	7.8
Q7: Did you want to participate in the field trip like this in the future again? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	6.6
Q8: You are studying Japanese on campus and do you think it is difficult for you to make Japanese friends? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	5.4
Q9: If there are Japanese who learn your first language, do you think you want to do a language exchange with them? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	8.4
Q10: Do you think the field trip this time was a tool for communicating with Japanese students for you? (1→Never, 10→Yes, very much)	7.2

There are only three responses for Q6 (Could you please tell us the reasons of Q5?) such as "Japanese students were sometimes shy", "Japanese students in my group were very kind to me. They talked to me in both Japanese and English", and "I spoke to them in Japanese". For Q11 (Could you please tell us reasons why you came to the field trip this time?), there were five different answers such as "I wanted to see a new place for me in Japan", "my friend invited me to join this field trip", "I wanted to communicate with Japanese students", "I wanted to go to Izu (where the field trip was held)", and "it sounded fun for participating in Geo tour with Japanese students".

Discussions

The importance of students' communication skills for the field trip

The first discussion point of this study is the importance of participants' communication skills for the field trip. Inoike (2010) found both positive and negative effects of the field trip for a university class. He explained that students who were good at communicating with people found the field trip research went smoothly but those who were not good at communication with people found their field trip research did not go smoothly. Moreover, students who are not good at communication with people lost their confidence. Although they tried to interview some people during the field trip, the interviews were not successful in the field trip. In this study, as the results of Q6 (reasons for whether students were able to communicate with international students) showed, some students were very shy and were not confident of their English skills. Although the international students who came along were also learning Japanese and were able to speak Japanese, Japanese participants even did not try to speak to them in Japanese and try to get information for their projects. The results of Q6 in this study showed similar results of Inoike's study (2010).

The importance of group work

Kempa and Orion (1996) explain the importance of group work for the field trip. The participants in their study showed their positive perception towards group work activities in their field trip. In particular, Kempa and Orion (1996) let students choose their working partners when they formed groups for the field trip. Since their participants were able to select their working partners, they showed positive perception towards group activities during the field trip. In this study, the authors of this study basically applied the same principle in that students were basically able to choose their working partners in groups. One of the authors of this study let students brainstorm their research themes first as a whole class. Then he let students form some groups for the field trip. The other author lets students form groups first and then let students decide their research theme as a group. As the results of Q 12 in this study showed earlier, some students mentioned the effective group work during their field trip. For instance, some pointed out good teamwork, sharing ideas, and sharing tasks within a group. However, there were also some negative aspects of conducting a group work during their field trip. For instance, decision making, different interest for the places to visit, and absence of group members.

Suggestions

In order to make the student's field trip meaningful for them, this study found two key aspects such as the importance of having good communication skills among participants and the importance of collaborative group work during the field trip. Firstly, as the results of Q6 showed, those who were not good at communicating with in particular international students who came along with them, did not utilize the contribution of international students for their projects very well. Cheng (2000) found that although there was an impression that Asian EFL/ESL learners were quiet and passive in classes by teachers, there were indeed some Asian EFL/ESL learners who were quite active in classes. The authors of this study also realize the point made by Cheng (2000). Thus, in order to encourage these shy students to participate actively in

the field trip, one suggestion is that teachers need to supervise these shy students a little bit more carefully and could try to arrange them as pairs or small group for communication with the others. In addition, when a pair or small groups is formed, selecting members of pairs or small groups is important. Matching those who are active in classes and those who are shy together in a pair or small group is the key to solve this problem. Furthermore, teachers need to carefully supervise pairs or group members to ensure that they are communicating with each other in their pairs of groups.

Secondly, as for the group work during the field trip, the results of Q12 showed, there was negative feedback on the group work. The participants of this study pointed out making a decision as a group, including showing different levels of interest in the visit among members of each group, was difficult during the field trip. They found that it was difficult for them to decide where to visit in particular. This problem would be solved in class before the field trip. In this study, before the field trip, students were told where they would visit by their teachers in class. However, in the field trip, some students felt difficulty in making their decisions as where to go in their group. The teachers need to encourage each group in class to make their plans well for their field trip.

There was also negative feedback when some students found that some group members did not turn up on the day of the field trip. In order to solve this issue, student's attendance of the field trip could be a part of their requirements for their final grade to encourage students to participate in the field trip. For instance, Yamamoto and Usami (2015) reported the importance of using an online course tool as a part of the requirements of the student's final grades. Their study found when online course tools were used as a part of student's requirements for their final grades, students tended to access online course tools more than when online course tools were not used as a part of student's requirements. In this study, both authors did not allow any extra points towards student's final grades when students participated in the field trip. However, including participation points for the field work towards student's final grades could encourage a student's positive attitude to participate in the field trip.

Conclusion

This study examined whether the fieldwork under the PBL method was effective or not. The questionnaire survey revealed both positive and negative aspects of the fieldwork. Overall, students considered the fieldwork was useful for their study. In the field, some mentioned that they were able to gather what they needed for their study. On the other hand, there were negative aspects towards the field trip. Firstly, some students found difficult to communicate with others during the field trip. Also, some found difficulty in conducting group work in the field. In order to solve these issues, one suggestion was to supervise these shy students carefully in order to encourage them to participate in the group activity. The other suggestion was to make the field trip one of the requirements towards student's final grades in order to make students positively participate in the field trip. The limitation of this study is the sample of the data is small since it is conducted as a case study. In order to improve the quality of the data analysis, the bigger scale data samples will be needed for the next study.

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Appendix

All the questions for Japanese students

1. Have you attended a field trip?
2. Do you think the field trip this time was useful for your project?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10→Yes, very much)
3. Were you able to collect enough information which you needed for your project?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)
4. Please tell us a reason(s) of your question on Q3
5. Were you able to communicate with international students in this trip?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)
6. Please tell us a reason(s) of your question on Q5
7. There were some opportunities to ask questions about your projects to international students. Were you able to collect enough information which you needed? (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10→Yes, very much)
8. Please tell us a reason(s) of your question on Q7
9. How much did you prepared for this filed trip including class work?
    ✓ Under 30 minutes
    ✓ Over 30 minutes under 1 hour
    ✓ Over 1 hour under 2 hours
    ✓ Over 2 hours under 3 hours
    ✓ Over 3 hours under 4 hours
    ✓ Over 4 hours under 5 hours
    ✓ Over 5 hours under 6 hours
    ✓ Over 7 hours under 8 hours
    ✓ Over 8 hours (or more)
10. Do you think the time of the field trip this time was too short or too long for you?
    (1→too short, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→too long)
11. Do you want to attend the field trip again?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10→Yes, very much)
12. In the field trip, you had time to research as a group. Please tell us both good points and bad points about the group work in the field trip.

All the questions for international students

1. Could you please tell us reasons for coming to Japan?
2. Have you participated in this kind of field trip?
3. Do you have an opportunity to interact with Japanese students on campus?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)
4. Do you have an opportunity to interact with Japanese students out of campus?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)
5. On this field trip, there was an opportunity for you to talk with Japanese students. Were you able to talk with Japanese students well?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)
6. Could you please tell us reasons of Q5?
7. Did you want to participate in the field trip like this in the future again?
    (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)
8. You are studying Japanese on campus and do you think it is difficult for you to make Japanese friends? (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)

9. If there are Japanese who learn your first language, do you think you want to do language exchange with them?
   (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)

10. Do you think the field trip this time was a tool for communicating with Japanese students for you? (1→Never, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,10→Yes, very much)

11. Could you please tell us reasons why you came to the field trip this time?

UGC on YouTube and Political Participation: Using the 2016 Taiwan Presidential Election as an Example

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the democratizing potential and political implications of user-generated content (UGC), including political expression, idea exchange and public discussion, during the 2016 Taiwan Presidential election.

YouTube, the largest and most widely used video-sharing website, both appeals to a large audience and allows for diverse modes of expression through videos and comments without editing and censoring. Ordinary citizens are able to upload their videos or to comment on the videos, adding their voices on the online debate. This study adopts a quantitative content analysis to explore the relationship between the production of UGC on YouTube about the 2016 Taiwan presidential election and the response of those videos' viewers.

The result shows that UGC on YouTube can facilitate public participation, through allowing citizens to express, exchange, and even debate their political ideas, thoughts and concerns. Without strong political resources, citizens have played the role of gatewatcher by retelling the stories from mainstream media.

Secondly, the topic and style of UGC are able to influence the content and language of comments. The videos coded as scandal receive the higher view counts, the greater the number of comments, the more uncivil language are used.

Thirdly, the performance of UGC influences the quality of discussion. The videos with emotional appeals generate the most attention from the public and mass media than fact-based ones, but the comments on those popular videos are often negative in tone, and offer less substantive viewpoints.

Keywords: election campaign, online public sphere, political communication, user-generated content (UGC), YouTube

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Introduction

With the invention of internet technology, the one-way model of political communication through traditional media such as press and television has been challenged over the last decade (Benoit and Hansen, 2004: 168;Östman, 2012: 1016). The audience not only passively receives political messages, but becomes the producer who can produce and use the message at the same time (Kaufhold, Valenzuela and Zúñiga, 2010).

New media has changed the top-to-down model of communication, especially, internet as the representative of the user-driven nature. Internet technology allows ordinary people to participate in the content creation process- -they not only express their opinions (e.g. rating, commenting or discussing) and share their experiences (e.g. tagging, publishing), but also appropriate various materials and forms to create their content (e.g. citizen reports and political videos), and then upload them to different online platforms, in order to get feedback or provoke discussion. These content are called user-generated content. UGC is the term used to describe various forms of content (such as video, blogs, forums, posts, comments, digital images, and other forms of media) was created by end-users of online systems or services (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010: 61).

In recent elections, candidates desire to interact with voters through online platforms (Gueorguieva, 2008; Johnson, 2011). Similarly, active Internet users, or netizens, frequently express their political opinions through user-generated content (UGC). Particularly, they upload self-made videos to YouTube that not only make certain appeals but also provide topics for discussion. The videos draw views from the public, who then exchange opinions and discuss by leaving comments, thus bringing certain topics to attention and facilitating democratic participation. Therefore, the internet becomes a public sphere (Edgerly, et al., 2009; Papacharissi, 2002).

Past elections were mainly covered in the form of horse-racing news (Aalberg, Strömbäck and de Vreese, 2012). Reporters were prompted to use candidates' campaign strategies and polls in their reports, and referred to in-service politicians, officials, or campaign spokespersons as their sources of information (Benoit et al., 2005; Boyd and Bahador, 2015). This approach not only neglects candidates' actual platforms, but also fails to consider the needs and perspectives of citizens from different classes. By contrast, UGC is produced by the general public who lack related expertise and resources. Such creators refer to common people as their sources of information, and create content that expresses their concerns (Östman, 2012). Therefore, the political videos they make are distinct from election reports disseminated by the mainstream media. It will help to stimulate the public sphere and contribute to a democracy-enhancing development.

To examine the democratic potential of UGC, this study focused on Taiwan's presidential election in 2016 to investigate netizens' political participation on YouTube in terms of the generated video content and the comments left by viewers. This enables understanding people's online political behavior. Accordingly, the following research questions were proposed:

1. What content is displayed in the political videos made by netizens on YouTube? What are the relationships among the protagonist, topic, genre, and style of UGC?

2. What are online viewers' reactions toward UGC? How is UGC related to viewer responses?

3. How is the quality of user comments? How is UGC related to such comments?

Literature

According to Habermas, the public sphere is seen as a discussive space between the state and private sphere in which people come together as the public to use their own reason to discuss social issues, and through that discussion to form public opinion and influence political action (Habermas, 1989). In the eighteenth century, media played a catalyst role for the emergence of the public sphere. With the commercialization of mass media, the media environment has become more complex, and media organizations have paid more attention to advertising and public relations, thus hindering the development of the public sphere (Crack, 2007; Habermas, 1989). Habermas calls this the refeudalization of the public sphere where the public are turned into the status of spectator, and expert opinion has replaced public opinion (Ubayasiri, 2006).

The advent of the Internet seems to help improve this problem. By using the Internet, people have 'lower barrier to entry' and little difficulty to create content in a variety of ways, from sending an email, chatting with friends online, setting up a personal blog, to uploading photos, videos or reports to social websites, such as YouTube. The Internet allows a wide range of voices to be expressed and be heard. It has provided a new arena for the public sphere to grow to encompass new forms and formats of participation (Dahlberg, 2001; Khan, Gilam and Nawaz, 2012).

YouTube, the largest and most widely used video-sharing website, provides new ways to stimulate citizen engagement in political elections. As a political forum, YouTube both appeals to large audience and allows for diverse modes of expression through videos and comments without editing and censorship (Church, 2010). Ordinary citizens are able to upload their own videos (UGC) or to comment on the videos, adding their voices on the online debate.

Currently, some research is devoted to the role of YouTube in political election (Church, 2010; Towner and Dulio, 2011) and the impact of content produced by the candidates (Zimmerman, 2009), rarely analyzing user-generated content (English, Sweetser and Ancu, 2011: 734). Only few studies examine user's preferences towards political UGCs in terms of views and feedback. Here, the view refers to passive watching or reading of YouTube viewers while feedback means viewers' positive response to the UGC, such as comments, dissemination or discussion (Checchinato,

Gazzola and Disegna, 2015). Although YouTube has become the most popular video-sharing website, it does not mean that YouTube can facilitate more political participation (Edgerly, et al., 2009). In order to access the chances and limitations of this new type of freedom of expression on YouTube, the researcher must consider the public's response to the UGC (English, et al., 2011; Milliken, Gibson and O'Donnell, 2008).

Therefore, this study examines the relationship between the production of UGC and the response of those videos' viewers, in order to explore the democratizing potential of political speech on YouTube in which citizens voluntarily and naturally engage in the 2016 Taiwan presidential election.

Method

This study conducted a content analysis of user-generated videos about that the 2016 Taiwan Presidential election, as well as the associated comments. In order to assess the total number of UGC about the presidential election on the YouTube, the specific search terms were the names of the primary party candidates, including the KMT's candidates Zhu Lilun and Wang Ruxuan; the DPP's candidates Cai Yingwen and Chen Jianren; the PFP's candidates Song Chuyu and Xu Xinying. After eliminating the invalid links and irrelevant videos, the selected samples were 72 videos and 2069 comments.

The content analysis was conducted on two levels. The first level of analysis was for the individual video captured quantitative data about the content of the videos in terms of protagonist, topic, genre and style. The second level of analysis examined viewer feedback through all the 2069 comments posted to the 72 videos. Each comment was coded for its content and its language.

Content Categories

The political videos about the 2016 Taiwan presidential election by YouTube users were chosen for analysis. Each video was coded into the following categories:

(1) Protagonist

This refers to the political parties and their presidential and vice presidential candidates who were filmed as the primary roles of the video. When coded, this category was divided into the following: 1) Zhu team: the KMT and its candidates Zhu Lilun and Wang Ruxuan; 2) Cai team: the DPP and its candidates Cai Yingwen and Chen Jianren; 3) Song team: the PFP and its candidates Song Chuyu and Xu Xinying.

(2) Topic

The topic in each video was determined by what each video was about. These topics were classified into three categories: 1) policy: these were videos about policy matters or the candidates' policies; 2) campaign strategy: these were videos about the potential winner of election game, fund-raising, political advertising, polling data, electoral strategies, etc.; 3) scandal: these were videos about the scandal of the

candidate or its party (such as personal property, corruption, political donations of unknown sources, stock insider trading, etc.).

(3) Genre

This category refers to the narrative form used by each video and was divided into four categories: 1) music: the video used the form of light music, songs or their own music; 2) drama: the video re-edited movies, animated content, or campaign ads; 3) news: the video re-edited news reports or eyewitness accounts; 4) hybrid: the video includes various forms of narratives.

(4) Style

This category refers to the way of presentation used by each video and was classified into three categories: 1) fact-telling: the content of the video was based on the facts; 2) sarcasm: the content of the video used the vulgar, abusive, exaggeated or ironic way to expose the shortcomings of the candidate; 3) humor: the content of the video used a humorous or gentle way to describe the candidate.

(5) View counts

This category refers to the number of times viewed on YouTube and divided into three categories: 1) low view counts: 0-578; 2) middle view counts: 579-11925; 3) high view counts: above 11926.

(6) Content of comment

Each comment was coded in terms of its content and divided into four categories: 1) analytic: a comment analyzed the video content; 2)irrelevant: a comment was irrelevant to the video content; 3) favour: a comment conformed the producer's view; 4)opposed: a comment was against the producer's view.

(7) Language of comment

Each comment was coded according to its language used in the comment and classified into four categories: 1) rational statement: a comment gave reasons or told facts; emotional statements, such as 2) a comment used phrases or internet shorthands; 3) a comment used indecent words (eg. slander, swearing); 4) a comment used exclamation words or internet icons.

Coding and Inter-coder Reliability

The coding for this study was completed by three undergraduate students from the Journalism Department of Shih-hsin University. They were qualified for the research since all of them had taken a course in research methodology. All coders received relevant training before formally starting the coding. The content categories and coding schemes went through various pretests and revisions. The researcher randomly selected eight videos out of all UGC for the inter-coder reliability test. Inter-coder reliability was determined by using Scott's Pi and the mean of Scott's Pi reached 0.84.

Discussion

Regarding the topics of UGC, scandal was the most frequent topic (47.2%), followed by campaign strategy (29.2%) and policy (23.6%). Table 1 shows that the relationship between topic and protagonist reached statistical significance (χ^2 (4, 72) = 48.227, $p <$ .001, Cramer's V= 0.57900). The videos of the Zhu team focused on scandal (82.1%) more than strategy (12.8%) and policy (5.1%). Campaign strategy was the most common topic (70%) in the Cai team whereas the Song team concerned policy (56.5%). The result reveals that netizens tended to create videos featuring scandal for the Zhu team. Being the ruling class, KMT had the most political resources, however, numerous scandals emerged during the campaign (eg. the military case of Wang Ruxuan), rending the netizens to criticize KMT. Most clips related to the Song team were filmed by their supporters and these videos mainly showcased Song's policies and political achievements.

Table 1. Crosstabulation between topic and protagonist

	Policy	Strategy	Scandal	Total
Zhu team	2	5	32	39
	5.1%	12.8%	82.1%	100%
	11.8%	23.8%	94.1%	54.2%
Cai team	2	7	1	10
	20.0%	70.0%	10.0%	100%
	11.8%	33.3%	2.9%	13.9%
Song team	13	9	1	23
	56.5%	39.1%	4.3%	100%
	76.5%	42.9%	2.9%	31.9%
Total	17	21	34	72
	23.6%	29.2%	47.2%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 (4, 72)= 48.227, $p <$ .001, Cramer's V= 0.57900

In the 2016 presidential election, the most common genre of UGC was music (44.4%), followed by hybrid (22.2%) and drama (19.4%). News appeared as the rarest of the genres (13.9%). This might be attributed to how netizens had very limited to first-hand information; therefore, they mainly used music, adaptations and edited news clips to create new videos.

Table 2 shows that the relationship between genre and protagonist reached statistical significance (χ^2 (6, 72) = 19.570, $p <$ .01, Cramer's V= 0.369). In the videos of the Zhu team and the Song team, music was the most common genre (56.3% and 40.6%), whereas news was the most frequent genre in the Cai team (50%). This might be the reason that the netizens used the popular songs to criticize or prank KMT while the supports of the Song team used the light music to introduce the political performance of Mr. Song.

Table 2. Crosstabulation between genre and protagonist

	Music	Drama	News	Hybrid	Total
Zhu team	18	11	4	6	39
	46.2%	28.2%	10.2%	15.4%	100%
	56.3%	78.6%	40.0%	37.5%	54.2%
Cai team	1	1	5	3	10
	10.0%	10.0%	50.0%	30.0%	100%
	3.41%	7.1%	50.0%	18.8%	13.9%
Song team	13	2	1	7	23
	56.5%	8.7%	0.0%	30.4%	100%
	40.6%	14.64%	10.0%	43.8%	31.9%
Total	32	14	10	16	72
	44.4%	19.4%	13.9%	22.2%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi 2$ (6, 72)= 19.570, p< .01, Cramer's V= 0.369

In the videos of drama genre, the Zhu team's frequency was significantly higher than the other two teams (78.6%). The reason was that the netizens often re-edited the film content or advertising to laugh at the KMT. In the videos of news genre, the frequency of the Song team was less than the other two teams (10%). This is because the 2016 election was the competition of two major political parties, Mr. Song's media exposure was relatively low, and thus his videos employed less news genre.

The style of UGC was sarcasm more than fact-telling (58.3% to 33%) with few humor (8.3%). There is obvious evidence on Table 3 that sarcasm was the most frequent style in the videos of the Zhu team (87.2%) whereas the style of fact-telling was often used in the videos of the Cai team and Song team (60% and 65.2%).
These data reported in Table 3 support the evidence that most netizens have criticized the performance of KMT and Song supporters were more inclined to use the facts to introduce Mr. Song's policy.

Table 3. Crosstabulation between style and protagonist

	Fact-telling	**Sarcasm**	**humor**	**Total**
Zhu team	3	34	2	39
	7.7%	87.2%	5.1%	100%
	12.5%	81.0%	33.3%	54.2%
Cai team	6	4	0	10
	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100%
	25.0%	9.5%	0.0%	13.9%
Song team	15	4	4	23
	65.2%	17.4%	17.4%	100%
	62.5%	9.5%	66.7%	31.9%
Total	24	42	6	72
	33.3%	58.3%	8.3%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4 reveals that the videos of policy often used the style of fact-telling (82.4%) while 97.1 percent of scandal videos focused on the sarcastic style, without any video using fact-telling style. This shows that most users preferred to use satire as a style to expose the political scandals.

Table 4. Crosstabulation between style and topic

	Fact-telling	Sarcasm	Humor	Total
Policy	14	2	1	17
	82.4%	11.8%	5.9%	100%
	58.3%	4.8%	16.7%	23.6%
Strategy	10	7	4	21
	47.6%	33.3%	19.0%	100%
	41.7%	16.7%	66.7%	29.2%
Scandal	0	33	1	34
	0.0%	97.1%	2.9%	100%
	0.0%	78.6%	16.7%	47.2%
Total	24	42	6	72
	33.3%	58.3%	8.3%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

In terms of view counts, except video genre (P=.286>.05), protagonist, topic and style were significantly related to views counts. Table 5 shows that the relationship between protagonist and view counts achieved strong statistical significance (χ^2 (4, 72)= 17.133, $p< .01$, Cramer's V= 0.345).

Table 5. Crosstabulation between protagonist and view counts

		Zhu team	Cai team	Song team	Total
Low	**view**	7	3	13	23
counts		30.4%	13.0%	56.5%	100%
		17.9%	30.0%	56.5%	31.9%
Middle	**view**	12	6	7	25
counts		48.0%	24.0%	28.0%	100%
		30.8%	60.0%	30.4%	34.7%
High	**view**	20	1	3	24
counts		83.3%	4.2%	12.5%	100%
		51.3%	10.0%	13.0%	33.3%
Total		39	10	23	72
		54.2%	13.9%	31.9%	100%
		100%	100%	100%	100%

（χ^2 (4, 72)= 17.133, p< .01, Cramer's V= 0.345）

In the videos of the Zhu team, high view counts accounted for the majority (51.3%); for the Cai team, middle view counts was more than low view counts (60% to 30%); 56.5% of the Song team were devoted to low view counts. This reflected the YouTube viewers' dislike of the Song team's videos. As mentioned earlier, the presidential campaign was mainly the KMT and the DDP's competition, so Mr. Song was easy to be ignored. Also, the high click-through rate of the Zhu team's videos was based on

the styles of the videos rather than their popularity. For YouTube viewers, the more irony of the video, the more interesting the content, the higher the number of clicks.

Table 6 shows that the relationship between topic and view counts achieved strong statistical significance (χ^2 (4, 72)= 16.752, p< .01, Cramer's V= 0.341). In the videos of policy and strategy, low view counts accounted for the majority (58.8% and 42.9%) whereas high view counts dominated in the video of scandal (52.9%). This reveals that the YouTube viewers liked to see scandal videos, such as "Zhu Lilun commitment to make the New Taipei mayor to do full', 'Wang Ruxuan's military case", "Cai Yingwen fried land", etc. However, the videos of policy were unlikely to attract viewers to watch, because of their serious and boring content. The videos of strategy such as campaign standings, canvassing and pep rally were also hard to get netizens interested.

Table 6. Crosstabulation between topic and view counts

		Policy	Strategy	Scandal	Total
Low	**view**	10	9	4	23
counts		43.5%	39.1%	17.4%	100%
		58.8%	42.9%	11.8%	31.9%
Middle	**view**	5	8	12	25
counts		20.0%	32%	48.0%	100%
		29.4%	38.1%	35.3%	34.7%
High	**view**	2	4	18	24
counts		8.3%	16.7%	75.0%	100%
		11.8%	19.0%	529%	33.3%
Total		17	21	34	72
		23.6%	29.2%	47.2%	100%
		100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 (4, 72)= 16.752, p< .01, Cramer's V= 0.341）

Table 7. Crosstabulation between style and view counts

		Fact-telling	Sarcasm	Humor	total
Low	**view**	16	5	2	23
counts		69.6%	21.7%	8.7%	100%
		66.7%	11.9%	33.3%	31.9%
Middle	**view**	6	17	2	25
counts		24.0%	68.0%	8.0%	100%
		25.0%	40.5%	33.3%	34.7%
High	**view**	2	20	2	24
counts		8.3%	83.3%	8.3%	100%
		8.3%	47.6%	33.3%	33.3%
Total		24	42	6	72
		33.3%	58.3%	8.3%	100%
		100%	100%	100%	100%

χ^2 (4, 72)= 22.470, p< .001, Cramer's V= 0.395

Table 7 shows that the relationship between style and view counts had strong statistical significance (χ^2 (4, 72)= 22.470, $p<$ .001, Cramer's V= 0.395). Low view counts dominated in the videos of fact-telling style (66.7%) whereas high view counts was more than the middle view counts in the scandal videos (47.6% to 40.5%). This shows that viewers preferred to watch the ironic videos, because the performance of these videos (eg. "Danshui grandmom", "Wang RuXuan 13.8 million") were able to stimulate their senses, and make political issues more interesting. However, most of fact-telling videos just simply described the objective situation, and such content was too boring to get viewers interested.

According to comments posted on YouTube, 61.1% of videos did not have any text comments by viewers and there were no video responses. Table 8 and Table 9 show that the relationship of both topic and style and number of comment reached the statistical significance (χ^2 (2, 72)= 12.832, $p<$ .01, Cramer's V= 0.422; χ^2 (2, 72)= 17.574, $p<$ .001, Cramer's V= 0.494). The have-comment dominated in the videos of scandal (82.4%) whereas non-comment accounted for the majority in the videos of policy and strategy (64.7% and 52.4%). In addition, the frequency of non-comment was high than have-comment (70.8% to 29.2%) in the videos of fact-telling whereas the frequency of have-comment was four times that of non-comment in the videos of sarcasm (81% to 19%). This reflects that viewers preferred to watch the videos with the scandal topic and satirical style, because such films were able to arouse their interest and discussion while the videos with policy topic and fact-telling style were hard to make YouTube viewers to respond.

Table 8. Crosstabulation between topic and comment

	Policy	Strategy	Scandal	Total
No comment	11	11	6	28
	39.3%	39.3%	21.4%	100%
	64.7%	52.4%	17.6%	38.9%
Comment	6	10	28	44
	13.6%	22.7%	63.6%	100%
	35.3%	47.6%	82.4%	61.1%
Total	17	21	34	72
	23.6%	29.2%	47.2%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

（χ^2 (2, 72)= 12.832, p< .01, Cramer's V= 0.422）

Table 9. Crosstabulation between style and comment

	Fact-telling	Sarcasm	Humor	Total
No comment	17	8	3	28
	60.7%	28.6%	10.7%	100%
	70.8%	19.0%	50.0%	38.9%
Comment	7	34	3	44
	15.9%	77.3%	6.8%	100%
	29.2%	81.0%	50.0%	61.1%
Total	24	42	6	72
	33.3%	58.3%	8.3%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

（χ^2 (2, 72)= 17.574, p< .001, Cramer's V= 0.494）

In terms of comment's content and language, figure 1 shows that favour was the most frequent content (56%), followed by irrelevent (27%), with a few comments of opposed (10%) and analytic (7%). In addition, most of the comments posted by viewers were phrases or intern shorthand (72%), such as "You are really Super Genius!" "This Awesome work!" with few comments on rationality (7%) (see figure 2).
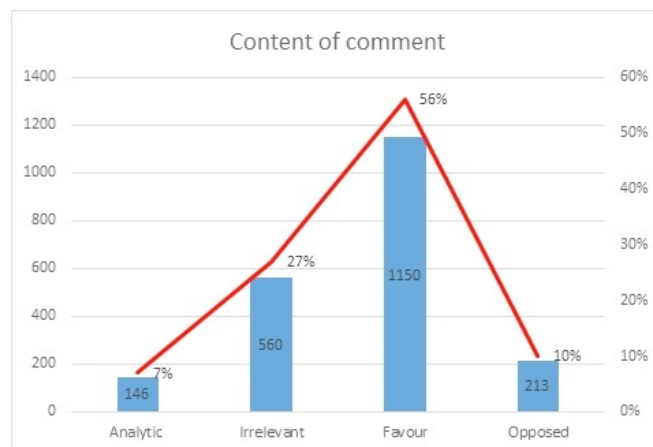
Figure 1: content of comment on UGC
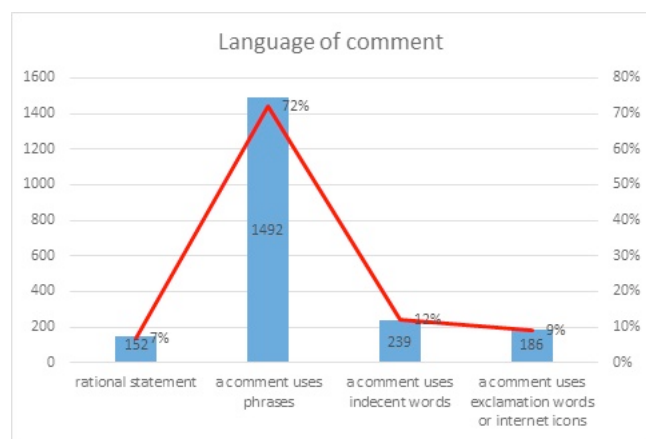
Figure 2: language of comment on UGC

Conclusion

This study explored the role of YouTube UGC in the 2016 presidential election, and found that the political videos made by netizens were mainly focused on criticizing the conduct of the ruling party's candidates. This result showed that netizens not only exercised the freedom of speech as citizen-supervisors by using self-made videos to comment on current events online, but also exchanged opinions with other viewers and creators, initiated discussion of related topics and increased their influence, and even attracted media attention and coverage. For example, SET News released a report titled "Donation of NT$1,380,000 by Wang Ju-Hsuan Coincides with a Movie of Stephen Chow: 'He is a Prophet!', Praised by Netizens", in which netizens criticized the under-the-table dealing made by certain politicians.

Undoubtedly, the Internet has challenged the original mode of political communication, and the ruling party can no longer interfere in news reporting through

its leverage and funds. In addition, YouTube provides an online public sphere for the public to post and comment on videos to express personal opinions. However, due to the lack of resources, the general public cannot access first-hand information in time, and their videos are mostly generated and edited using materials at hand. In this respect, netizens can only "gatewatch" rather than gatekeep the process of news generation.

UGC is more entertaining and dramatic than standard news reports because it has altered the original content of the reports. In terms of UGC authors, popular videos receiving the most views are mostly from works of specific netizens. These netizens have become a new class of information providers. They not only post videos regularly, but are also adept at attracting netizens' attention, creating topics, or increasing the number of views.

The topics and tactics used in UGC can affect the number of views and comments. Videos edited in a more sarcastic style were likely to receive more views and comments, whereas videos made in a more matter-of-fact style received less attention. This indicates that the public not only prefers content involving conflicts, sarcasm, and ridicule, but also enjoys discussing such content.

Finally, the content of viewer comments showed that people tend to agree with UGC authors using sentimental phrases, whereas only few express rational opinions or disagree with the authors. In addition, a number of rude comments were observed as well. This indicated that although YouTube may serve as a public sphere, most people only click likes, make short comments, or leave curses after viewing videos without engaging in substantial discussion. As Papacharissi (2002) puts it, the internet contributes to hasty opinions rather than rational discussion. This interaction mode can easily develop into a trend of "lazy politics", and is thus worth noting.

This study only focused on the video-based YouTube platform. Therefore, only the political videos made by specific netizens were observed, and the results cannot be inferred to all types of UGC. In addition, netizens have access to a wide array of online platforms and services, and may thus generate distinct forms of content on different platforms. Several platforms may encourage people to engage in substantial discussion more effectively compared with YouTube. Accordingly, future studies should expand their research scope to further explore how people apply new technology to political participation.

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School Climate as it Relates to Organizational Commitment of Teachers

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Abstract

Teaching is one of the most important professions from the standpoint of human welfare. It is considered as one of the most exalted forms of social service. Teaching is also one of the most technical, difficult, and challenging professions (Acero, Javier, & Castro, 2000). Likewise, teaching is also considered a great opportunity. In the words of Gregorio (1986), no one should enter into this work without an appreciation of the great opportunity it offers for high service and gratifying achievement. This study aimed to examine teachers' organizational commitments in terms of parent relationship, community service and mission and the school's organizational climate in terms of administrative support, buffers, teaching help, school influence, and autonomy. It also aimed to determine the extent of influence of school climate on teachers' organizational commitment. The respondents of the study were the 62 school administrators and 313 elementary school teachers. Descriptive-correlational method was used in the investigation. The data gathered was summarized, translated, and analyzed using frequency counts, percentages, weighted mean, standard deviation, ranks, t-test for independent samples, and multiple regression analysis. All computations were done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software and all tests of hypotheses was set at 0.05 level of significance. From the data gathered on the teachers' organizational commitment, both respondents perceived that in general, teachers were committed; both respondents perceived that the school climates was very satisfactory; there was a significant difference between the school administrators and teachers' perception on teachers' organizational commitment. It was also found that age, educational attainment, teaching experience, school's climate are potent factors that significantly influence the organizational commitment of teachers.

Keywords: organizational commitment, school, school climate, teacher, teacher commitment

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Introduction

Teaching is one of the most important professions from the standpoint of human welfare. It is considered as one of the most exalted forms of social service. Teaching is also one of the most technical, difficult, and challenging professions. Likewise, teaching is also considered a great opportunity. In the words of Gregorio (1986), no one should enter into this work without an appreciation of the great opportunity it offers for high service and gratifying achievement.

In addition, Cariño (1992), espoused that the most important component of the educational system is the teacher. No educational reform can begin unless it begins first with the teacher. As stressed by Navarro (1988), the teacher has always been expected to prepare the young people to become useful, upright and active citizens in the community.

As observed, there were teachers who are non-participative to school activities. They tend to be mere spectators in the organization and serve as critique to school activities. Another observable factor is absenteeism displayed among teachers. Moreover, most teachers become business minded. They sell goods and other products in the school and oftentimes send their pupils to collect payments for the sold goods. Teaching becomes secondary or sideline. Another observed factor is organizational climate. Conflict between school administrators and teachers and among teachers themselves often not resolved. The no freedom of expression and no consultations, especially on planning and decision-making creates friction among superiorates and subordinates. Small conflicts tend to reach the Ombudsman, or to radio broadcasting or to the favorite TV program "HOY GISING" or to the Division Grievance Committee without proper channel. These indicators can be attributed to teachers' commitment and complacency. As Drucker (1977) stressed that effective manager, including teachers as committed managers of teaching and learning, focus on contribution they look up from their work and outward goals. They will ask what they can contribute to the realization of their goals and likewise determine what will significantly affect the performance and the results of the institution they serve.

Furthermore, Ornstein (1993) posited that commitment among school personnel is of paramount importance. Commitment is not mere compliance with an assigned professional commitment to their functions in the school organization. It serves as an alleviating factor for absenteeism, not being punctual in reporting to their classes, and indecency. It reflects the personal interpretation of work experience among teachers. It also believed that commitment is a significant factor to the improvement of school outcome, especially students' academic achievement.

Hence, the present study tries to find out the teachers' organizational commitment as influence by school climate.

Objectives of the Study

This study aimed to examine teachers' organizational commitments as influenced by school climates. It sought answers to the following questions: (1) what is the level of teachers' organizational commitment in terms of parent relationship, community service and school's mission? (2) what is the school's organizational climate in terms

of administrative support, buffers, teaching help, school influence, and autonomy? (3) To what extent does school climate influence the teachers' organizational commitment?

Methodology

To attain the research objectives, descriptive-correlational method was used in the investigation. The respondents of the study were the 62 school administrators which includes the principals, head teachers, and school in-charge of the sixty-two elementary schools and the 313 elementary school teachers which are randomly selected from the total 1, 438 elementary school teachers.

In gathering the data, two sets of survey questionnaires were used: *organizational commitment questionnaire and school climate questionnaire.* The first questionnaire has 14-items which is subdivided into three groups: parent relationship; community service; and school's mission. Meanwhile, the second questionnaire consists of five indicators namely: administrative support; buffers; teaching help; school influence; and autonomy adapted from the study of Riehl and Sipple (1996). As to the reliability of the instrument, the following are the Cronbach-alpha reliability coefficients: administrative support (α=0.88); buffers (α=0.74); teaching help (α=0.84); school influence (α=0.77); and autonomy (α=0.74). From the different reliability indices, this instrument is said to be reliable. As to the statistical treatment, weighted mean, and regression analysis were used.

Results & Discussion

The following were the findings arranged according to the objectives of the study.

A. Level of Teacher's Organizational Commitment

This part presents the level of teacher's organizational commitment along parent relationship, community service, and school's mission as viewed by the school administrators and teachers. The scale below was used to help describe the data.

Scale	Range	Qualitative Description
5	4.21-5.00	very highly committed
4	3.41-4.20	highly committed
3	2.61-3.40	moderately committed
2	1.81-2.60	less committed
1	1.00-1.80	not committed

A.1. Parent Relationship

Figure 1 shows the level of organizational commitment of teachers as to parent relationship. As shown, both school administrators and teachers agreed that "*teacher discuss with parent the concern about the academic performance of their children every periodic term*" based on the means scores of 3.97 and 4.29, respectively. However, school administrators viewed teachers as "highly committed" while teacher themselves viewed it as "very highly committed". Moreover, both respondents scored lowest on the last indicator. However, they both

agreed that teachers were "moderately committed" in visiting homes of pupils whenever they are absent in the class. This can be seen by its mean scores of 2.94 and 3.30, respectively.

Figure 1 Parent Relationship
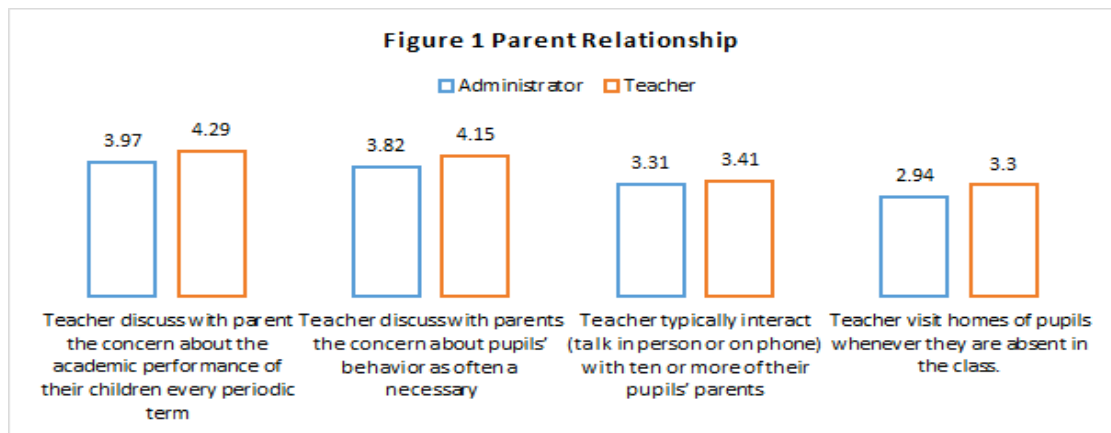
A.2. Community Service

Figure 2 presents the level of teacher's organizational commitment as to community service. As shown, the school administrators and teachers has different views on teacher's organizational commitment as to community service. The obtained mean score of 4.07 (school administrators) depicts that teachers were "highly committed" in leading the barangay and/or purok in clean and green program. Meanwhile, the mean score of 4.23 (teachers) signifies that teachers were "very highly committed" in rendering barangay and/or purok evaluation. The difference can be attributed to the fact that majority of the clean and green programs in the purok and barangay level are already implemented. To sustain its implementation, periodic monitoring and evaluation were done by the teachers as purok enablers. In addition, both respondents agreed that teachers were "highly committed" in serving during barangay and/or purok elections based on its means scores of 3.86 and 3.84, respectively. This indicator was scored lowest by both respondents because it is very obvious that teachers were often taken as board of election inspectors (BEI) during government elections.

Figure 2 Community Service
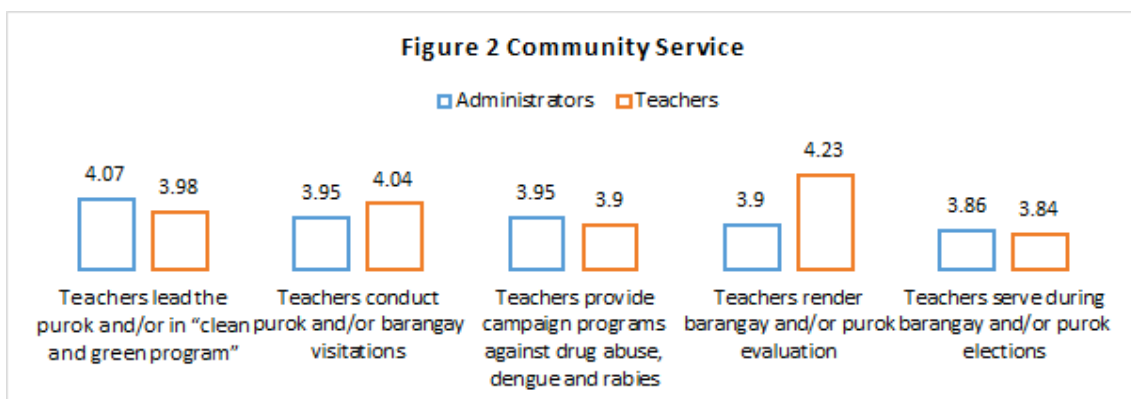
A.3. School's Mission

Figure 3 illustrates the level of organizational commitment of teachers as to fulfilling the school's mission. The figure below describes that both school

administrators and teachers agreed that teachers were "very highly committed" in valuing school improvement. This can be seen by the following obtained mean scores of 4.47 and 4.57, respectively. This means that teachers deeply understand the school's mission.

Figure 3 School's Mission
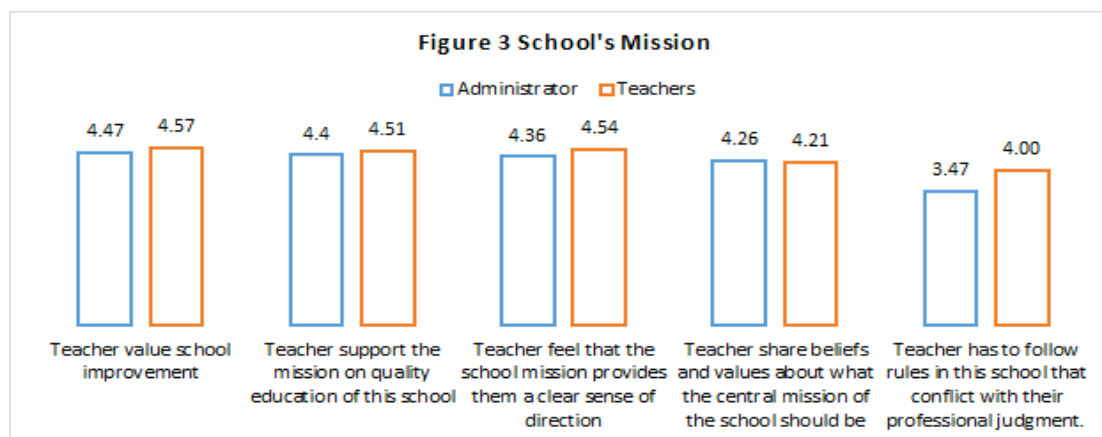
Furthermore, both respondents agreed that teachers were "highly committed" in following school rules even if it conflicts with their professional judgment as seen in its mean scores of 3.47 and 4.0, respectively. This indicator was scored lowest by both respondents because as observe in the actual practice teachers are given freedom to express their ideas and feelings before implementing the school rules.

Summary on the Level of Teacher's Organizational Commitment

This part presents the summary on the level of teacher's organizational commitment. As shown in figure 4, both respondents perceived that teachers were "very highly committed" with regards to the school mission as evidenced by its mean of 4.26. Meaning, this finding is actually observed among elementary teachers in the public schools. In addition, the obtained mean of 3.98 revealed that school administrators and teachers perceived that teachers were "highly committed" in performing community service. Respondents also perceived that teachers were also "highly committed" towards parent relationship as indicated by its mean of 3.76. This means that they have established a good relationship with their pupils' parents. In general, both respondents agreed that teachers were "highly committed" in performing their roles in the organization. This finding is consistent with the findings of Riehl and Sipple (1996), Rosenholtz and Simpson (1990), and Turan (1998) in similar researches made. Their findings revealed that teachers very frequently practice the different components described under the three variables, namely: mission, community service, and parent relationship implying that teachers were organizationally committed.

Figure 4 Summary on Teacher's Organizational Commitment
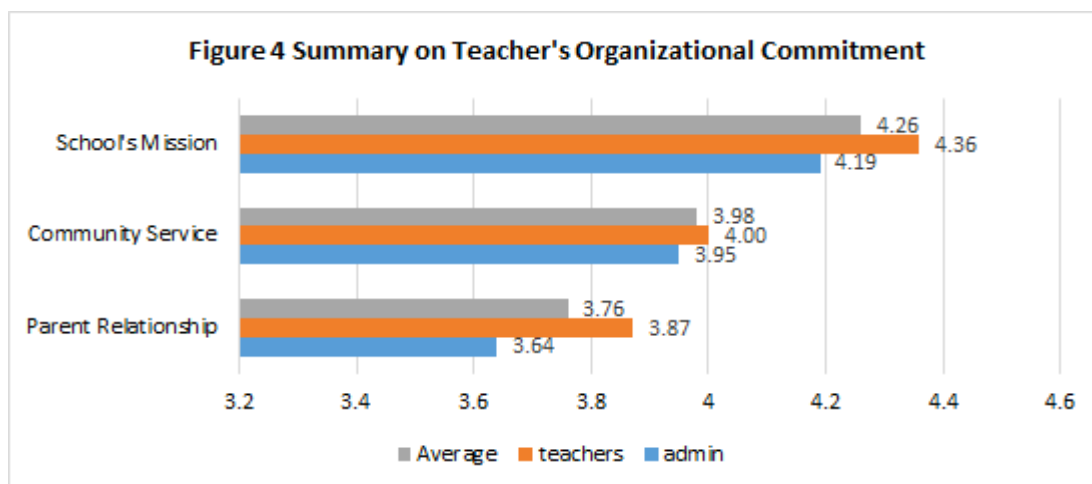
B. School Climate

This portion reveals the schools' climate as perceived by school administrators and teachers. This includes administrative support, buffers, teaching help, school influence, and autonomy. The scale below was used to help describe the data. Qualitative description[1] was used for administrative support, buffers, school influence and autonomy while qualitative description[2] was used to describe teaching help.

Scale Description[2]	Range	Qualitative Description[1]	Qualitative
5	4.21-5.00	very great extent	extremely helpful
4	3.41-4.20	great extent	quite a bit helpful
3	2.61-3.40	fair extent	moderately helpful
2	1.81-2.60	little extent	less helpful
1	1.00-1.80	very little extent	never helpful

B.1. Administrative Support

Figure 5 describes the extent of administrative support given to the teachers. As shown, school administrators state that administrative support is given to teachers at "very great extent" as indicated by its mean scores of 4.71, 4.66, 4.57, 4.39, and 4.32 respectively. On the other hand, teachers state that administrative support is given but to a "great extent" only as indicated by its mean scores of 4.02, 3.95, 3.94, 3.91, and 3.86, respectively. The findings imply the both respondents agree that school administrators perform their role as instructional supervisors.

Figure 5 Administrative Support
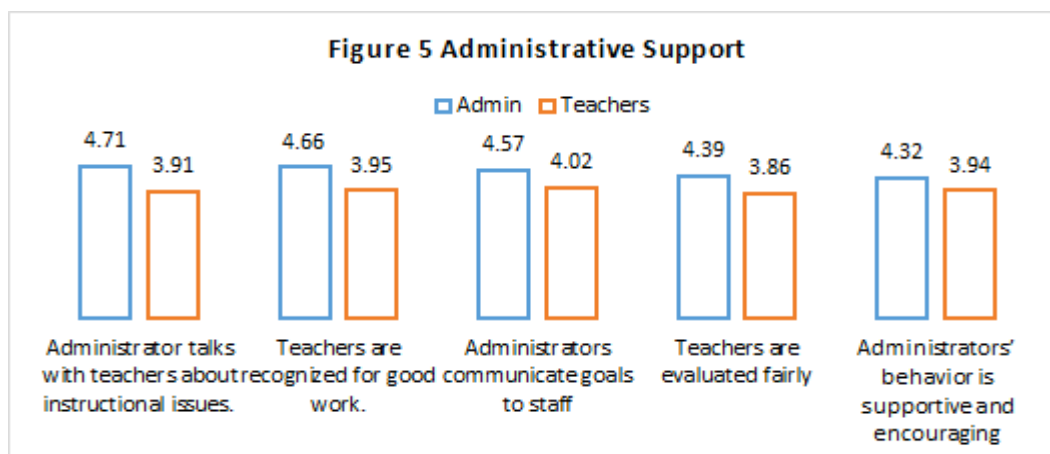
B.2. Buffers

Figure 6 illustrates the extent to which teachers have access to resources, have parental support, and are protected from unnecessary intrusions on their work. As shown, school administrators posit that a "great extent" was observed on teachers receiving great deal of support from parents for the work they do and provision of necessary materials such as textbooks, instructional supplies like chalk boards and chalk, and copy machines were readily available for teacher. This can be indicated by its mean scores of 3.92 and 3.63, respectively. This implies that parents through frequent homeroom PTA meetings supported teachers in accomplishing homeroom PTA projects and other instructional supplies. In addition, school administrators assert that there was "fair extent" on the routine duties of teachers such as lesson planning and paper works whether or not these tasks interfere with their teaching job as indicated by its mean score of 3.00. This implies that school administrators should take a closer look if lesson planning and paper works interfere in the teaching performance of teachers.

On the other hand, teachers assert that they received a "great extent of support from parents for the work they do as indicated by its mean score of 3.77. Moreover, teachers posit that routine task like lesson planning and paper works has "little extent" of interference with their teaching job as indicated by its mean score of 3.53 which is scored reversely. This means that this routine task is part and parcel of the teachers' teaching job. As revealed by Boiser, et.al (2000) in their study "Task in the Classroom", teachers prepared manuals and or lesson plans to meet the levels of pupils and make teaching effective.

Furthermore, teachers assume that there is "fair extent" as to the provision of needed materials such as textbooks, and instructional supplies for the teachers as indicated by its mean score of 2.95. This finding described that teachers were fairly provided with the needed materials. However, it is also true observation that teachers provide some instructional materials from their pockets, like photocopying the textbook or other supplemental materials because the provision is not enough to the actual number of pupils in the classroom.

Figure 6 Buffers

□ Admin   □ Teachers

3.92   3.77   3.63   2.95   3.00   3.53

Teachers receive a great deal from parents for the work they do   Necessary materials (e.g., textbooks, supplies, copy machines) are available as needed by the staff.   Routine duties like lesson planning and paper work interfere with my job of teaching
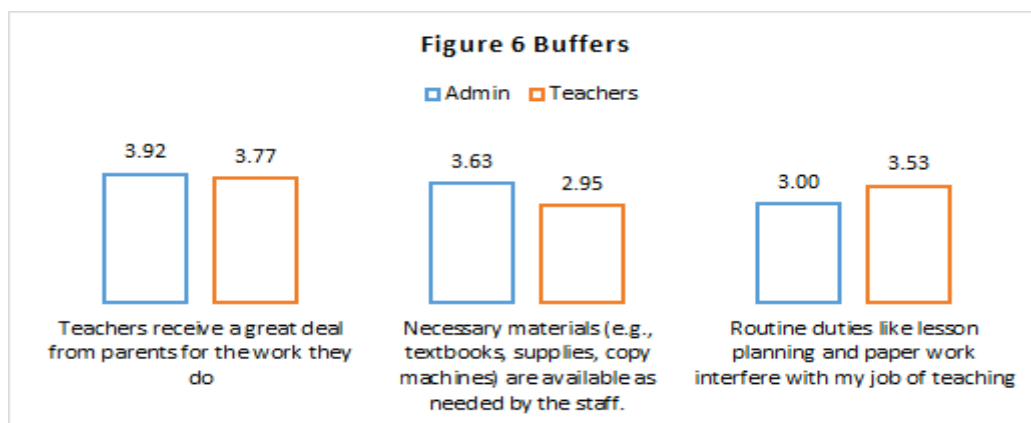
B.3. Teaching Help

Figure 7 reflects the responses of the respondents to the question, "to what extent has the following people: school administrators, learning area coordinators, and other teachers help improve and or solve instructional issues or class management problem?" As shown, school administrators assert that they themselves were "extremely helpful" in both improving classroom instruction and solving classroom problem. This is indicated by its mean score of 4.45. However, teachers describe school administrators "quite a bit helpful" as indicated by its mean score of 3.53. In general, this means that school administrators performed their role as instructional leaders in the school through their constant visit on teacher's classroom, and extends help.

Moreover, school administrators assume learning area coordinators and other teachers were "quite a bit helpful" in providing teaching help to resolve instructional issues and or problems met by teachers as indicated by its means scores of 4.02 and 3.47. Meanwhile, teachers posit that learning area coordinators and their peers were "moderately helpful" in extending teaching help. This means that in general both respondents agreed that other teachers and learning area coordinators provided help especially to the new teachers in terms of classroom instruction and classroom problem like suggesting for the suitability of instructional devices to their pupils' interest and help improve teachers' teaching strategies and techniques.

This finding is quite consistent with the finding of Riehl and Sipple (1996). Their findings revealed that teachers received moderate help from their school administrators and learning area coordinators with regards to classroom instructional methods and problems. It is significant to mention that methods and behavior consistently relate to achievemnt (Bioser, Devela, Jamora, Leuterio, Marononilla, Perez, and Saluba, 2000), thus school administrators and learning area coordinators should provide more than moderate extent of help to the teachers to ensure improvement of classroom instruction, method and management.

Figure 7 Teaching Help
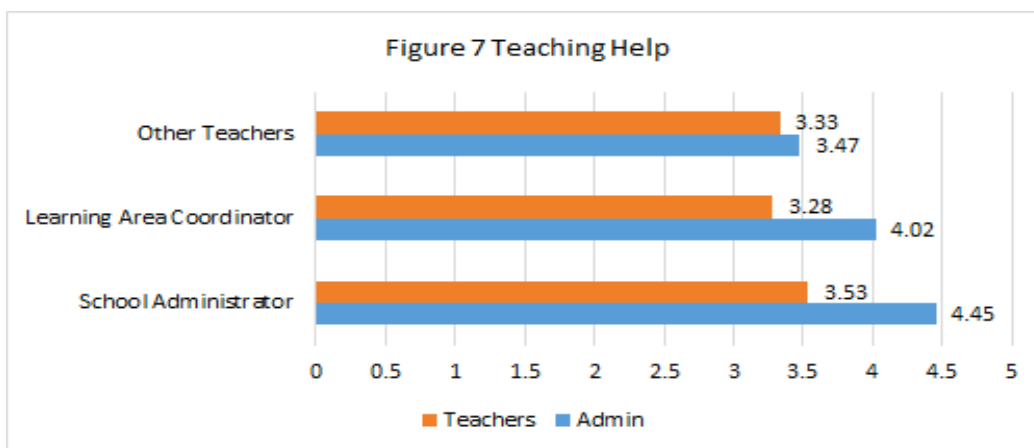
B.4. School Influence

Figure 8 describes the responses of the respondents to the question, "to what extent teacher's actual influence over school policy in the following areas: curriculum, decision making, discipline, ability grouping, and staff development?" It can be gleaned from the figure that school administrators postulate that teachers has a "very great extent" of influence in decision making policy as indicated by its mean score of 4.26. This finding is very true as observed in the field. Teachers always participates in planning and decision making for school activities and programs. In addition, school administrators assert that teachers has "great extent" of influence on discipline policy, content of in-service programs, setting policy on grouping pupil by ability, and in curriculum planning and implementation as indicated by the following mean scores of 4.10, 3.86, 3.81, & 3.61.

Meanwhile, teachers assume that they themselves has "great extent" of influence in planning on content of in-service programs, discipline policy, decision making, setting policy on ability grouping of pupils, and curriculum planning, as indicated by the following mean scores of 3.80, 3.77, 3.75, 3.73, & 3.72.

In general, both respondents agree that teacher has great extent of influence in school. They always participate in the making of school policy such as wearing of appropriate uniform or punctuality in reporting to school or utilization of elementary learning continuum (ELC) and or grouping pupils into sections either through grades or a series of test.

Figure 8 School Influence
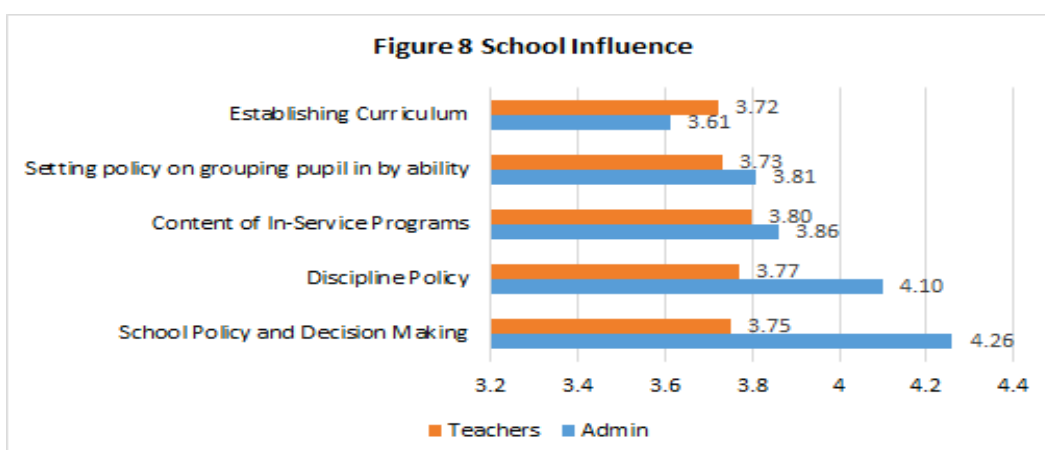
B.5. Autonomy

Figure 9 reveals the responses of the respondents to the question, "to what extent teachers have control over the selection of classroom discipline, textbook and instructional materials, course content, teaching techniques, and kind of homework to be assigned to the pupils.

As shown, the obtained mean of 4.31 depicts that teachers had a "very great extent" of control over pupils' discipline. This finding can be supported by Assertive Approach Model of Discipline by Lee and Canter in which teachers insist on responsible behavior by their pupils (Boiser, Devela, Jamora, Maronilla, Perez and Saluba, 2000). This means that the teacher takes charge of the classroom immediately, sets the ground rules, and interacts with pupils in a calm and yet forceful way.

Moreover, figure 9 illustrates that both respondents agree that teachers had "great extent" of control in determining the amount of homework to be assigned, selecting teaching techniques, selecting content, topics, and skills to be taught, and selecting textbooks and other instructional materials as indicated by its mean scores that fall within the range 3.41-4.20. This means that classroom management of teachers is under control.

Figure 9 Autonomy
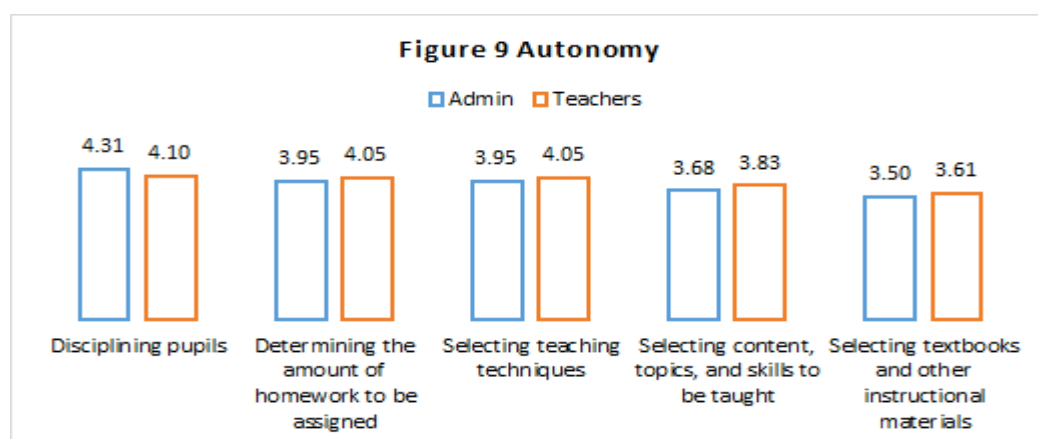
C. Extent of Influence of School Climate on Teacher's Organizational Commitment

Table 1 presents the regression analysis to test if components of school climate predicts teacher's organizational commitment. As shown, two predictor variables have significant contribution to the variation in teacher's organizational commitment. These are school influence and autonomy. These can be observed by its t-values of 3.343 and 3.058 respectively with the corresponding p-values of .001 and .003 which are significant at .05. This finding is consistent with the findings of Riehl and Sipple (1996) that school climate variables were strongly associated with teacher commitment.

Moreover, the R squared value of .175 indicates that 17.5% of the variation in teacher's organizational commitment are explained by the five predictor variables. In addition, as indicated by an F-value of 13.136 with a corresponding probability value

of 0.000, the regression model is therefore significant.

Table 1 Regression Analysis Predicting Teacher's Organizational Commitment

Predictors	Coefficient (B)	Standard Error	t	Sig
(Constant)	2.353	.229	10.262	.000
Administrative Support	.005	.051	.096	.923
Buffer	.061	.048	1.268	.206
Teaching Help	-.017	.036	-.478	.633
School Influence	.216	.064	3.343	.001
Autonomy	.191	.063	3.048	.003
R^2=.175 F=13.136 Probability=.000				

Conclusions

The general assessments of both respondents on the level of teachers' organizational commitment ranges from highly committed to very highly committed. The level of administrative support, school influence, autonomy, and buffers that is, teachers' access to resources, have parental support, and protection from unnecessary intrusions on their work, ranges from great to very great extent while the extent of teaching help from school administrators, learning area coordinators, and other teachers was quite a bit helpful. Moreover, the school's climate has influence on teacher's organizational commitment.

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Performing (Non-) Compliance – Body, Subjectivity and Medication in Psychiatry

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Abstract
Medication and its compliance is regarded as the cornerstone for therapeutic relationship and efficacy by the contemporary psychiatry. From the perspectives of the patients, however, the question of being compliant or not with psychiatric medications is a serious and complicated issue beyond what psychiatry can figure out. As the recipient subject of psychiatric medication, patients always think, act on, re-act and even resist to psychiatric medications and its symbolic meanings through their bodies, which reflect not only biology but also personal sufferings, idiosyncracies and subjectivities embedded within their local moral worlds. More often than not, medication compliance or non-compliance does not work in a fashion of either-or manner for patients, but rather in a strategic and performative way, which indicates the struggle between subjectivity, illness and medical governmentality. Based on a long-term ethnographic investigation in a chronic psychiatric ward, this study presents two cases to show that compared to the simplistic view about patients and their (*non-*) compliance generally hold by medical staffs, what a more realistic and intricate picture of patients' compliance or not could be. By studying the (*non-*)compliance issues from both sides of psychiatric treatment, an insight into the nature and reason behind the dilemma of medical non-compliance in psychiatry can be gained, a deeper understanding and appreciation of patients' agency and subjectivity within medical contexts can be made, and even a better idea for overcoming this dilemma can be obtained as well.

Keywords: Compliance, medication, body, subjectivity, patient, psychiatry

Introduction

This report is consisted of four section. The first section is an introduction to the issue around clinical compliance, including a brief sketch of its history and associated problematiques; the second section is mainly about examples of critiques of compliance from social sciences; the third is the main body of this field study and its results: a summary of nurse interviews and stories about compliance provided by my informants; and the last section a discussion and some tentative conclusions for this study.

According to the review by Ballard(2004), Compliance as a practical challenge and problem for clinical work dated back to at least to the time of Hippocrates or even earlier. However, it is not until the 70s of last century that compliance had reemerged as a major concern for medical practices on an overall and global scale. There are many reasons behind this phenomenon, and one among which that is more than apparent is that compliance as a common measure of treatment efficacy, it has been deemed by medicine itself as the major factor for treatment failures and also for causing the skyrocketing expenditure on medicare and wasting of prescribed medications in many modern countries. Since then, there have been many researches done with the goal for improving patients' compliance or removing their non-compliance. However, no tidy conclusion has ever been reached on this. Then before the end of last century, some new frames or concepts like Adherence or Concordance were proposed for moving beyond the limitations and ideology cast by Compliance to furthering our understanding of the difficulties brought up by the clinical compliance phenomenon. But, again, still no general agreement about the nature of compliance and it solution can be met. One possible reason behind this could be the complicated nature of compliance itself. In clinical world, compliance covers a broad and diverse ranges of issues concerning what to comply, who complies to whom, compliance-specific medical conditions, disease types and phases; (which) medical departments/specialties involved for requiring for patient's compliance; and variations of compliance with patients' demographic features such as age, gender, or ethnicity. It' is pretty sure to say that all these variables and diversities are contributing to the messy picture of compliance and its many controversies. However, among these variations and along the long line of debates, compliance to medication can be said as the primary focus and concern all the time in compliance studies.

Take the summary table by Pollock (2005) as an example. In her study, Pollock shows that varying outlook of the medication compliance or non-compliance, which can include so many different dimensions, such as taking-or-not-taking medicine, the quantity, frequency, timing, patterns of medication, modifications of medication for reasonable or unreasonable concerns such as work, stopping the medication or discontinuing the refill, or combining with other medicines beyond prescription. It becomes evident that reasons for making these variations of medication non-compliance or compliance are worthy of deeper explorations and interpretations than simple measuring based on rigid conceptual frames or tools commonly done in the mainstream compliance studies.

In 2003, WHO published a book on medical adherence, in which a more systemic approach to clearing the mess caused by previous studies of compliance was taken to create a much more systemic view of the overall phenomenon under the label of

compliance. It was asserted that there were five dimensions of medical compliance, including 1.health and medicine systems or structure factors, 2.medical conditions factors, 3.patient factors, 4.treatment practice factor, and 5. socio-economic and cultural factors. WHO's model of compliance demonstrates again the breadth and complexity of medical compliance, and if we exam how these five dimensions of compliance were defined and measured by WHO, and we may still worry the struggle and difficulty over defining and solving issues and problems of clinical or medication compliance can still continue.

The challenge of Compliance is mysterious, and some ruminations on this can bring some clue or insight into view. For example, if we put some certain essential or orthodox research paper on compliance in to analysis, the conceptual complex and cross-linkings around Compliance can be easily revealed. In a word cloud centering on Compliance I made informally, many concepts and jargons highly overlapped or correlated with Compliance were identified, most of them could be located along the social continuum with the bi-polars of Medicine-centric and Patient-centric ends. Typically, at the Medicine end, we can locate concepts like compliance or adherence, while at the patient's end, concepts or jargons like resistance, autonomy or subjectivity show up. Still, there exists some more 'neutral' concepts or issues dwelling between these two ends such as concordance, communication, or agreement. It is still unclear, however, whether the complexity around Compliance is a truthful reflection of phenomenological reality happening in the clinical encounter, or the complexity itself is confounding or distorting the reality Compliance means to indicate to.

If go through the development of compliance studies, we can find some undercurrents within it, which resonated with the shift of stress on and reconceptualization of compliance in the later and more recent time. Early researches on compliance concentrated on how many people are non-compliant with medicines and their related characteristics. However, it was indicated that a different measurement of non-compliance may lead to different estimate of non-compliance. Also, it was found that compliance rates varied with either type of drug, the length of time of medication, or the complexity of the drug regime. Besides, there was no consistent correlation found between patients' characteristics and non-compliance actions. Seemingly, in these early studies some questionable assumptions about Compliance were held, such as 1. that the 'problem' of non-compliance was deemed as being situated within the context of the doctor–patient relationship ONLY, and 2. that patients were just passive recipients of health care.

Stimson's ground-breaking study in 1974 showed a quite different picture of clinical compliance. In his eye-opening conclusions, Stimson asserted that patients were not passive recipients of medial instructions, and patients had their own ideas about illness and the use of medicines. Stimson suggested that the focus of compliance research should be on the social context in which illnesses are experienced and treatments used. Also it was found that neither compliance nor non-compliance was stable, and both would change according to the change of information and experience patients got. The shift on social context of medical interactions and patient's subjective role within it has thus prompted patients' beliefs and their impacts on medication as the new research focus. Other researches pointed to some obvious conditions or correlation about clinical compliance overlook by studies of earlier time,

such as compliance and non-compliance not being in an all-or-none, or either-or condition (Donovan and Blake 1992), a more-than-clear fact that clinical miscommunication could cause non-compliance (Britten et al., 2000), or the possibility that materiality of medications, including drug's physical attributes, may shape patients' perceptions of medical treatment and their inclinations of being compliant or not.

Helman's study (1981) on the 'metaphor' for taking psychotropic medications and its relation to patients' felt sense of control on medical encounter demonstrates lively the interesting relation between the materiality and symbolic functions of medications and their compliance by patients. This was an early indication of patient's subjectivity playing a role in the phenomenon of clinical compliance, through the function of medication's materiality. This study is echoed by the work by Stephan Ecks's, Eating Drug in 2004, in which the same observation of making patients compliant to antipsychotics through some metaphors such as " mind food" by some psychiatrists in Calcutta was made.

Later on, it has become more than clear that compliance as a concept or frame for certain clinical problems encountered between medical staffs and patients was problematic, basically on two grounds: 1. patients hold their own beliefs about medicines; and 2. patients are active in treatment decisions. Therefore, in 1997. The Royal Pharmaceutical Society proposed a new concept, Concordance, to replace Compliance, with the hope that the former and newer one can overcome the conceptual and practical dilemma caused the latter and older Compliance. In the Concordance framework, an open negotiation and subsequent agreement between patients and doctors about medications was emphasized, and it was believed that Concordance can best be achieved when patients and doctors can openly express beliefs about illness and medication towards each other. In the Concordance model, it was well recognized that the patient as active participant in decisions about health care, and that rather than disobeying, patients leave the consultation with an agreed decision about their treatment. The Concordance model was based on a hypothetical and idealized equality of status and power between patients and medical staffs, but how much this can be true in clinical realty is still quite uncertain and questionable.

From a more recent study on the doctor-patient relations (Duggan and Thompson 2011), which was a 'softer' approach than 'psychoeducation' or "management' ones to compliance, it is still evident that compliance interacts complicatedly with other clinical outcome measures, a fact which reconfirms the complexity of Compliance and its possible reason on the conceptual level: it was pointed out that the outcome elements with great correlation with clinical compliance include health outcomes, quality of life, medical adherence, treatment recommendation, and provider-patient Interaction (such as provider satisfaction, or communication).

It becomes curious that why even when the emphasis has been changed from the paternalistic Adherence or Compliance frameworks to the more egalitarian Concordance, there is still no general agreement reached. It seemed to be that within medicine the challenging conditions between medical requirements and patients' reactions have been improved by these reframing of emphases, but, the interpretation of this change is still in debates and many challenges from clinical compliance are still there (Leibing 2010). To see from a different angle, however, it seems that

whatever framework for clarifying the complicated relations between medical regime and patients was adopted, its the approach itself looks quite medicine-centric, flattened and self-fulfilling in nature and essence. For example, the measurements for verifying the degree of Compliance seemed to be confounding within themselves and with Compliance itself. Even for the other realms of measurements like patient-physician relations or communication studies, which could open the scope of and bring more insights and reflections on the exploration of Compliance itself, the analysis is still pretty limited in the dyad framework, leaving aside those important factors like power relations, structural factors or deeper cultural meaning behind this problematic phenomenon of Compliance.

Examples of studies from social sciences with t different frames for analyzing and interpreting could shed certain light on this. James Trostle (1988), based on his analysis on medical systems, asserted that Compliance is, in fact, an ideology held by professional sector, such as biomedicine, against the common medication patterns and styles adopted by users in other medical systems, for example, the pretty usual mode of self-medication in folk sectors. This insight from comparative study of medical systems indicates that the compliance issues framed by medical systems could themselves the 'problems within problems', which means the conditions and challenges brought by compliance issues should not be named, defined, interpreted and even dealt by one party itself involving into this dilemma, that is, the medical staffs and medical system. Sometimes it becomes hard to tell the compliance problem from the intricate and unaware self-justification by medical staffs without necessarily negative intentions, which may be resulted from the messy and complicated clinical interactions and works. Study by Jose Dumit (2010), an anthropologist and STS scholar, goes beyond the realm of equating Compliance as indexing of treatment efficacy and makes the claim that issues of Compliance can be deconstructed as the modern or postmodern discursive formation, in which the instrumentalization of Compliance is operated by and through various medical or care systems, institutions and actors to make a modern biomedical subject or citizen, whose nature is then by definition in constant need of biomedical monitoring, controlling and curing for various risks commonly encountered in this high modern or postmodern milieu. By the ethos of globalization and neoliberalist governmentality actualized by medical concepts and practices, the individuals with mental issues will inevitably fall into the only reasonable and justifiable subject position as patient with biological problems. Borrowing from Althusser's "Interpellation", Dumit re-makes it as "Inter-pill-ation" to indicate this unique subject formation through discourse like Compliance in contemporary psychiatry.

Another pretty insightful example is from Taiwan and provided by the late professor Shirley Lin. In her study, Lin combines anthropological perspectives on cultural phenomenology, embodiment, subjectivity and materiality to study patients' subjective meanings and experience of antipsychotic medications and their compliance issues. By focusing on patients' subjective and embodied experience of illness and medication, and also on the symbolic power and mobility associated with antipsychotic medication as things with their own social lives, Lin transforms the compliance or non-compliance problems into a set of anthropological questions, which center on the complex among cultural body, self, illness experience and meaning, medication and subjectivity. Through her thorough analysis, Lin indicates four fundamental conflicts in and confusions from patient's cognition of antipsychotic

medications and thereof the compliance issue:

1. Medication is helpful vs. (Western) Medication is damaging to the body.
2. Side-effects vs. Beneficiary efficacy (of antipsychotics).
3. Medication brings about "antibody" (metaphor) for improvement vs. Medication brings about side-effects that complicates illness
4. Taking medication means improvement or even cure vs. Taking medication means or indirectly proves of (you still and may continuingly) being sick.

Lin's work is important, because it reframed those dimensions of Compliance proposed by WHO in 20003 by anthropological concepts and methods, and by doing so a deeper interpretation and understanding of complicated phenomenon and conditions under the name of Compliance can be regained, way beyond the rather mechanic and flat explanations from the originally helpful and comprehensive system of analysis suggested by WHO.

The Study:

Before entering into the interesting data about clinical and medication compliance provide by friends (so-called *informants*) in my fieldwork, a simple but essential interview with senior psychiatric nurses with whom I have been acquainted during my study in a chronic ward for mental patients is provided as follows.

All interviewees are senior workers with clinical experience more than five years in psychiatric ward, and most of them had previous experience in another medical specialty, such as internal medicine or surgery. The result of the interview with these experiences psychiatric nurses shows no surprise, compared to the general comments by clinical nurses on compliance from other studies. In this interview, the overall agreement is that the (antipsychotics) medication non-compliance is, according these experienced nurses, generally caused by or related to the following :

a. Insight: All agreed that lack of insight is the main reason behind patients' non-compliance behaviors.
b. Stigma: Stigma associated with psychotic medications leads to many non-compliant behaviors by patients across many different occasions, such as work or interpersonal interactions.
c. Side-effects: Obviously, the side-effects of antipsychotic medications can sometimes cause more troubles than disease or symptoms themselves; and side-effects could also be so disturbing as to be intentionally terminated altogether by patients.
d. Personal variations: This included both the variation of different doctors' styles of medication regime, and also the variation of different patients' reactions to antipsychotics, or even the same patient's different reactions to the same medication at different points of his disease course
e. Family attitudes: Family' attitude, experience or value orientations about antipsychotic medications are definitely making impacts on patient's compliance behaviors. Besides, the family relation and family function also complicate the picture of patient's compliance.
f. "Medication" itself: It's still pretty common in Taiwan, even nowadays, the belief that medicine in general, esp. the Western Medicine (i.e., biomedicine and its

medications), can have damaging effects on human body. Comparatively and relatedly speaking, it is generally hold that traditional medicines, including TCM or other folk systems like the herbalist, is relatively less damaging or mild, and sometimes in many disease cases nutrient food are deemed as beneficial and even therapeutic in positive manners than bio-medications with their damaging and negative impacts on human body. This sort of beliefs can result in the inclination of being non-compliant in patients or their significant others.

g. Others: The use of alternative medical systems, including their medications and various nutriments and tonics, also complicates the picture of patient's compliance behaviors. It was suggested by these interviewees that alternative substances could interact with antipsychotics and confound their effects and results. This could change patient's inclinations or intentions of compliance or non-compliance. However, the relative limitation and uncertainty of psychiatric knowledge on psychopathological mechanism and pharmacology of antipsychotics, and the problems of treatment efficacy in psychiatric medications, all can contribute to the increasing likelihood of using alternative medications by mental patients.

Generally speaking, this interview demonstrates the similarity in evaluation of factors connecting to the clinical or medication non-compliance by many clinical practitioners, but it may also indicate the more complicated and dynamic picture of the clinical and medication compliance in psychiatry and its medication practices.

Ethnographic vignettes

Story One - Mr. H.

The following is a series of stories from some friends I have gown acquaintance with during my fieldworks in psychiatric wards. Their stories shows the cultural and subjective aspects of persons engulfed by their metal conditions and ensuing psychiatric treatments, which bear great significance on patients' behaviors of medication compliance or non-complinace, but are generally ignored by the mainstream study of clinical and medication compliance.

Mr. H., is a middle-aged, chronic patient diagnosed as bipolar with mild MR. He has been hospitalized for almost two years, and always shows his strong inclination of being compliant to medical order of medications or any sorts in the chronic ward.
However, after getting know to each other with more acquaintance and trust, when we discussed about the etiology of his sickness, thing begins to change. As a deeply devoted and self-labelled Buddhist, Mr. H. believes that mental illness is ultimately caused by Karma, and that those with bad Karma or debts from previous lives will be more vulnerable of being afflicted with mental diseases. Therefore his etiology of mental disorder can be seen as a synthesis of Buddhist cosmology and biological psychiatry because the immediate 'cause' of mental disorders is deemed as something biological but the remote and ultimate reason or cause of making this sickness happen in this present world and life is something from the person's previous life. This etiology discourse on mental disorders is a synthesis of religious and scientific discourses, and in which the former 'primes' the latter without denying its existence or legitimacy in disease-formation explanations. In an occasion, when with great frankness and his mind opened to our dialogue, Mr. H. told me his real ideas about psychiatric hospitalization and medications by showing me the divine guide on a

paper he got from a visit to a "Living Buddha" in a temple which he worships greatly for certain time. On the front side of this paper of divine orders given by the "Living Buddha", a personification of Bodhisattva through a wooden statue of that great deity and mediated through a ritual mediator, the divine order or guide revealed to Mr. H. the ultimate reasons of his sickness in this life and this world, and at the back side various suggestions of how to deal with his mental illness were given to Mr. H.. In this divine suggestion given by a "Living Buddha" requested by Mr. H. through a formal and serious ritual process, it was predicted that Mr. H. would be discharged fairly soon, but he still has to comply to order of psychotropic medications for a longer period of time, until his mental conditions subsides. Then I tried to pushed Mr. H. into a hypothetical situation of extreme by asking what if the "Living Buddha" gives him a direct and clear suggestion of quitting his medications altogether, which is totally against the medical order?! What he will do?! Mr. H. hesitated for a while, and replied that if he receives such a suggestion, he will comply to divine order rather than medical one after making repeated confirmations with the "Living Buddha" on this matter through several ritual requests, making sure it's the exact opinion form the divine above, because, after all, it's religion the ultimate truth behind the phenomenon of his worldly suffering caused by mental sickness. The decision-making process over this hypothetical question by Mr. H. shows exactly the nature of his synthesized model of the mental disorder and its etiology, that is, both religious and biological realms having roles in the formation of mental conditions suffered in this life and world, with the former as the primer cause and higher authority over the latter. However, according to his wisdom of eclecticism, which resonates well with his etiological understandings, it is better for him to reserve certain obedience and respects to the authority of this world and life, that is, the medical staffs, for his own good, and by doing this, he is sure, the greater authority governing the fate and cause of life and world from the upper and deeper order won't be offended because there exists no contradiction between these two actions. Therefore, Mr. H. has been planning to gain the understanding and acceptance from his doctor and nurse of his possible decision of gradual decreasing of psychiatric medications in the near future, just as what that "Living Buddha" suggested. It is hard to tell what the medical staffs would react to Mr. H's ideas formed from his personal and religious beliefs, but it seems obvious that Mr. H.'s compliance to medications will not be steady once his symptoms subsides and religious authority becomes more prominent to his life, both of which becoming more possible after his discharge.

In Mr. H.'s story, decision of complying or not, is complicated by the etiological discourse from the religion that Mr. H. has deeply believed in. Where he will keep constant compliance to medical orders is pretty unsure, but the reason behind and making this uncertainty seems not well concerned, or deemed jus as superstitious, by the medical staffs.

Story Two - Mr. C.

Mr. C. is a repeatedly hospitalized psychotic patient with a long history of mental problems. Coming from a family with many psychotic relatives, since very early on had Mr. C. suffered from the mental disorder and its associated stigmata within and without his family. Therefore, since the inception of his disease, he had been in the cycle of violent abuse and abandonment by his family. During the abandonment, Mr.

C. gradually grew up an unique worldview, with which he could make the minimal sense of his life, suffering and fate in his hometown world.

In hospital, Mr. C. presents himself as a polite person and seems quite compliant to most medical orders and management. He has no problem, at least on the surface, with antipsychotic medications or whatsoever medical staffs have orders on him. There is only one disagreement happened repeatedly between he and medical staffs, that is, the little shrine he set up for himself around the bed side. This personalized space of sacredness and its accompanying worshiping practices initiated by Mr. C. himself were deemed by staffs not only as the manifestation of psychopathological symptoms, such as religion delusions, but also as obstacles for ward management. These interesting personal things set up by Mr. C. were repeated removed by medical staffs or by his folks under staff's request during his hospitalizations. I become interested in what these personal thing mean to Mr. C.

In an expected occasion, I had an unusual talk with Mr. C. which touched the issue of compliance: One day, after the morning meeting, I went to Mr. C.'s ward and checked with him as I had already known from the morning meeting that he had been suffered from the serious side effects from his medications. While I was concerning how he recently felt about his medications, Mr. C., who had just taken his morning medication, suddenly came to whispering to me. He said he wanted to tell me a secret, just between us. He touched his throat, and then moved his hands downward and stopped in the middle of his chest, claiming that the medicines he just took were stopped right there, by the deity of certain temple that has been governing this specific organ area within his body. It depended on the deity's control and judgement as how the medicines will work, help or harm, and where or which organ area these medications with their effects-to-be-judged will go next. And the efficacy of medications will be evaluated by the total opinions of various deities governing different organs within his body, and then a final general decision of compliance or not will be made. When asked why he didn't just decline the order of taking medications by staffs, Mr. C. smiled and replied that this hospital was itself like a temple, within which the doctor is the governing deity and according to his previous experience with so many local temples, it's better comply a little bit with any sort of powerful authority, because only by doing so can help him avoid troubles and even gain some helps he needed. I was totally amazed by this explanation and started to wonder how this sort of body image was built up by Mr. C., and how it worked for him as the ground of his being to face the challenge by the fierce mental illness and the powerful psychiatric countermeasure. Then little by little and piece by piece through our conversations, the story behind this amazing body architecture of Mr. C's become comprehensible. Just like another amazing self-made "Lunar Calendar" by Mr. C. shows how the temporal dimension of his life has been structured by the time order of sacred events held orderly by various temples in his hometown, his body or spatial dimensions of his life is a reconstruction from the tragic experiences of his early life which combined poverty, family mental illness and abuses, ethnic issues, and social inequality of the local moral world into which Mr. C. had be born. The unique body perception is in fact an embodiment of his experience of being multi-marginality constituted of the mental disease, abuse and social inequality. Since very early on, whenever he was in an episode of mental condition, abused and then abandoned by his folks, probably due to the uncontainable troubles or conflicts brought by his conditions within his family, which had some more mental patients

within in, Mr. C. started wandering around in his hometown world and usually he was taken in by different local temples for religious charity or mere pity. Mr. C. then survived by offering his labor as appreciation and exchange for the local temple's kindness and help. Gradually through repeating this survival mode, Mr. C. became deeply involved in those temples which had saved his life during his episodes and abandonments, both in terms of beliefs and practices, and then his life, once deemed as meager and valueless, grew to mix with these local religious institutions and then transformed into an unique map and architecture of time and space inscribed onto human flesh. Through this transformative process of his suffering and salvations, Mr. C. develops a sanctified body with unusual spatial and temporal design of his own being-in-the-world, and this body becomes the interface between his personhood and many other worldly authorities, including biomedicine. His saved and transformed life and body by religious institutions, and in which the body is defended by those local forces that once had saved him from extinction, and the tempo of his life is conditioned by rhythm composed of those local sacred events, including the celebrating rituals for the birthday of the main deity of certain temple, or purgatory ceremonies for living persons or wandering souls, and the collective praying for the public or personal blessing.

In Mr. C's story, medical compliance is not just about the process of rational-choice on the individual plane, but also much more about the unique performance of suffering subjectivity in a rural world.

Story Three – Ms. S.

Ms. S., a rather young female in her mid-20s, had already developed a full-blown and highly fixed system of delusions. One main feature of Ms. S's delusion is her insistence of the scare on her face, which no one else but herself could see, touch and feel. During my stay in the ward, Ms. S. had been repeatedly admitted for acute episode many times, and therefore it became apparent for all that Ms. S had not been compliant to antipsychotic medications at all once discharged from hospital. However, an ethnographic probing with focus on more details and in-depth information allows a better grasp of what runs behind or under the insistent non-compliance of Ms. S.. After a long and nuanced process of ethnographic interviews, it became evident that there existed something not falling into medical awareness yet seemingly relevant to Ms. S's complicated and bizarre mental symptoms, her persistent con-compliance to antipsychotic medication, and the pessimistic prognosis of her illness.

First of all, Ms. S's parents were both users of mental service, and this fact unfortunately did not come to medical staff's notice. This was found during my field observation of the interaction between Ms. S and her father and mother together or separately. Many times in the family visit, it was found that Ms. S's mother appeared pretty dramatic in her emotion expression, which made Ms. S fairly angry and emotional, while the father was just pacing around, murmuring and looking pretty embarrassed, nervous and helpless. Then through the repeated observation of the historic play of Ms. S's mom, I started to explore and finally realized that there existed a long-lasting and intensive conflicting relationship between Ms. S and her mother, and also the fact that both parents had visited psychiatrists before, for Ms. S's case and their own problems, too.

Second, there exists a long and complication history about the formation of the delusion or hallucination of a scare on her face. To make it brief and clear in a simplified manner, this symptom symbolized both the fundamental conflict between Ms. S and her mom, and the resulted dilemma in Ms. S's mind. This conflict was based on the contradiction between two psychological facts: on the one hand, there was a fact that Ms. S had great resemblance in her appearance to her mom's, but on the other hand the other was that she felt being emotionally abused so profoundly by her mom since her childhood. The later fact made Ms. S. decide not to become a person having anything similar or close to her mom, but the former fact has become an inescapable irony to it. There was another set of conflict with significance in Ms. S's mind, which complicated the conflict above even more: one the one hand, Ms. S. had strong anger toward her abusive mother, but on the other hand, she expressed from time to time, esp. in the acute episode, with the manner of infantile regression, her need of the warmth, caring and love from her mom, which she had felt never being given to. Therefore the tension among her appearance resemblance to, resistance of identifying with, and unrealistic need of mother and maternal love had put Ms. S in a constant sense of confusion, conflict, self-doubt and contradiction. The symptom of having a scare on her face only visible to herself seems to serve as the symbolization of that essential dissonance within the life and world of Ms. S.'s, and through such a defensive mechanism a minimal function of self preservation was provided.

Then what about the compliance issue in Ms. S's story? It seems evident that the reason behind Ms. S's non-compliance to medication was that once in the remission stage after being discharged from the hospital, where she usually had the forced and scheduled medications by the medical staffs, Ms. S would go back home facing that same conflicts of identity with her mom, with a much clearer mind and more lucid consciousness. Therefore the irony is that the beneficiary effects of antipsychotic medications would inevitably make Ms. S clearly sense that essential and unresolvable conflict with her mother again. Therefore, in a strangely reasonable way, Ms. S. would stop her medication and recede into the ego-defensive cage of delusional symptoms, which secludes herself from the harsh reality deeply residing in her life by inventive and fanciful distortions of meanings. In reality, Ms. S. always stopped taking her medications sometime not too long after she went back home, and the psychosis resumed and then she stared wandering again. Hence the vicious cycle of (re-)admission, medication, remission, discharge, going back home, and relapse repeats.

In this condition, non-compliance becomes reasonable or inevitable for Ms. S., when the psychopathogenic family dynamics is considered. However, unfortunately, this dimension of Ms. S's psychopathology has not always been given adequate concerns by the medical staffs, who usually target the complex symptoms of mental disorders as the primary object for immediate interventions, and decode them in terms of biology and individuality with psycho-pharmaceuticals in hand for counter-measurement. In the heyday of biomedical and neurological reductionism, non-biological meanings or social relations, including family dynamics, have been pretty much discarded or recast as confounding variables. However, in the story of Ms. S. and her dilemma, it seems that compliance to medications has reduced or overcome the pathological part of Ms. S' mind, but in some twisted way also melted down those meanings and relations complexes deeply incorporated into a frozen system of

delusional symptoms, unexpectedly making them as pathogenic or pathodynamic all over again. Ironically, in Ms. S' case, she could not comply to medical orders, because once she complies, those pains and irreconcilable conflicts between she and her mother will come to Ms. S. and break her down again. On the other hand, for Ms. S, non-compliance could reserve the chance of receding into the fragile and distorted symptoms of delusions, which seems to be a somewhat valid and alternative way to provide the function of self protection and preservation desperately needed for her subjectivity squeezed by the compression of a harsh and unchangeable reality and a distorted psychology.

In MS. S's story, it becomes clear that compliance is something much more than a decision-making based on decontextualized rationality, but rather is having a lot to do with the complexity of individual mental history, social development, subjectivity and complicated symptom-formations.

Discussions and Conclusions

Some tentative conclusions from this study can be made for further discussions:

First of all, Compliance covers a wide range of issues and related concept. It's a very complicated domain to study, but study of Compliance can have great value for both clinical practices and theoretical analysis.

Second, Compliance has strong interactions with other significant issues, such as clinical insight, disease category, symptoms and psychopathology, psychopharmacological treatment, side-effects, illness experience, individual difference and subjectivity. Compliance also overlaps significantly with other indexes of clinical outcomes such as treatment satisfaction, quality of life, and communication. All of these point to the complexity of Compliance again.

Third, Compliance has been a term widely used across different professional domains such as Law, Police, Medicine or Education. This fact implies the possibility of a shared modern origin for these institutions or professions; and therefore it becomes potential for investigating the contextual specificity behind this seemingly universalized use and conceptualization of Compliance.

Fourth, studies of Compliance by clinical social sciences have gone beyond bio-medicalization and recast and recontextualized 'mental patients', their subjectivity and sufferings back into their "local moral worlds."(Kleinman 1992) Hopefully, by doing so, we can take back more personhood from patienthood, and also shuck off the technical and managerial linings of Compliance to reveal more of subjectivity and its socio-political, cultural and existential meanings.

Fifth and the last. This study is by no means suggesting that non-compliance is a better principle than compliance for facing modern medical intervention and medication. Neither does this study deny the benefit and positive effect of modern medications. Rather, this study is making a suggestion that by adding up the dimensions of socio-economics, politics, culture, history, religion and human psychology into the clinical concerns, a better and more balanced framework for dealing with issues around medication compliance can be reached. I addition, social

study of clinical compliance can be a window through which we can discern a specific mode of human conditions and their modern consequences.

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Uncompleted Body and representation of Etiology: The Cultural Context of Women with Breast Cancer in Taiwan

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between of uncompleted bodies and self-explanations of the etiologies in cultural context through narrative stories of women with breast cancer. In Taiwan, above 90% breast cancer women have suffered from surgeries combining with chemotherapy and radiotherapy, and their decision makings are very different from most of the western women. Moreover, the bodily experiences and the perceptions of having lost their breasts after surgeries are influenced by cultural factors. The authors consider "the body" as an actively subject filled with social-cultural meanings, which can perceive and interpret its own life world. All the symptoms of informants are the symbolic expressions of the overall social suffering. Body theories were taken for data analysis and representations in this study, and the authors found informants represented their etiologies as containing four important cultural factors: 1.cancer as the unchangeable fate, that no one can escape from the invisible power, resigning to fate ,facing the world with a smile, and not making herself miserable; 2.cancer as karmic creditors and repayments the debt of preexistence; 3.cancer as the result of yin-yang disharmony, representing the cosmology of balance and harmony in sexual relationship; and 4.cancer as the result of accumulation bodily heat, nourishing yin-qi can remove extinguishing inner fire.These cultural factors are not only the consequences of long term interactions between individuals, families, and society, but also as reconstruction of their cosmology through interpretations of etiology for finding the best ways to copy with their illness in the Taiwan society.

Keywords: Body, Culture, Etiology, Women with Breast Cancer, Illness, Cosmology.

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Introduction

The objective of this study is to explore the etiological of breast cancer in Taiwan through cultural analysis and ethnographic approach in anthropology. This study has four major parts, including an introduction to the research topic in the first section, a literature review In the second section, the third section with focuses on the key findings in my research and the theoretical dialogue between different research aspects, the conclusion of this study in the last section.

Firstly, the research topic in this field study is to explore the etiology of disease with the process of incomplete body parts. This study selects 4 women with breast cancer out of the 20 reported cases (Appendix I). Under the cultural context, we conduct detailed etiological analysis through statements from their different life stories.

By using the knowledge of anthropology in assisting our understating of a patient's subjective experience, and through the analysis and interpretation of such subjective experience, a better and clearer understanding in addition to objective medical data and knowledge can be reached, with the awareness that cultural beliefs play a critical role in the patient's course of medical treatment. As a result, if we rely solely on the medical data and knowledge, the medical care would become a mechanized form of process that ignores the important connections between patient's cultural context of and her disease. Therefore, the subjective experience of these patients is crucial for their process of adapting and coexisting with the disease they suffered from.

The breast cancer ranked fourth in the top ten leading cause of death in Taiwan, and it is also the most common cancer in women with approximately 10,000 new cases being diagnosed each year. The breast cancer scenario can be used to illustrate the cultural difference between Taiwan and the Western society in their reactions to the life-threatening condition like cancer. From 2011, Taiwan government has implemented several policies that focus on breast cancer screening which shows both the seriousness of the problem of breast cancer in Taiwan and also the way of intervention and attention of such problem by the government. In Taiwanese society, women after mastectomy have a common perception that their body is no longer complete; in other words, without breast - a woman is no longer felt as a complete human being by herself or probably also others around. Therefore, the underlying explanation and decision-making process would differ greatly from Western society. Therefore, the impact of the physical experience of these women with breast cancer and mastectomy under such cultural context to subsequent medical and rehabilitation process is discussed. It must point out that the attitude of physical self appearance, i.e. without the breast you are no more a complete female being, is deeply influenced by the traditional views and values of Taiwanese society and culture. And these cultural factors do affect the adaptation processes that women with breast cancer in Taiwan have to undertake after their mastectomy.

Literature review

First of all, the concept of "body" must be clarified. The concept of "body" in anthropology, humanities or social sciences is very different from the concept of body in biomedical science. The human body is a "subject" that is full of social and cultural significance. It is able to perceive and interpret a patient's own living world, that is,

the "body" as the main medium for experiences and meaningful activities. Therefore, all the physical and psychological symptoms of the patient are presented through the "body" as a way of expressing their uncomfortable feels and experiences caused by personal afflictions and sufferings like disease or misfortunes. Moreover, this 'bodily expression' is also commonly connected with the experience of broader social sufferings on a macro levels such as poverty, prejudice, or social inequality of many sorts.

Next. The current theories on the etiology of breast cancer include genetic predisposition, environmental carcinogens, and/or genetic mutation due to harmful chemical substances or toxins in food and our everyday life. Besides, altered endocrine functions, such as increase in female hormone, are also risk factors for breast cancer. There is much less discussion on the socio-cultural factors connected to the happening of breast cancer, but this part is crucial for the anthropological perspective. A critique of the existing theories on the etiology of breast cancer is that the literature and results are mainly based on the biochemical body theory. These studies all show the important symptoms expressed by the body, but with a lack of making systemic references to academic research on individual's experience and his/her explanations of a fierce disease like breast cancer. For example, why me?! why cancer?! and/or why not someone else?! This kind of questions will require in a certain degree some anthropological or even religious answer like theodicy. For the patient, the cause of breast cancer varies and is usually multifarious in nature. We can somehow understand the complicated corporeal work within cancer course through a diagram of body interacting with its main surrounding elements, such as a person makes contact with the outside world, conducts the action of imagination, or explaining and understanding via a tangible cultural body. For example, when a person is ill, the outside world to him would include the following: 1. his explanation for the etiology of the disease; 2. his family relationship; 3. different medical care systems involved and the interventional treatments used; or 4. his close friends, relatives and support groups which matter to impact greatly on his actions within disease. During the process of body interacting with all these different elements, our body would develop the most suitable and adaptive process to the disease and its challenge.

Study findings

All of the four informants in this study gave etiological explanations of their disease in terms of both biomedical reasons and supernatural forces. In other words, when informants in this study were seeking medical treatment, like the majority of patients in Taiwanese society, they also used their own beliefs to explain cancer and handle their disease. However, patients involved in this study had their etiological discourses based on some specific forces of the supernatural. Among them, the most common supernatural causes of diseases can be classified into four categories. First and foremost is Fate, which is also the most common model and direction for explaining the cause of disease in Chinese society. When a symptom cannot be justified by scientific methods, Fate will always be brought up by Taiwanese people as the ultimate cause of diseases or misfortune. The second most common supernatural cause of disease is Karma: what goes around comes around. And the third most common supernatural cause of disease is the harmful "Fire" within the body, which would burn and damage normal cells. Finally, the fourth most common supernatural

cause of disease is the imbalance in Yin and Yang energies which might result in all sorts of diseases.

First of all, it is the unchangeable fate that weighs prominently in the common etiological discourse. The informants generally believed that having cancer is the result of the unchangeable fate and that no one can escape from this formless force. Everyone is subject to the rule of the fate, and, therefore, getting cancer today is just the reflection of his or her fate in this life. How can one cope with something like the unchangeable fate? The informants responded that the only way to fact this with dignity and grace is to accept the fate, better with the smile, not to being trapped into the unresolvable pains. Furthermore, is Karma, which bears some religious significance. The informants said that the reason for having cancer is because of some debts accumulated in previous lives. In this sense, sickness in this life becomes either as a form of punishment or as a way of paying back to or compensating for those debts in previous lives. Thus, many patients would advocate that in order to pay off those past debts, he or she must accept the fate and therefore the fact of being sick in this life, and also endure the suffering resulted from the indebtedness. The third most common explanation is that cancer is the result of the imbalance between Yin and Yang energies. According to the informants in this study, this imbalance mainly refers to the disharmonious sexual relationship. Therefore it implied that there may exist some correlation between problems in sexual relationship and the development of breast cancer. This idea reflects the overall emphasis on the moral principle of maintaining harmony in all sorts of social relationships in Chinese society. So how do these patients adapt to this explanation for the cause of the disease? Their adaptation methods included seeking harmony in sexual relationship, and pursuit of overall harmony with friends and family etc., all of which constitutes the general balance between Yin and Yang energies. The fourth most common supernatural cause of breast cancer in Taiwan is that the cancer develops due to the excessive heat within the body, which result in hyperthermia and body damage. This idea has apparent connections to the Traditional Chinese Medicine and its many associated beliefs from various religious systems in the local world. The adaptation method based on this etiology model is to use or consume substances with Yin energy for extinguishing the harmful "fire" within the body. To avoid the damage brought by the harmful "fire" within the body, the informants believing in this sort of etiological explanations would consume a large amount of watermelons, aloe vera, or other foods considered as having the 'cooling' nature or more Yin energies. They might even consume some unidentified plants with lower internal heat claimed and recommended by friends and/or relatives. To sum up, this explanation for the cause of the disease is based on the excessive, invasive and toxic "fire" within the body, which was deemed as capable of burning and destroying the normal cells. Therefore, when the normal cells had died and then bad cells survived, the cancer ensued. Therefore consuming sufficient amount of foods with right nature would be the adaptive approach to disease under this etiology model.

Conclusion.

The result of this study shows that the explanation for the cause of the disease like breast cancer by the patients in this study is itself cultural in nature. The reason behind this is the fact that people are encultured into a cultural being through a long-term interaction with his/her family or society; and based on this cultural knowledge and

values the patients reconstruct his or her cosmology. Secondly, there seems a tendency of disease attribution to self by the patients in this study, and which means that it is more than often would the patients think something bad or wrong of their own, including those from previous lives, that causes their diseases. By contrast, Susan Sontag in her famous book "Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphor" held firmly the opposite: "Cancer is fact, not fate." Sontag used many examples in her book to overthrow the oppressive conclusion of fatalism. The last but not the least one is that it is necessary for the healthcare professions to appreciate and recognize patients' subjective experience and explanations, and also acknowledge the importance of patients' cultural beliefs about cancer etiology. This awareness is the essential basis for providing the a culture- appropriate and sensitive care. Although, it is evident that patient's cultural interpretations of disease etiologies can sometimes hinder the process of treatment, more often than not they can highly helpful for clinical works if well recognized, fully respected and flexibly used by the healthcare professions. That is to say that the better and fuller awareness of patients' etiological explanations of their diseases can improve the clinical understanding and analysis of patients' experiences, and by which the more suitable and appropriate method for patients' disease adaptation can be developed by the medical staffs.

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Appendix I - The Socioeconomic status of each respondents

No.	Age	Married Status	No. of Children	Education	Occupation	Religion	State of disease	Surgical procedure	Adjuvant Therapy
01	62	Married	4	High school	Cloth store owner	Christianity	1b~2	Left Modified radical mastectomy	9 courses of CMF after surgery. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
02	57	Married	4	Elementary school	Bookstore owner	Buddhism	2	Right Modified radical mastectomy	9 courses of CEF after surgery. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
03	63	Married	3	Elementary school	Catering staff	Taoism	3	Right Modified radical mastectomy	9 courses of CEF after surgery. 40 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
04	35	Single	0	University	Accountant	Folk religion	1	Right Breast Conservation Therapy	8 courses of CEF after surgery. 30 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
05	38	Married	1	University	Housekeeping	Yiguandao	2b	Right Modified radical mastectomy	8 courses of CEF after surgery. 30 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
06	33	Married	4	High school	Manager in Electronics Industry	Folk religion	3	Right Modified radical mastectomy	8 courses of CEF and Taxotere after surgery. 25 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
07	35	Married	2	Junior high school	Operator	Folk religion	1	Left Breast Conservation Therapy	8 courses of CEF after surgery. 40 courses of radiation therapy.
08	54	Married	2	College	Retired public official	None	1	Right Modified radical mastectomy	8 courses of CEF after surgery. 30 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
09	49	Divorced	2	Junior high school	Temporary worker	None	2b	Left Modified radical mastectomy	8 courses of CEF and Taxotere after surgery. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
10	50	Married	2	High school	Business woman	None	2a~2b	Left Modified radical mastectomy	8 courses of CEF after surgery. 35 courses of radiation therapy.
11	51	Married	3	Junior high school	Housekeeping	Folk religion	1	Left Breast Conservation Therapy	8 courses of CEF after surgery. 30 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
12	41	Married	2	High school	Housekeeping	Folk religion	2	Left Breast Conservation Therapy	5 alternating course of CEF and Taxotere before surgery. 3 courses of CEF after surgery. 32 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
13	56	Married	1	Junior high school	Housekeeping	Christianity	0	Right Breast Conservation Therapy	35 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
14	47	Married	2	Junior high school	Construction worker	None	3	Left Breast Conservation Therapy	9 courses of CMF after surgery. 40 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.

15	40	Married	2	High school	Operator	None	2a	Right Breast Conservation Therapy	8 alternating course of CEF and Taxotere before surgery. 8 courses of CEF after surgery. 30 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
16	47	Single	0	College	Bank worker	None	2a	Left Breast Conservation Therapy	8 courses of CMF after surgery. 35 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
17	38	Single	0	University	Military staff	Buddhism	2	Left Modified radical mastectomy	6 courses of CEF after surgery. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
18	47	Married	3	High school	Catering staff	Buddhism	2a	Right Modified radical mastectomy with immediate reconstruction	8 courses of CEF after surgery. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.
19	40	Married	1	Junior high school	Vendor	Folk religion	3	Right Modified radical mastectomy	8 courses of CMF before surgery. 40 courses of radiation therapy. Oral administration of Tamoxifen.

Monks in 26th Buddhist Era: characters of monks in Thai Films Against the Code of Monastic Discipline

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Abstract

According to Thailand's constitution, it is declared that a person has the right to freely express opinions but the movies, showing monks inappropriately conducting the monastic discipline, must be banned or censored even though the film art is trying to tell the truth in the society which Thai Authority feel uncomfortable to accept. Therefore, this research attempted to study monks in different genres of Thai films in terms of monastic disciplines breaking and myths of Buddhism which Thai Authority tries to press not to let audiences know which leads to the ban and censorship. Interestingly, the finding shows that genres of the films affect the consideration of censorship board. The scenes where the monks who break the highest rules, called Parajikka or banishment from the monkhood, especially in crime and thriller films, are banned or edited out while monks in comedy films are allowed to be on screen although they should be punished by lighter penalty. The censorship of the board seems inconsistent, lacks certain standard, and has a lot of exceptions for some films. Even though the board always claims morality and honourable culture of the nation, this causes the destruction and elimination of artistic exuberance. However, audiences have to judge by themselves between monks in the reality and monks in the film art.

Keywords: monks, monastic disciplines, Thai films, ban, censorship

Introduction

Monks have been perceived and recognized as the ones who are pure in body, speech and mind since they must conduct 227 fundamental precepts (called Pātimokkha) formulated over 2500 years ago in order to preserve doctrine and discipline among Sangkha or monastic community. However, no one could predict that in the next thousands years world, people, and even monks' roles would be changed. In Buddhist society, temples have been a part of the society and people's lives from birth to die. Monks used to be influential leaders of communities such as teachers, counselors, judges, patrons, developers and the most respectful centers in communities. Therefore, there have been a lot of films, one of the media collecting and reflecting whatever happens in a society, referring to monks in various characters depending on local cultures and perception. For instance, in the western world, where Buddhism is recognized as a minority among Christianity and myths which westerners understand that Buddhism, Buddhists and followers still practice the same as they did thousands years ago, they produced films showing calm and pure monks whose goal is the enlightenment and peaceful world such as Amongst White Clouds (USA, 2007), Little Buddha (UK, 1993) and Lost Horizon (USA, 1937). In Chinese films, monks are represented as fighters such as The Last Kung Fu Monk (2010), Shaolin Monks: the Wheel of Life (2001), The Way of the Tiger, the Sign of the Dragon (1972), and A Touch of Zen (1971). Additionally, films from Japan dare disclose human being of monks' desire to be punk rockers (Abraxas, 2010 and Fancy Dance, 1987). In Thai society, Buddha and Buddhism are the most respectful institutions which no one can make fun of. Therefore, there were very few films made in the beginning of Thai film industry not mentioning changing roles of monks except spiritual monastic people such as Luang Ta (1980), The Golden Rider (1984,2006), Phai Daeng (1979), and other films where monks played role as a shaman or ghost buster. Nevertheless, many producers of Thai films in 21st century have tried to challenge traditional myths of Buddhist monks. There have been monks in different genres of films such as comedy, horror, drama or even crime. They play jokes, commit homicide, cry, fall in love, sing a song, protest a corruption, deceive, strangely dress or even are homosexual. This resulted in banning and censorship in some of them by Thai censorship committees (only begun in 2008) due to the fact that it affects the image of monks and Buddhism, especially in the films where monks play as a criminal or have love affairs. However, the censorship committees do not focus on the details of code of monastic discipline; thereby, there are many films escaping although monks in the films conduct against the rules. This raises questions whether they overlook and ignore some less serious faults or they accept the precept breaking (only some of them).

 According to the weird exceptions of the Thai censorship committees, the research is conducted in order to find out whether monks in Thai films in 26th Buddhist era abide by monastic disciplines formulated thousand years ago and examine which precepts the monks in films ignore or are abandoned by the committees. Finally, the research will convey whether Thai society can accept new representations of monks based on censorship of films.

Code of monastic discipline and offense

The code of 227 precepts for Buddhist monks or Patimokkha were formulated by the Lord Buddha over 2500 years ago resulting from problematic incidents within the

lifetime of the Lord obstructing them to achieve the enlightenment (Phra Sāsana Sobhaṇa, 2009 and Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2013). The rules control monks to have the right speech, right action, right livelihood, and to live in a community with harmony. When monks break the rules, they may receive both secular penalty (Lokavajja) and monastic one (Pannattivajjawas)(Phramaha Rungruang Khantitho (Herdkhuntot), 2013). The former punishment is the judgement from normal people when misdemeanour and felony are committed while the latter plays the role when monastic rules are broken. According to the penalties, the rules are divided into seven levels based on severity of guilt such as expelling, probation for six days, or expiation through confession (Phra Sāsana Sobhaṇa, 2009). In this research, there are only related precepts mentioned for the purpose of conciseness and important digestion from the collected films.

The first category of the code appearing in the films is the Defeater or Pārājika consisting of four serious precepts which can cause monks to get expelled. Mahatthanadull (2014) simply explains that this category includes sexual-intercourse, killing, stealing, and falsely claiming superior abilities. Nonetheless, related offense with lighter punishment will be mentioned as well.

- *Sexual intercourse* with human, non-human or even animals including anal, genital, or oral intercourse can cause monks receive the highest level of punishment which is the monastic ejection. However, there are some rules offering less heavy punishment which is receiving consideration from Buddhist community (called Sangha). This kind of punishment would be assigned to monks when they intentionally emit semen except during a dream, lustfully touch women or comment women's sexual organs or sexual performance. Additionally, if a monk and a woman are together in a private place, it leads to Aniyata offense which entails defeat or communal meeting or confession.

- *Killing human beings* means all genders of human beings in all ages or even a fetus. The killing includes hiring one to kill a person, and inciting one to die. Similar to sexual intercourse, there are other resemble precepts which result in less serious punishment such as killing animals on purpose, pouring and using water that one know there are living things. The punishment for these mistakes is forfeiture and confession (called Nissaggiya Pacittiya).

- *Stealing* anything which costs 1/24 ounce troy of gold or more must be banished from monastic affiliation. If a monk gives a rob to another monk and snatch it back or if a monk utilizes shared cloth or bowl for his own interest, he will be considered by Sangha community and be fined and sent to the confessional process respectively.

- *Boasting or bragging one's superior abilities* to others such as super vision and super knowledge is recognized as vain and idle actions which monks must not do. Otherwise, they are disrobed. Deliberately distorting the truth to another one can affect the second category of the punishment, going to the Sangha community.

Except from the highest penalties for the unacceptable offense mentioned above, there are monks' offenses in the films which result in lighter punishment such as forfeiture, confession, and training. Nissaggiya Pacittiya offense can cause fine and confession. The films which illustrate Nissaggiya Pacittiya offense of monks mention a monk who engages in monetary exchange and a monk who tries to flirt a woman. The lower level of punishment is called Pacittiya which entail confession or acknowledge infraction of the monastic disciplines. Telling a lie, eating after dawn, eating food not formally given, drinking alcohol, sitting in private with a woman, traveling with a woman are not allowed for monks based on Pacittiya rules but they occur in some Thai films without censorship or ban. The last category of the disciplines is called Sekhiyavatta which is the basic guideline for training monks to behave properly. For instance, laughing loudly, receiving alms food inappropriately, and teaching Dhamma to improper people are unacceptable behaviors which monks should avoid, especially when they are in a community among people.

In addition, there are some rules which are not included in the 227 precepts but they are the rules which were formulated in order to qualify those who wish to ordain. Two of them will be referred to this study are being homosexual and killing parents. Before ordaining, those who are about to be ordained as a Buddhist priest must be verified whether they are within the terms of the prohibited qualifications such as being disabled, being animals, or not having ordaining utensils.

Monks in Thai films VS monks in foreign films

Ronald S. Green (2014) described and presented various aspects of Buddhism movies around the world in his book *Buddhism Goes to the Movies: An introduction to Buddhist Thought and Practice.* The movies which he referred in the book are divided into four kinds based on the content: dramatic movies with overt Buddhist themes, dramatic biographies of Buddhists, dramatic movies with themes identified as Buddhist, and documentary movies on aspects of Buddhism. This study focuses on only the first one because documentary and biographical movies indicate only venerable monks and most of the movies claiming that they have Buddhist themes do not relate to monks and the themes may be identified as other religions' concepts since many religious ideas are universal.

Movies from the western world represent Buddhist theme as learning the truth of life through time based on the development of the protagonists in the films. For example, Little Buddha, a famous Italian-French-British film in 1993, tells about searching for an American boy who Tibetan monks believe that he is their master who reincarnate and A Buddha (Un Budda in Spanish) is a Spanish movie in 2005 illustrates a Chinese monk who wish to promulgate Buddha's teaching to the western world and tries to apply his knowledge to help an abused girl. Another example of monks in movies is the scene in Tomb Rider (2001) that Angelina Jolie is sitting among monks spiritually chanting and after she drinks some tea, her wound is miraculously cured. The instances shows that western film makers perceive and would like to represent Buddhist monks as morally ascetic practitioners as same as monks described in the Buddhist scripture or Tripitaka over 2500 years ago. Similarly, McDaniel (2010) told his experience with students when they visited a temple in the Southern California that they was confused and questioned why monks could miss his family and why another laughed despite the fact that they are expected to be as emotionless and calm

as the stereotypical monks they watched in the films The Little Buddha, Angulimala and Seven Years in Tibet. On the other hands, movies from Buddhist countries like Korean, Japan, Hong Kong or Thailand would rather try to disclose monks as real as they are in the present time.

It is known that although eastern countries such as Thailand, Korea, and Japan are the land of Buddhism, most of population devoting themselves to Buddhism, they are in different denominations which are Theravada, Mahayana, and Shinto respectively. This might be the reason why movies from the countries where Mahayana and Shinto play important roles such as China, South Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, and Taiwan dare to present monks in more contemporary points of view than movies produced from Theravada which is recognized as the oldest denomination preserving traditional practice (Dhamma Thai, from http://www.dhammathai.org/buddhism/theravada.php) due to the fact that each denomination has different exceptions of monastic disciplines.

- *South Korea* where Mahayana is the main denomination used to produce films depending on the traditionally expected monks but now film makers dare present monks in the opposite expectation. In other words, monks as the monastic ruled guardians or the representative of purity appeared in the films before 21st century. Why Has Bodhi-Dharma Left for the East (1989), for example, describes a middle-age man who intends to ordain and practice Dharma in a remote temple. As the same theme, the monk in Mandala (1981) tries to escape from suffering and achieve the truth of life. However, Hi! Dharma (2001) and Flowers in Hell (2012) entail the character of monks as same as normal human beings who can be sensitive to stimulus around them such as anger or sexual incentive. In 2003, the Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter and Spring became reputed and guaranteed with 13 wins and 8 nominations. Even though there are the scenes disclosing the sensational flirtation and sexual intercourse between a young monk and a woman on a boat, audiences overwhelmingly admire the film because they show the lust in human which leads the monk to the enlightening state at the end. The film tells the beautiful poetic philosophy of life through the contradictory in the monk's mind by comparing with the four seasons. The deep meaningful story line makes audiences overlook the immoral scenes.

- *Japan*'s film makers dare reveal monks' characters beyond the leader of spirituality such as a fake monk in The Burmese Harp (1956), and a punk rocker in Fancy Dance (1987) and Abraxas (2010). Although the monk in The Burmese Harp is the fake but the film was praised and nominated for Academy Award for Best Foreign Picture and Best Foreign Language Film. Audie Bock (1993), an American film scholar, reviewed only the beauty, deep emotion and the cinematic art of the film. There were not critiques in terms of pretending to be a monk. This may be because the protagonist has good intention to survive and bury the dead soldiers, his compatriots. Moreover, at the end of the story, he has learnt the truth of suffering life and wants to find peace in his mind after the loss of war so

he becomes a part of monkhood. Fancy Dance (1987) and Abraxas[1] (2010) have the same theme which are punk rocker monks who challenge the monastic rules but their audiences would rather focus on Buddhist substance than being punk rocker as the report from Sundance 2011 about religion in independent films stated that

> "Abraxas continues to explore, with wisdom and sensitivity, key Buddhist doctrines as the plot unfolds. Along with themes touching on the nature of anicca, anatta, and dukkha, the film provides an intensely beautiful scene illustrating the important doctrine of paticca-samuppada (pratitya-samutpada interdependent origination/arising), the idea that nothing exists independently."

- *China and Hong Kong* are home of Mahayana so they produce movies based on Mahayana's concepts which are different from Theravada's. Even though the admirable Xuan Zan in The Monkey King (2014,2016) and A Chinese Tall Story[2] (2005) has been retold in various versions due to his stereotypical character satisfying Buddhists, the genre which becomes the iconic movies of China and Hong Kong is Chinese martial arts or Wuxia (literally means martial hero) (CRI, 2012). For example, Heaven Sword and Dragon Sabre (1978), The 36th Chamber of Shaolin (1978) Dragon in Shaolin (1996), and The New Shaolin Temple (2011) present the ancient martial arts taught by monks at Shaolin temple, the legendary temple of China. Interestingly, Chinese film makers try hard to draw audiences' attention. Hence, they need adaptation but still preserve the character of monks as evil busters and helpful hermits in spite of the fact that they are in genre of action, sci-fi, fantasy or comedy movies.

- *Bhutan* is recognized as "the last stronghold of Vajrayana Buddhism" (Tourism Council of Bhutan, 2016) but The Cup[3] released in 1999 surprised audiences in accordance with monks and novices as football obsessors. Khyentse Norbu, the Bhutanese director, said about the reason why he made the film in an interview that "Growing up in a monastery, I've noticed, somehow, that monks everywhere are obsessed with football. I guess there's something similar between religion and a football match." However, the movie still shows proper behaviors of the monks that need to adapt themselves to the globalized world. Therefore, the movie was not controversially discussed.

- In *Thailand*, most of the movies create monks as ghost busters, highly admirable people or jokers while movies showing the dark side of monks are censored or banned due to the act from the ministry of culture who supports and tends to publicize only the selected fact. Monks as ghost

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[1] Based on the novel *Abraxas*

[2] Both of them are based on the novel *Journey to the West*.
[3] The director is Bhutanese Khyentse Norbu but the movie's scene is in Tibet with the picturesque foothills of the Himalayas.

busters can be seen in number of Thai films such as the legendary film, Nang Nak, Flower of the Night, Demonic Beauty, The Coffin, Secret Sunday, and See How They Run. They are created to have magic chants or holy amulets which can subdue evils and ghosts. Monks in Phai Deang and The Golden Riders are plotted to be ideal monks as described in the Tripitaka and as expected by the society. According to the secular penalty or Lokavajja, film makers try to characterize monks as same as the society expects how they "should be" and "must be". Because the movies with the plain characters of monks have not been paid attention (The latest monk/ Buddhist movie in 2016 Wandering are not in current and are not played in commercial cinemas.), monks are reproduced in the genre of comedy movies. Arahant Summer raises novices to play an important role in the movie and let them play joke or let others make fun of them. As novice, they are ruled by fewer precepts than monks; thus, they are characterized in more various roles under fewer limitations than monks. Nonetheless, in comedy movies, monks are created to be more contemporary and accessible since they are not worshiped on the shrine anymore. The Holy Man, Luang Phee Jazz 4G, and Teng Nong Jiwon Bin, for instance, can play joke, wear weird clothes, and give a sermon which sound like singing a song, or behave whatever is not close to the calmness. Doubtfully, they are not censored or banned although they break the monastic disciplines. On the other hands, monks who commit homicide, have an affair with men or women, steal, and boast supernatural abilities, are always judged as the cause of cultural degeneration and banned such as Abat, Mindfulness and Murder, or In the Shadow of Naga.

Censorship in Thai films

In the reign of King Rama VII, The Light of Asia (1925) was banned to show in Thailand since the film distorted the truth of the Buddha's biography so Prince Nakornsawan Woraphinit suggested that there should be "board of censor" in order to control film making and film makers (King Prajadhipok's Institute, n.d.). Thenceforward, films have been controlled in agreement with moral pretexts and in 1930 the first film act was enacted. The act was clearly written in section 4 that "Do not make, show or play any films which violate peace and morality. If they are made, showed or played or announced, they are not allowed to be imported or exported from the Kingdom" and section 7 identifies punishment that "If any films violate the section 4, those films will be forbidden to exist anymore and confiscated no matter if they are done or not in order to be sent to committee to consider." (Film Act, 1930) (Researcher's translation) Passawan Korakotchamat (2010) claimed that when there was an act for controlling tapes and television in 1987, films which were verified by the board of censor could cause film makers to be sent to prison if there were complainers about pornographic pictures. Consequently, this resulted in film makers' self-censorship. In 2008, Film and Video Act was legislated based on the first one and was under the responsibility of the National Cultural Committee, ministry of culture. Gautier (2008) described that

> "The Board of Film and Video Censors is responsible for a host of duties including inspecting and rating movies to be screened, rented, exchanged, or sold in Thailand; permitting the projection,

exchange, rental, or sale of movies and videos; authorizing the advertisements of motion pictures; approving their exportation outside Thailand; and controlling foreign movies shot in Thailand."

The act divides films into seven categories; 1) General audience (no age restriction) 2) 13-year-olds and above 3) 15-year-olds and above 4) 18-year-olds and above 5) 20-year-olds and above 6) Banned films and 7) Educational films.

In Thai film history, a number of films have been banned, censored or edited out depending on the reasons of politics, sexual expression, religious harm, and image of the nation which results in destroying the area of art. Suvarna of Siam (1923) was shot and produced by Henry MacRae but he was forced to edit out some scenes which would spoil the image of Siam (Uabumrungjit, n.d.). In 1925, The Light of Asia was questioned about the appropriateness again and it led to the first Film Act in 1930 which the board of censorship had mentioned to control film production for over 70 years. There are four scenes in Syndrome and Century, released in 2006, made cuts; a monk playing the guitar, two doctors kissing at hospital, doctors drinking alcohol at hospital, and two monks playing flying toys. After the enactment of the new Film Act in 2008, films have been banned and censored ceaselessly. For instance, Insect in the Backyard (2010), exposing LGBT's world, and Shakespeare Must Die (2012), satirizing Thai politics, are banned due to sexual indecency and national security and peace respectively.

Except from the films violating politics and sexual indecency, there are a lot of films which are banned and edited out concerning Buddhist sensitivity. The latest film which was controversially discussed is Arbat due to the fact that it presents sexual relation between a monk/a novice and women which offend the highest punishment called Pārājika. Although the content tends to be risky, the censorship board permitted it to play on screens after some problematic scenes had been cut and the title had been changed to "Apatti".

In addition, there are two films presenting fake monks but one was permitted to be on screens; the other was banned. The former is another controversial one about criminals in Buddhist ropes In the Shadow of Naga which was resulted from the Film Act 2008 because it took three years to be considered by the board of censorship (Matichon Online, 2010). The latter Sienphra or Buddha Image Experts showing fake young monks who are broke so they disguise to be monks in order to receive food alms and earn money (Lamunbol, 2013). Lamunbol (2013) reported in Prachatai that the director Rachata Rungkamolpan thought that being a monk is only a job as same as a police officer who we pay a bribe to escape from cases but we willingly offer money to monks as a bribe to go to heaven. Khon Graab Maa or My Teacher Eats Biscuits was almost screened in the 1st Bangkok Film Festival in 1997. Unfortunately, it was banned and seems to disappear since it was charged with insulting Buddhism and all religions in Thailand. Fifteen years later, Sop Mai Ngeap or Mindfulness and Murder, directed by Tom Waller, reveals monks in the globalized world; monks as criminals, monks as drug traders, monks as investigators, monks as gays and fake monks. Surprisingly, it was rated for over 15+ audiences and was allowed to screen in commercial cinemas in Thailand. It should be wondering why this risky-contented

film escapes from the consideration of the censorship board. Is it because the board neglects their duty or the director is a foreigner?

Analysis

Monks whose character should be considered to exile from monkhood or Parajikka are in the genres of crime, horror, and comedy while those who receive light punishment such as confession (Pajittiya) and being retrained (Sekhiyavatta) appear in comedy and drama. The data will be analyzed in terms of the description of monks, characterization in each genre, prototypical monks, monks who are unqualified before ordaining, comparison between monks in myths and monks in reality including monks lost faith by other supporting characters.

Respectful monks:

According to the social norm of Thai society, Buddhism is the untouchable institute and everyone must highly respect so when it is mentioned in any films, especially in the past, film makers try to self-censor by presenting it in only one angle, magnificent morality. The Golden Rider, Phai Daeng, and Luang Ta are the films in 1970s-1980s when people could not reveal the degenerate side of monkhood; hence, the monks in those films were characterized as morally respectable super human. Phai Daeng[4] was released in 1979 and became controversial because it satirized the communist notion happening in Thai society (Day & Liem, 2010). Phra Krang is the middle-age abbot of a temple in Phai Daeng (Red bamboo) village. He is plotted as same as Luang Phii Sit in the Golden Rider (released in 1984/2006) who is a young monk and helps people escape from the power of capitalism by using Buddha's teaching. Luang Phii Sit is a flat character who has only honorable side whereas Phra Krang is more realistic character due to the fact that he has the conflicts in his mind between devil part, his secular desire, and angel part, his monasticism. However, he chooses to present his angel part to villagers and he wins his secular desire at the end. Like monks in the western myths, Luang Ta[5] is a prototypical monk, an old kind and calm man, who is like a refuge or protector for people when they suffer. These three films became renowned and praiseworthy when people would like to mention to Buddhist films. Undoubtedly, the censorship board permitted them to play on screen and become a part of Thai film's legend.

Defeater monks:

It is known that defeat or Parajikka rules are the most serious code which monks must conduct and must not violate; therefore, any films dare disclose monks who break the law will always be banned or censored by the censorship board of Thailand with the allegation of morality or noble culture of the nation. Nonetheless, there are some films banned or edited out especially in the genres of crime and horror while some films such as comedy being permitted to screen even though the monks in the film should be exiled from the monkhood. The analysis below will show the films where monks should be sentenced banishment due to sexual intercourse, killing livings, claiming supernatural abilities, and stealing.

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[4] Adapted from the Italian fiction *The Little World of Dan Camillo*
[5] Released in 1980 and directed by the same director of Phai Daeng ,Phermphon Choei-Arun

Sexual intercourse:

From the collected data, there are four films which illustrate the sexual intercourse between monks and women indifferent genres. Undoubtedly, in crime films antagonists always look fierce like Sing in In the Shadow of Naga. He has beard, moustache and tan complexion with aggressive eyes. His utterance sounds like bawling although he is talking to older monks. When he becomes a monk, he still keeps his character. He seemed anxious and moody all the time. While he stays at the temple, he needs to disguise as a monk in order to search for money that another antagonist has hidden. Nevertheless, as a normal man, he calls his prostitute wife to visit him and help him release his lust. Even though the film took three years to be edited some inappropriate scenes, the censorship board let this scene to screen and rate the film for over 18-year-old audiences. The older film which is rated for over 15 is Mindfulness and Murder tells a story about a monk, named Jittakootto. He comes from the north of Thailand where people can find weird criminal ritual. His soft voice and calm manners can conceal his fault from others. Furthermore, he claims that he is raped by the dead orphan boy. In fact, he seems content to have sex with the boy the secret relationship leads to the crime which a former cop, the protagonist of the film, has to investigate the truth. He does not kill only the boy but he kills another monk who knows his secret. What Jittakootto does is not better or worse than Sing in In the Shadow of Naga does but it should question why they are differently rated. What are the criteria used for rating the films?

The legendary film which was exiled instead of the monks in the film is My Teacher Eats Biscuits. It was anticipated to be on screen in the 1st Bangkok Film Festival in 1997 but there are many scenes which are unacceptable for the board of censorship such as a man worship a dog and imitating the dog's behaviors, and a shocking scene of necrophiliac monk. The monk believes that having sex with a corpse is like practicing dharma. Because of the extremely precarious content, this film almost completely disappears from film history and there are some articles referring to it left so no one has ever seen it before.

Arbat is the latest film which became controversial in 2015 since it presents the lust of a monk and a novice. The novice whose father forces him to ordain has a secret lustful relationship with a girl in a village. He looks like a teenager in the uniform of monks because he does not willingly ordain. He is always detracted by his girlfriend in Bangkok and the girl he meets at the temple. While he tends to break the monastic law, he can discover another secret of the former abbot who has sexual relationship with a woman and she bears a child. In the film, there are the scenes showing the monk touches the woman and the woman is getting dressed after they have sexual intercourse. These scenes are the most important elements of the films. Without the scenes, the film cannot complete the whole story, lack reasonability, and cannot lead to the climax so they are not edited out and are allowed to show in public eyes.

Killing human beings:

In the Shadow of Naga, Mindfulness and Murder, and Luang Phii Jazz 4G are the films showing the cruel image of monks who kill people although it is legislated in the highest penalty of the Buddhist monastic disciplines. The fake monks in In the Shadow of Naga kill people and kill each other only to snatch money because they are

not educated and they would like to get free from the poverty. Sing, a lustful and greedy monk, is always paranoid that other monks in the temple know he is not a real monk, know his true intention to stay at the temple, and snatch the money he robs. The scene he is holding a gun and pointing to everyone even an old monk should be cut if the board claims the enactment of film because it destroys morality and purity of monasticism. However, the board consented the scene to screen. This may be because the monk is shot to die at the end as a lesson for audiences and if they had cut it, the film would not have finished. Similarly, Mindfulness and Murder obtains the rate for over 15 but the film publicizes the scene the gay monk commits a queer crime by injecting an empty syringe into the vein of the orphan boy, stuffing a big candle into his mouth and then leaving the dead body with gouged eyes into a big earthen jar. It sounds very brutal, particularly the murder committed by the real monk. According to the Film Act in section 4 and 7, these two films had to be banned but the consideration of the board on the films is contradictory. In the Shadow of Naga took three years for revision while the board gave Mindfulness and Murder the green light with no cuts.

Unlike the previous films, Luang Phii Jazz 4G, a comedy film in 2016, also has a minor scene showing two monks hire assassins to kill Luang Phii Jazz, the protagonist, because he tries to obstruct them to make people credulous about their supernatural abilities, one of their ways to earn for a living. The title of the film comes from the comparison between 4G, the speed of wireless internet connection, and karmic law yet the critics mostly focused on non-comicality and low quality without film art instead of inappropriateness of monks and supporting characters in the films. Thereby, the film gains the rating of over 15 due to the fact that it was not controversial regarding the monkhood.

Stealing:

Another precept which all Buddhists including monks must conduct is abstaining from theft; nevertheless, it appears in the film In the Shadow of Naga as the vital main point to run the story. Theft in Buddhist concept means snatching, robbing or even wanting others' belongings. Although the monks steal the money before they ordain, their greed is revealed all the time when they are wearing the saffron robes so they try very hard to demolish the newly constructed chapel. The film manifests that they are so greedy that they attempt to disguise themselves as monks, practice religious activities like real monks, and search for the robbed money during the night until dawn. As the lesson of the film, at the end two fake monks die and the old monk who is forced to ordain them at the beginning of the story easily grab the money (but finally arrested). What the film tells audiences is full of the truth of the society and nature of karmic law.

Boasting or bragging one's superior abilities:

In spite of the fact that tattooing, chanting incantation, and showing superstition have been believed for very long in Thai society, they are not permitted to involve with, especially for monks since they offense the monastic code. However, films which refer to superstition conducted by monks present only calm old monks with powerful magic to help people survive from black magic, ghosts or wars. For example, the monks in Maha Ut (rating of PG-13) and Necromancer (Rating of +15) play an

important role in conducting superstition on the purpose of supporting the protagonists in the films. On the other hands, the monks in Luang Phii Jazz 4G make love potion, recite incantations over amulets and give a hint for lotteries in order to exchange with money, one of the monastic discipline offense. Although the monks break the law with the highest penalty, the censorship board rated it for +15 audiences.

The films above are in the genre of action and comedy but the monastic code breaking of the monks are not paid attention as much as the independence film Syndrome and Century, whose four scenes were edited out; a monk playing the guitar, two doctors kissing at hospital, doctors drinking alcohol at hospital, and two monks playing flying toys. It might be hard work for film makers to guess what they should select to put in their film to gain the greenlight from the censorship board.

Redeeming monk:

Except from the Parajikka code, other rules entail lighter punishment and they are mostly found in comedy and drama; therefore, it is doubtless why they can escape from the censorship board and audiences' criticism. Telling a lie, drinking alcohol, eating at the nighttime, eating food which is formally given by others and other improper behaviors affect the light punishment such as attending a formal meeting, confession, forfeit, or only being blamed. In fact, if monks do those things, they had better be punished by people's reproach or secular penalty called Lokavajja.

Engaging in money:

If a monk engages in money, he disobeys Nissaggiya Pacittiya which can cause him to be fined and confess. The abbot from Mindfulness and Murder is presented as a manager of a company. He has his own office and a secretary monk who deals with his business such as conducting religious ceremony or giving a hint for lotteries. He earns for money which is once forbidden in the Buddhist period. Similarly, a scene in Luang Phii Jazz 4G displays monks asking for alms and asking for money instead of food. The scene gains a lot of laughs because in reality monks need money for their living as employees but they are employees of Buddhists who conduct religious ceremonies in order to exchange with money for their personal expense. The censorship board may think that this kind of job looks common at present so there is no guilt to be banned or censored.

Telling a lie:

In the Buddhist concept, telling a lie does not mean only lying but it includes raving, talking nonsense, and babbling which are regulated in Pacittiya code, the code entailing confession. It is interesting that the drama film Mekhong Full Moon Party dare use telling a lie as the theme of the story. And it is more interesting that the person who tells a lie is an old monk. However, what he does should be called as *a white lie* because he lies about Naga's fire balls floating from Mekhong River on the full moon day of the eleventh month of lunar calendar. The faith of the supernatural phenomena is claimed that Naga, one of the Lord Buddha's followers, let the fire balls float into the sky as an offering to the Lord Buddha. Thereby, he believes that the fire balls can draw attention of Buddhist whose faith is disappearing and this is another

way to preserve the religion to last long forever. The film is not rated because it was released before the Film Act 2008 which is the beginning of rating in Thai media. The monk was not criticized about his lying although he breaks the Film Act 1930 which was still active at that period of time. This can be interpreted that Thai society can accept and except a white lie if it results from a good intention.

Drinking alcohol:

The Holy Man or Luang Phii Teng is a comedy film consisting of three sections and one of them showing a monk fooled by temple boys to drink alcohol until he gets drunk and neglects to do monastic activities in the early morning. He is a new 20-year-old monk who ordains because it is one of the son's duties in Thai tradition for the purpose of gratitude to parents. The drunken monk is played on the screen without censorship and it is a part of funny shot. Drinking alcohol entails confession in front of other monks but as the allegation of the censorship board about morality and inappropriateness, they let the comedy conceal the immorality which they always claim when they ban or cut the scenes in crime and thriller films.

Eating at nighttime and eating food not formally given:

In Novice, a thriller film, a novice does not get used to refraining from eating from the afternoon until dawn so he leaves from his room and eat food which villagers offer to demons called Pretah(in Buddhist belief). He is still a hot-tempered teenager and he unwillingly ordains so he tries to escape from monkhood and does not try to practice. Although there are fewer precepts for novices than for monks, refraining from eating at nighttime and eating food not formally given is the precepts novices must follow to practice tolerance. At the end of the story, the novice has to suffer from his sin; hence, it easily gains the green light from the censorship board.

Improper behaviors:

Improper behaviors mostly occur in comedy films such as running, improperly dressing, playing a joke, singing, diving, or flying in the sky are accepted by the censorship and rated for G or general audiences with no age restriction. Luang Phii Teng in the Holy Man 1 looks calm but he plays jokes with people with respect to solving problems or conflicts among people in a village. In the Holy Man 2, Pra Joey, a former rapper, starts a journey to search for the meaning of life. When he arrives at a lake to imagine how to across it, he imagine to fly in the sky with a paramotor and then he imagines to dive under the water and run away from a crocodile. Another scene shows the monk blown by a storm and got stuck on a tree and he falls from the tree. Moreover, he chants dharma but it sounds like he sings a rap. Other monks in the same section wear helmets which are not proper clothes for monks. In the Holy Man 3, a former signer ordains and chants like singing a song as same as Phra Joey but he is more hot-tempered

Unqualified monks: It Gets Better, Novice

Apart from the monastic disciplines, there are rules enacted to screen people who want to ordain because in the Buddha's lifetime there are unqualified people asking the Lord Buddha to live in the monkhood. It Gets Better and Novice are the two films

found two kinds of unqualified monks; gay monk and monk/novice who kills his own parent respectively. The monk in the former film is forced by his father to ordain after he knows that his son is a gay. He wishes monasticism can change his son's mind but finally his son leaves from the monkhood and completely becomes a transsexual. In Novice, his mother believes that ordination can erase his sin, throwing a stone to passing cars and stealing others' belonging. One day he accidentally hits his father's car and makes him die. At the end of the story, the ordination cannot help him escape from the heavy sin. He is hit to death by stones from invisible hands in the darkness.

Surprisingly, It Gets Better obtains over 15 rating and was not controversial about the behaviors of the monk. This may be because the censorship board accepts sexual differences whereas news about gay monks on newspaper is always criticized in the society and the Ministry of Culture. Similarly, killing a parent in Novice did not become an issue as well.

Discussion

It must be accepted that Buddha died over 2500 years ago; therefore, his teaching may not be appropriate for the present conditions which result in the offense of monastic code. Many films try to present monks in various points of view, particularly changing duties and roles but the society tend to reject those changes due to some myths propagated by Thai Authority like the Ministry of Culture. When the censorship board bans or orders any film to cut the scenes, they always claim that they are not appropriate and violate morality and culture. Nonetheless, it seems the genres of films can help them from the screen. For instance, the comedy film Luang Phii Jazz 4G has many scenes violating the Film Act but it received the green light and was rated for +15. On the contrary, the scenes cut in Syndrome and Century are a monk playing the guitar and playing a flying object which do not infringe as much as the former film. This shows that the consideration of the censorship board is not consistent and systematic. The censorship brings incompleteness of the film art's splendor as well.

It can be clearly seen that the films made after 20s dare to tell the contemporary truth to audiences since people understand better that monks are not super human. Traditionally, monks are believed that they are the noble guardians of purity and morality so people expect that they must not do anything tainted (Phanit, 2014). He stated that the Authority of the state use the religion to dominate the citizen and obstruct freedom and creativity. In fact, there are both temporary monks and permanent monks. According to It Gets Better, the father of the protagonist forces his son to ordain. This can be because in Thai tradition sons are expected to ordain as showing gratitude to their parents and he believes that monasticism can recall masculinity. Another example is the boy in Novice whose mother thinks that ordination can eradicate his sin, killing his father, and escape from legal punishment. Both of the monks are the examples of temporary monks found in reality. They do not intend to practice to be monks so it is possible that they might break the monastic rules. In Mindfulness and Murder, monks are presented as employees in robes working in a company called a temple. The monks are closer to human being than the films in 80s and 90s. In the globalization, monks need to adapt themselves such as administrating a temple, teaching dharma through social network, being motivational a speaker. Therefore, monks are like workers in saffron uniform who employ

Buddha's teaching as a tool for earning for their living. They can quit their job any time as normal workers.

Conclusion

To sum up, monks in the films are only characters created in order to transmit art on the screen; however, those kinds of monks may or may not exist in the reality. It should be accepted that world has been changing and monks have been changing too so that they and Buddhism will survive in the globalization era. Attending to monkhood does not longer mean they want to practice and learn dharma but monasticism is a shelter for those who suffer from poverty, misfortune, sin, or chaos in their life. The myth of moral and pure supermonks should collapse. Furthermore, monasticism should be more accessible than it was in the past because people's lives are farther from temples and monks. This causes monks' changing livelihood from asking alms for food to transacting religious business such as selling amulets, chanting for religious ceremonies, advertising temples or dharma through social network, or even giving a hint for lottery's numbers. If audiences and the censorship board are more open minded and can separate between monks in films, a created representative of people in monkhood, and monks in reality, who are only human beings with fresh, blood and feeling, films will become sources of social records which are transmitted by the splendor of art.

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Overcoming Internal Disparities:
Imagining Taipei in Contemporary Novels

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Abstract

This paper aims at studying Taipei with 4 most recent and awards-winning Chinese novels that depict ordinary Taipeinese' everyday activities. Applying a semiotic analysis to these urban texts, we find that, in mundane thinking, Taipei is a split city with ethnic division between the Chinese-mainlanders and the locals, and with economic inequality between the haves and have-nots. But it is also a city with optimism about the spreading of a remember-but-forgive attitude that may one day turn it into a solidary community.

Keywords: atopical, metaphor, metonymy, novel, Taipei

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Introduction

This paper aims at the understanding of Taipei among ordinary Taipeinese in their everyday life, as is suggested by Lefebvre (1991b: 362).

We propose to follow Latour (2005: 82) by beginning our study with 4 most recent and renowned Chinese novels that depict ordinary Taipeinese' everyday activities. After introducing the key plots of each story, we shall subject them to a semiotic analysis inspired by Donald and Lefebvre. Their methodologies help us understand that, in mundane thinking, Taipei is a split city with ethnic division between the Chinese-mainlanders and the locals, and with economic inequality between the haves and have-nots. But it is also a city with optimism about the spreading of a remember-but-forgive attitude that may one day turn it into a solidary community.

A Semiotic Model for Urban Novels

To excavate the meanings of the novels, we resort to Lefebvre's semiotics and Donald's concept of "atopical" to syncretize a method for deciphering them.

Since Lefebvre writes in a "purposefully unsystematic" manner (Highmore, 2005: 145), to grasp his gist, we must go through a search in his major works—the three-volume *Critiques of Everyday Life* (1991a, 2002, and 2005), *The Production of Space* (1991b), and an English reader, *Writings on Cities* (1996). Here a sentence from the reader (1996: 108) is pivotal:

[C]onceiving the city as a …semiotic…system, [one notes that] (t)he context, what is *below* the text to decipher (daily life, immediate relations, the *unconscious* of the urban, what is little said and of which even less is written), hides itself in the inhabited spaces—sexual and family life—and rarely confronts itself, and what is *above* this urban text (institutions, ideologies), cannot be neglected in the deciphering.

For our research purpose, we need to focus on Lefebvre's ideas on a typical urban text. He approaches the issue by distinguishing 4 levels (utterance, language, connotative language, and writing; 1996: 115), 3 dimensions (symbolic, paradigmatic, and syntagmatic; 1996: 116), and 2 forms (simultaneity and encounter; 1996: 129) of the text, and then by teasing out those levels and dimensions that are relevant to his semiotic analysis. To make what he says empirically applicable, let us recast what he means in terms of Fiske's interpretation of connotation. Fiske (1990: 98) says,

So metonyms work syntagmatically for realistic effect, and metaphors work paradigmatically for imaginative or surrealistic effect. It is in this sense that connotation can be said to work in a metaphoric mode.

We note first that what Lefebvre calls syntagmatic and paradigmatic dimensions are actually two modes of operations by words or phrases we designate as metonyms and metaphors respectively. While metaphors express the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar and exploit simultaneous similarity and difference across different linguistic planes (e. g., the *ocean* of life), metonyms make a part stand for the whole, namely it works by linking meanings within the same plane (e. g., the *crown* means king, Fiske, 1990: 92-95). Secondly, connotation and denotation make up what Barthes (1989: 115) terms as two

orders of signification. Denotation stands for the first order, which refers both to the relationship between the signifier and signified within a sign (in Saussure' sense, see note 1), and to the sign with its referent in external reality.

The second connotative order is where the interaction between the sign and the user (with his culture) is most active. It is the interaction that occurs when the sign meets the feelings or emotions of the users (or the values of their culture). Barthes then connects the two orders by indicating that "the first-order signifier is the sign of the connotation" (Fiske, 1990: 86).[1] Where the signifier in the first order refers partially to something concrete in the external world, it becomes a sign whose outlook is identical with the signifier and whose meaning, or signified, is now partially culture-determined, and thus arbitrary and imaginative. If we repeat the operation and put the n-ordered signifier as the sign of the n+1 order of signification, the imaginative dose will get ever heavier than in the n-order till it reaches the level of ideology, namely that of total imagination.

In sum, Lefebvre (2002: 308-309, 341 & 356) and Fiske suggest that narratives about urban events as occurring around monuments, on streets, and in festival moments constitute the essence of the urban text, and that they are subject to the semiotic analysis. This interpretation dovetails nicely with the film expert, James Donald's notion of "atopical". By way of discussing his idea of "atopical", an idea borrowed from Miller and supplementing Lefebvre's method, we shall have a model for the understanding of the four Taipei novels.

Miller suggests that, for Derrida, every philosophical issue begins with the question of literature and that the philosopher approaches literature from the atopical, defined by Miller (1995: 8) as the "encrypted place [which] generates stories that play themselves out within a topography." Donald (1999: 123) rephrases this definition as, "Narratives about cities imagine events taking place in an urban topography…. [T]he real to which they refer is atopical. The events narrated did not take place, or not like that, although their effect is real enough."

So defined, the atopical helps Donald to distinguish narrative imagination in the linear temporal modes:

To the past mode, he (1999: 125) says,

Notoriously, the vivid events recalled from childhood may or may not have taken place, and yet the reworking of the past plays a crucial role in our sense of who we are.

In the present mode, "the way the city is narrated in novels…is actively constitutive of the city. Writing …plays a role in producing the city for a reading public." (1999: 127) The imaginative structures in creating a city come not from reality out there, but from the atopicality of the novel.

Finally, although Donald (1999: 139) does not underline the future-oriented functions of novel, he does indicate that textual imagination "would take the form not of a dream city, but a re-thinking of the processes and technologies of change."

Therefore, we have syncretized a model for urban novels—a genre of urban narratives

about events in the forms of past city memories, present constitutions of the city, and future urban changes. To put it in Lefebvre's terms, these narratives are those of lived urban space, a series of re-mentionable activities happening in various city-places where ample space is left for the semiotic analysis in terms of different levels and different dimensions.

The Four Contemporary Novels on Taipei

Located at the north part of Taiwan in west Pacific, Taipei City is surrounded by New Taipei City. It covers 271.8 km^2 and has a population close to 2.7 million. Administratively, it has a city government with 12 districts under its jurisdiction. Since the 17th century, its territory was subjected to the rule of the Ming- (1368-1644) and Qing-Dynasties (1644-1912), the Japanese colonialism (1895-1945), the Chinese Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang*, KMT), and, currently, the Democratic Progressive Party. Taipei has been the politico-economic nerve center of Taiwan since late Qing and is now the capital of Taiwan.

If one traces the novelistic depiction of Taipei back to the most famous one, *Wandering in a Garden, Waking from a Dream* (Pai, 1982), there must have been hundreds of novels or short stories about Taipei written since then. We cannot do justice in selecting "the most representative fictions" except that, based on the choices of the latest academic theses regarding Taipei novels and our preferences, we come up with 4 current stories that sufficiently transcribe it.

Qi Li-Feng, 2014 *Escape from Taipei* (*EFT*)

It observes the daily life of working people in Greater Taipei from a unique perspective: the traces left by a murder suspect, De-Yu, and his girlfriend, Zi-Yao, in their four-day getaway from the crime scene.[2] Although the novel is set in the classic *whodunit* frame, solving the murder is insignificant compared to the intention of the author to describe these working people's lives in Taipei: where they live, work, relax and commute.

Almost all the characters live in New Taipei City but work in Taipei, a real pattern set by the different living costs and confirmed by sociological studies (Zhang, 2015).

Most characters are employed in the service industry: three girls, including the victim, were service ladies in the same department store chain; one service lady's mother sold insurance; and De-Yu was a high-tech salesman when the murder occurred. Later he became a computer programmer and married Zi-Yao, who then worked for an advertisement firm.

In terms of the leisure time, most characters spend it in BBQ bistros, karaoke halls, and boutique shops, all located within the 2-km^2 "Eastside" of Taipei, the recreational area identified by the novel.

Finally, the pattern of the separation of living and working place is sustained by the subway system, which began with the operation of the first Brown Line in 1996. Now, the five major lines have effectively connected every part of Taipei City.

From the description of the major components of city life through the viewpoints of the two escapees, Qi (2014: 264 & 270) concludes what living in Taipei means for general folks by saying, "Our city, so beautiful and yet so lonely,… so abundant and yet so bleak".

Xiao Sa, 2015 *Backlit Taipei*

The bleakest thing about living in Taipei is the desperation felt by common Taipeinese to build a home there. This is the key theme elaborated in *Backlit Taipei*.

Throughout the novel, one is struck by the fact that almost all characters, when they first appeared, were shown in their homes with detailed domestic descriptions. Thus, divorced Qin-Mei lived in the old fourth-floor apartment in Shi-Pai District of Taipei City, a house left by her ex-husband but owned by her mother-in-law, who, since the divorce, had tried repeatedly to reclaim the unit. "Even this shabby apartment is better than the crowded public housing," said Qin-Mei, comparing her current living with where she used to live. It was in the public housing period that she began dating Guang-Qun, who lived on the first floor of an apartment mansion in Fu-Jin Street of the "egg-yolk" area in Taipei City, in contrast with Shi-Pai which was located in the "egg-white" area.[3] Guang-Qun, after obtaining a doctorate degree and marrying a Taiwanese tycoon's daughter in the States, moved his family back to Taipei and inherited his father-in-law's business. They now lived on the 26th floor of Le-Yue Mansion which overlooked Daan Park, the Hyde Park in Taipei. Using housing status to indicate who and what the dweller is, is widely applied to other characters in the story as well.

Backlit Taipei realistically maps the changes in a character' socio-economic status onto his or her different home-sites. The egg-yolk is occupied by the do-gooders like Guang-Qun. In the egg-while Taipei, people, with 2 to 3 decades of hard work and savings, realize their dreams to reside in a 100 m^2 (1,076 ft^2) and 10-year-old apartment unit. The rest of the people who hold jobs in Taipei City have to live in the egg-shell areas for affordable and available rental houses. Finally "losers", who cannot support themselves in Taipei, just as the end of the story describes, have to stay far away from it.

Zhu Tian-Xin, 2002 *Ancient City*

Housing problems aside, local novelists pay attention to the troubled "colonial" history of Taipei. Two such stories, written respectively by a second-generation female of the mainland-refugees and an indigenous Taipeinese girl, become renowned in recent years. The first and earlier one is *Ancient City*, a novelette that focuses on the nostalgia about places and people before their rapid change. Thus, it first contrasts the changes of both the "Westside" of Taipei City and Tam-Shui District of New Taipei City, two areas connected by the subway Red Line, by means of "you," a forty something woman who remembered that she and her senior high schoolmate "A" used to spend so much time visiting these places in the 1970s. The story then contrasts politically volatile Taipei with the serene ancient city, Kyoto, via contriving a plot in which "you" made an appointment with "A" to meet at Kyoto, a meeting after two decades of separation but eventually without A's appearance. Finally, there is the contrast of political opinions between "you" and her Taiwanese husband ever since

the democratization of Taiwan in the late 80s, a contrast occasioned by "you" being a child of mainlander parents who fled from China to Taiwan in 1949 to avoid the Civil War.

Unlike the focus on Taipeinese daily life in the previous novels, *Ancient City* talks about Taipei's political story. What that story illustrates is, on the one hand, the real distaste of the first and second generations of mainland-refugees that Taiwan would become independent. But, on the other hand, it also sends a strong message accusing what blind nationalism, be it pro-Taiwan or pro-unification (with China) would do to people's memory of places. The message is coded in the colonial Japanese names of several places located between Westside and Tam-Shui District that "you" insisted in using. All these place-names have, "of course," been changed into Chinese names by the succeeding KMT regime, taking the new names from those of towns and cities existing in the pre-1949 geography of China.

This skill of renaming public places shows that, with a new regime, inevitably the memory of the old ones is almost completely wiped out. And renaming comes with a repercussion. Nationalist aside, the KMT regime has also claimed to be a progressive government. It influences people, in the name of progress, to remove or bury as soon as possible anything that smells old. Nationalism and its related progressive inclination, according to Zhu, are responsible for deleting the memory of places in the capital city.

Hu Shu-Wen, 2011 *The Bloodshed of the Sun is Dark* (*BSD*)

In contrast to a mainlander's nostalgia about old-time Taipei, *BSD* is written by a native Taipeinese who wants to shed light on the era of "White Terror" (1949-1987) that corresponded to the KMT's rule by martial law.[4] Ostensibly, it talks about a romance between graduate school classmates, Wen-Xin, a Taiwanese whose grandpa was a political prisoner under the KMT white-terror rule, and Hai-Xu, the grandson of a mainlander military judge who had tried and sentenced Wen-Xin's grandpa. However, much more space is spent on narrating the lovers' relatives and friends who, because of gender, ethnic, political, or class differences, had various encounters in different parts of Taipei City during and after the horrible era.

In terms of Wen-Xin's grandpa, his political misfortune is portrayed in the context of Taipei's two landmarks that were occupied by KMT in the 1950s: Shi-Zi-Lin Commercial Building and Sheraton Grand Taipei Hotel. The historical burden of the two buildings contrasts the history-naïve Taipei 101, the final landmark mentioned in *BSD*.

Shi-Zi-Lin is an entertainment complex, which, along with Sheraton, is located in the primary corner of the Westside and is frequented by Wen-Xin and Hai-Xu for fun and for food. The two buildings used to be the Security Office and the Martial Court of Security Headquarters, set up immediately after World War II when KMT took hold of Taiwan. When their history was introduced by Wen-Xin to Hai-Xu, she added, "My grandpa's case was handled by your grandpa…. You are my best friend. But I must admit that I despise all those things symbolized by your family." And since the buildings were filled with intolerable memory of the White Terror, they were torn down by land developers and rebuilt into something that comforted both mouth and

body.

In contrast, Taipei 101, completed in 2004, is not only immune from historical burden but located in the commercial center of Eastside. Its appearance in the story is tied with the author's monologue (2011: 243),

Taipei is like a wriggling snake who is molting. She is disarmed and becomes most vulnerable. But she still imagines that she will swallow this world which is bigger and newer than she. She thus ponders how this world will shape her or destroy her; how Beijing, Shanghai, Seoul, and Mumbai will catch up with her or win over her.

Apparently, Taipei 101 symbolizes Taipei as one of the global cities that, while ritually celebrates the New Year by, for example, displaying fireworks, competes fiercely with the rest of the Asian cities. Currently Taipei is globally positioned in an awkward situation: internationally its famous "original equipment manufacturing" brings in diminishing profits while internally it faces fast polarization of its citizens into the rich and the poor. That awkwardness has been represented especially in a scene where Taipei 101 faces its neighboring slum while being encircled in the "bleeding dusk".

The contrast between Shi-Zi-Lin and Sheraton on the one hand, and Taipei 101 on the other is finally brought to indicate the stance of the author. Belonging to the third generation of a family violated by the White Terror, Hu is ready to take up the remember-but-forgive position to the mainland-refugees and their descendants since, nowadays, when these people travel in China, they are already recognized as being Taiwanese.

Before we resort to the model of urban novel for further analysis, we may conclude that the four novels on Taipei all focus on the identity of its inhabitants. *EFT* and *Backlit Taipei* profile common Taipeinese who strive for a middle-class life. Their class status depends primarily on what kind of housing they are able to afford. In addition to class, another key component of identity—ethnicity—is clearly emphasized in both *Ancient City* and *BSD*. Thus *Ancient City* first narrates disparity in political opinions of the ethnicity-different bedfellows. It then accuses the blind nationalism with progressism of being responsible for erasing Taipeinese' memory of old places. However ethnicity divided as it stands, it is the remember-but-forgive stance taken by the young author, Hu who is of the same generation as Qi, the author of *EFT*, that reveals a solution of Taipeinese, and Taiwanese, identity predicament. After all, since 1949 it has been 7 decades of co-habitation between people from the both sides of Taiwan Strait. They can all legitimately claim themselves to be "Taiwanese" in face of the People's Republic of China. Finally, it is the two young writers, Hu and Qi, who have shown the common optimism about the class and ethnicity improvements, and therefore the unified identity, of their and subsequent generations.

The Procrustean Bed

Our model on urban novels emphasizes two things: atopical events in the 3 linear temporal forms and the semiotic meanings of the recurrent activities involved in those events. How does this model work?

One atopical event that runs through the 4 stories is the romance between the protagonists. In the two nostalgic stories, while Wen-Xin and Hai-Xu's encounters are shot through with their grandfathers' experience of the White Terror and do not reveal much of their own childhood, "you" and "A," two middle-aged women in *Ancient City*, do seem to have developed puppy love in their high-school days. Since puppy love is "intense but relatively shallow", according to an English dictionary, the author associates it with the nationalism and especially its associated progressism. Thus, to the progressism which involves abolishment of the old buildings, "you" mentioned that if one likened the old Taipei walled city (built in 1884) to the Japanese Imperial Palace in Kyoto prior to the Meiji Restoration, then the outlook of the whole Taipei basin was similar to Kyoto City. With this similarity the comment actually implies the different views of the sacred direction of the emperor's throne between Chinese-Taiwanese and Japanese.

In the old Taipei walled city, mandarins' offices faced south, paralleled with the palace of the Chinese Emperor in Beijing (literally the capital in north). But later on Japanese tore down the wall and had the new official building, Sōtokufu (completed in 1919), face east, the holy direction toward their emperor's new palace in Tokyo (literally the capital in east). The change of the direction of façade was not just a matter of regime change. It started the centennial east-bound developmentalism, or expanding infrastructure construction, of Taipei in the hands of both the colonial and KMT governments, and resulted ultimately in the decline of the Westside and the prosperity of the East that one can easily contrast today.

The love story in *Backlit Taipei* is a contemporary allegory of Taipeinese' housing and thus class disparity. When they first met, Qin-Mei lived in public housing located at Nan-Ji-Chang, the slum area of the Westside, while Guang-Qun resided in Fu-Jin Street at the edge of the Eastside. After succeeding his father-in-law's business, he eventually moved to a high-rising mansion overlooking Daan Park, located at the core of the Eastside. Their romance ran into problems when Guang-Qun visited Qin-Mei's home for the first time. It was less than 40 m^2 but crammed with a family of 4 without a living room. Guang-Qun was ushered into the smelly kitchen-qua-dining room directly behind the entrance and sat on a stool. This short visit goes a long way to explain why, after knowing that Qin-Mei was pregnant, he simply disappeared and went to the United States.

Finally, *EFT* begins with a bizarre episode, De-Yu took Zi-Yao to run away from being a murder suspect, but ends with a banal "they-live-happily-in-Taipei-ever-after." The banality, as we have shown, can mean the optimism of the younger generation about their bourgeois lifestyle. But this understanding seems incongruent with what the author, Qi, also comments at the end of the novel that Taipei is both "beautiful and lonely," and "abundant and bleak." For if optimism sides with beautiful and abundant, what about the lonely and bleak side?

Qi, being a novelist and an academic, does have his postmodern "simulacrum" explanation of Taipei. He (2014: 64) says, "The world operates with the *quid pro quo* principle. There is no gift without intention, no courtesy without purpose." When material reciprocity permeates human relations, the latter reify; they become relations of things, and ultimately relations of monetary exchange, that is fit for media exposure and re-exposure. Eventually what is left is medium-made images circulating

in the *quid pro quo* tracks of the urban space. A city shot through with glamorous images is called a city of simulacra, and that is what Qi would bestow Taipei.

Therefore, the atopical event of romance in the 4 novels imbricates with nationalism and progressism from the past, with current polarization of the rich and the poor, and with slim optimism of a happy urban life amid reified human relations.

In terms of the Lefebvrian (and Fiskian) semiotics, first it can be applied for judging whether the titles of the 4 novels are metonymic or metaphoric. Since we are short of space, we simply state that both *EFT* and *Ancient City* are metonymical, *Backlit Taipei* is both synecdochical and metaphorical. And *BSD* is strictly metaphorical.

The second issue to be analyzed concerns streets and monuments that Lefebvre considers to be fertile ground for urban meaning. In *EFT*, De-Yu, Zi-Yao and others would spend their leisure time in the Eastside. Specifically, the actual names of the public spaces given in the story are located at the 4th section of Zhong-Xiao East Road, which, when extended west-bound and crossed the central point of the city, is called Zhong-Xiao West Road. It is this main street that connects the East and Westside and serves as the locale for the key plots in three of the four Taipei novels, except *Backlit Taipei*. The East road is not only the recreational area depicted in *EFT*, but also houses department stores like Breeze, Ming-Yao, Sogo, and Uni-Ustyle, which are geared to Japanese and European shopping styles. However it is the architectural style, called either modernist or functionalist, of these big buildings that qualify them as representations of *modern* Taipei.

West-bound to the 1st section of the East Road, one comes across the Sheraton hotel where, in *BSD*, Wen-Xin and Hai-Xu knew that it used to be Taipei Martial Court. Further west, Wen-Xin introduced the Shi-Zi-Lin building as the site of former Military Security Office. So the two sites that represented the White Terror itself were all turned to commercial properties for entertaining both body and appetite. This is how the collective memory gets forgotten.

Further west, from the 1st section of Zhong-Xiao West Road to Dan-Shui River, one walks on the dividing line of the Westside, which comprises Da-Tung District in north, Wan-Hua District in southwest, and part of Zhong-Zheng District in due south. These three districts with their various places are the background of *Ancient City*, although the author refers to the places by their Japanese names and calls the whole area "San-Shi-Jie," (three cities), a term used in the Qing Dynasty. By calling their old names the sense of nostalgia is thus aroused.

Therefore, Zhong-Xiao East-West Road epitomizes the sesquicentennial history of the modernization of Taipei. The city started with Da-Tung and Wan-Hua as its river ports exporting oolong tea by Chinese junks. It was then invaded by the Japanese who tore down its walls and set up Baroque-styled office buildings to lead the east-bound infrastructure construction. It finally reached the Eastside and first turned it into a military shooting range with a cemetery, and then into the modernist-styled "Xin-Yi Shopping District" with the skyscraper, Taipei 101.

So we wind up facing Taipei 101. After studying the skyscraper, Morley (2013: 218) comments,

As a building, to look at the Taipei 101 Tower is thus drenched in denotative features for Taiwanese people to read so that they can connect their tradition and societal modernization with the uniqueness of their society, and *their sense of place in the modern world*. In this sense *gradualistic modernity…* is implemented.

I agree that what Taipei has achieved is a gradualistic modernity. For it has taken three regimes--Qing, Japanese, and KMT--and over 150 years to get to where it is now. But I am not sure simply by climbing up to the observatory at the 91st floor of Taipei 101, one can get the "denotative" sense of Taipei's history. Rather, I suggest that it is the guided walk on Zhong-Xiao East-West Road that will really take one to the historical sites just mentioned and give one that sense. As to Taipei 101 itself, I think, Hu Shu-Wen is, in *BSD*, apt to make it encounter the bleeding dusk and the slum simultaneously. Because in this scene, Taipei 101 *connotes* that Taipei, in transforming itself into a global city, faces the dual challenge of fierce competition from without and worsening inequality from within.

In reading the 4 Taipei novels from the semiotic viewpoint, we detect the existence of Zhong-Xiao East-West Road as the epitome of the developmental history of Taipei that has been, and is, the economic and political capital of Taiwan. The road denotes Taipei. But it also houses the Sheraton hotel and Taipei 101, whose histories and current existences connote sources of division in Taipei's politico-economic significance. For, as the Sheraton signifies the White Terror that has divided the mainland-refugees from local Taipeinese, Taipei 101 symbolizes the disparity of wealth that separates the haves from the have-nots. Taipei is therefore almost a sad city that, via walking through the Zhong-Xiao Road, reminds its citizens of their class-wise and ethnically divided identity. We said "almost," because we also detect the optimism held by the two younger novelists that, with a remember-but-forgive attitude, we may consolidate ethnic differences and go on reducing class distances through welfare policies. So, after all, Taipei is our bittersweet living space.

Conclusion

The reality of Taipei is described in our novels as an atopical event of romance with its semiotic meanings. The romance points to the disparity between Sheraton and Taipei 101 in political history, between Eastside and Westside in geographical and economic sense, and between a city of simulacra and living-happily-in-Taipei-ever-after. And it denotes Zhong-Xiao East-West Road as the epitome of Taipei's politico-economic modernization. But it also connotes that both ethnic division between the mainlanders and the locals, and economic inequality between the haves and have-nots are tearing Taipei apart.

A splitting city as it stands cannot deliver a hopeful promise for Taipeinese in the future. What they need most, as the end of *The Bloodshed of Sun is Dark* suggests, is a remember-but-forgive attitude that they are willing to share with their mainland counterparts. If a young author like Hu Shu-Wen can embark on promoting the dignified attitude, why cannot the rest of us follow the lead and change our mind-set in accord?

Footnotes

1. In Barthes' own terms (1989: 114), "that which is a sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second." Fiske has reversed what Barthes means but it is hardly a mistake since the outlook of the sign and that of the signifier are identical.
2. Greater Taipei refers to Taipei City and New Taipei City together, with a population of 6.7 million, a quarter of that in Taiwan.
3. Egg-yolk, egg-white, and egg-shell constitute a trichotomy popularized in the realty market of Greater Taipei.
4. By December 1949, the KMT regime had completely withdrawn from China and moved to Taiwan with 2 million mainland-refugees. Fearing the communist penetration, the KMT put the whole island under martial rule that lasted until 1987.

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The Sociology of Literature Analysis on Belis Imamat Novel, a Work by Inyo Soro

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Abstract

Belis Imamat, a novel by Inyo Soro in this study is a literary expression of the social condition of the bride pricing tradition '*belis*' in the marital custom of the East Nusa Tenggara society. The discussed issues pertain to the structure builder of a story figure "Aku, an Indonesian term for 'I or I am' through sociology of literature approach. This study aimed to describe; (1) the social and cultural background of the East Nusa Tenggara society in the Novel of *Belis Imamat* (priesthood as an object change for bride-price). (2) The influence of the author's social backgrounds to the recounting story process of the novel (1) the socio-cultural background of the novel *Belis Imamat* reflected in the attitude of the society strictly holding the hereditary marital tradition. The novel recounts a personal experience of the writer seeing the bride-pricing tradition as a serious life concern. The relationship built upon the figure of *Aku/* 'I' with the communities' moral sanction to his parents' marital status for their unpaid bride-price, engaged both social and self-criticism. The story seems to evoke readers to enlightenment and awareness towards the customary practices which had been almost untouched by criticism, (2) the most basic things affecting the social background of the author on the creative process of the literary work *Belis Imamat* is that the figure 'I' was born and raised by parents whose *belis* 'bride price' was unpaid. Setting of the recounted story is critical assessment to the marriage customs of the East Nusa Tenggara people in Indonesia.

Keywords: Novel, literary reception, Sociology of Literature, *belis, Imamat*

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1. Introduction

Novel as a kind of literary work presenting a world that packs an idealized life model, imaginative world, building through its intrinsic elements such as events, plots, figures (and characters), backgrounds, points of view etc., all of which are imaginative (Nurgiyantoro, 2007). Some novels may be drastically popular because many of them highlighting themes that are close to their readers, which basically not to try escaping from the extrinsic elements in addition to intrinsic elements should be synergized to create a unified story.

The phenomena raised by a writer in literary works cover almost all aspects of life experienced by society. This is in accordance with what was expressed by Waluyo (2002) who states that the backgrounds are presented including: life procedures, customs, customs, attitudes, ceremonies and religions, in the way of thinking, way of looking at things, etc. The selection of Inyo Soro's novel "*Belis Imamat* " as an object of this study lays on a reason that the novel reveals about a religious life, and socio-culture of society, especially the East Nusa Tenggaran people. Inyo Soro managed to peel the life side of *Belis* not only the positive side but also the negative one. *Belis* which is a rule that must be fulfilled by all people of the East Nusa Tenggara in holding a wedding ceremony and is becomes a taboo for the whole community to talk about "the negative side of its implementation" which was not reluctantly discussed in detail by Inyo Soro.
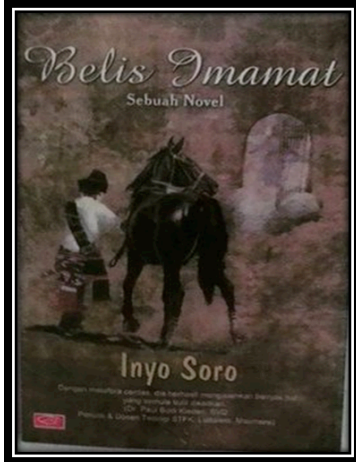
The novel entitled "*Belis Imamat*" by Inyo Soro much of it story raises a socio-cultural aspect of the East Nusa Tenggara society is which in this article is going to be analyzed through a perspective of the sociology of literature approach to the contents of the novel. In principle, there are three perspectives concerning the sociology of literature, namely: (1) a study which sees literary works as social documents in which the reflection of the situation in the literary period is created, (2) a study that reveals literature as a mirror of the writer's social situation, and (3) a study that captures literature as a manifestation of historical events and socio-cultural circumstances (Laurenson and Swingewood in Endraswara, 2008).

This review discusses the author's world view regarding marital system of implementing Belis in the novel "*Belis Imamat*" by Inyo Soro, the socio-cultural circumstances of the author in the novel, and the educational value are illustrated in the novel. Considering the importance of the educational value as one of the most highlighted issues in this novel, apart from any work of literature should contain the life values that intentionally educate the readers. A review of the educational value is indeed a plus point as absorbed by the readers.

This study employed qualitative method as the research design. Qualitative research methods produces a descriptive data of written or oral narration of the observable aspects to describung an individual, circumstance, symptoms of a particular group (Moleong, 2008). The descriptive method can be interpreted as a problem-solving procedure by describing the state of the subject or object (someone, institutions, society, etc.) at present based on the appearing facts or as it is (Hadari Nawawi in Siswantoro, 2005). This case, the writer described qualitatively on the problems raised in this study. The document in this study is the novel entitled *Belis Imamat* a work of by Inyo Soro. Things that are described in this study concern the social culture narrated by the author, the author's world view, and the educational values reflected in the novel. Data collection techniques in this study concern the document analysis, beginning from the reading stage, document recording, to document analysis. In the analysis of the sociology of literature this study adopts a model introduced by Umar Junus; this model sees literature as a sociocultural document that records the sociocultural reality of a society at a given time.

Theoretical Underpinnings

The Sociology of Literature Study

Sociology of literature is a branch of reflective literary studies. This study is much in demand by literary observers who want to see literature as a mirror of community life. The arena, the basic assumption of the study of sociology of literature is the birth of literature not in the social void (Endarswara, 2008). According to Jabrohim (2003), the approach to literature that considers societal aspects by some writers is called the sociology of literature. This term basically has no different understanding with the socio-cultal, or sociological approaches to literature.This theory covers a variety of approaches, each based on certain theoretical attitudes and views, but all of these approaches show a common feature of having literature as a social institution created by writers as members of society (Sapardi Djoko Damono in Jabrohim, 2003). The important point to be raised here is that the sociology of literature stands for a conceptual mirror (Endraswara, 2008). In this regard, literature is regarded as *mimesis* (life reflection) of the society. Nevertheless, literature remains recognized as an illusion or illusion of reality. Literature will not merely offer raw facts. It is not just a copy of reality, but a fact that has been interpreted.

A more detailed opinion by Junus (in Sangidu, 2004) who reveals that in the study of sociology of literature there are two features, namely (1) a sociology of literature approach and seeing social factors that produce literary works at a certain time. Thus, this approach sees social factors as major part and literature as the minor one; (2) the sociology of literature approach literally moves from the social factors that reflect in the literary works and was then used to understand the existing social phenomena outside the literary texts. Thus, this approach sees the world of literature or literary work as its major and social phenomena as it's minor. Furthermore, Sangidu (2004) explains that the techniques necessary to perform the dialectical method (interrelationship) between social factors present in a literary work with the existing social factors within society. In such a description, that the sociology of literature is

an approach that examines the relationship between social reality that exist in society with literary reality that exist in literary texts without neglecting the mirror of the author's situation.

According to Laurenson and Swingewood (in Endraswara, 2008), there are three perspectives concern the sociology of literature, namely: (1) research which views literature as a social document in which a reflection of the situation in the literary period was created, (2) Literature as a mirror of the writer's social situation, and (3) research that captures literature as a manifestation of historical events and socio-cultural circumstances. Edraswara (2008) argues that essentially literary sociology is the study of: (a) human and society objective scientific studies, (b) the study of social institutions through literature and vice versa; (c) the study of social processes, ie how society works, How society might be, and how they live their lives.

Novel

From the art point of view, Waluyo (2002) argues that novel is a new symbol of art in accordance with the factual life and experiences of the author. The arrangement that the novel describes is a realistic and reasonable one. The life depicted is not only the greatness and strength of the character (for the adored figure), but also the defects and shortcomings. Furthermore, he stated that a novel is not only a means of entertainment, but also as an art form that studies and sees aspects of social excellent values in social lives leading the readers towards acting and thinking in good manners and noble minds (Waluyo, 2002).

Abrams (in Nurgiyantoro, 1994) states that novel comes from the Italian language *novella* (in German: *novelle*). Literally *novella* means a small novelty and then translated as "short story in prose form". Today the notion of novella or novelle contains the same meaning as the Indonesian term novelet (English: novellette) which means a proxy of fiction work that long enough, not too long, but also not too short. The literary work called *novellette* is a work of shorter than a novel but longer than a short story; say in the middle of both.

2. Results and the Discussion

Belis Imamat

Belis Imamat (BI) is a novel by an NTT writer published in late 2010. BI tells about the life journey of a future priest (Iting) from a High Seminary until to be ordained. In contrast to the story of the santri's pious life, as Habiburrahman El Shirazy shows in the novel 'Ayat-ayat Cinta', for example, Inyo Soro in a plain, witty, critical and often unimpressive style, featuring the lives of young brothers Their delinquencies are often just personal consumption.

Iting (described in personal figure 'I' (Indonesian, Aku)) is a serious person who aspires to be a Catholic priest living in seminary with extra strict dormitory discipline.

The daily rule of the seminary, following a given description by Michel Foucault[1], is a small foreman who inherits the role of panopticon, the stalker in a prison that always spread terror. All this, it is said, for the sake of preparing reliable pastoral candidates. Counting as a gray dweller, Iting had successfully run the dormitory life into a certain priesthood practice in the society.

Even though living a life as a priest whose life was somewhat isolated, the challenge might come from anywhere. The Iting dialogue with his companion friend, *zet_of_zonder* (pp. 9-12) is an example of a critical attack that directly pierces the core of the monastic life. For some, the choice of being a priest is far-fetched, but not infrequently poverty, purity and obedience are ideal that soon becomes irony outside of the Catholic worship.

Common challenges hit the prospective pastor told by Inyo Soro was narrated with a chewy sense of humor. One day, Iting meets the fallen Bintang (in Eng. Star), a creature turned the Iting's blood spell runs so fast. It is the love a future pastor. If the love story of Bintang jatuh (the fallen star), however, the Iting's feeling was not responded and kept hanging by the girl. In the other story it tells about the love between Pit and Ros, Iting's parents is the story of a marriage between a male of Flores grassroot with Sumba noble girl who was caught pregnant out of wedlock. Pit and Ros finally escaped to Timor because Pit could not afford *belis*. In this case, the shackles of *belis* turned the hearts of both lovers longing and grudge.This novel is in addition to socio-culturally descriptive, is also quite optimistic aspiring to a more effective solution to alleviate the tyranny of *belis* which became the source of various social problems at the grassroots. Against this social issue, one cannot rely on what Inyo Soro called 'factor X' alone.

Belis Imamat Novel as Personal Reflection of the Author

Inyo Soro, is an alumnus of St. Paulus Ledalero Catholic Theological School in Maumere, East Nusa Tenggara. The story in this novel is the life background of a story figure called "Aku" (personal reference for 'I' in Bahasa Indonesia), who was living in the education of the priest candidate, Ledalero. The twists and turns of a candidate's life are described in detail in this novel. The interesting thing described in the story is when the figure I feels the contradiction in himself against his customary system where he often fulfils a duty as a marriage counselor, meanwhile he is a person who never or even cannot live in a marriage at all.

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[1] For Foucault, power is always expressed through knowledge, and knowledge always has an effect of power. The organizer of power, according to Foucault always produces knowledge as the basis of his power. Power could almost impossible without getting sustained by a political economy of truth. Knowledge is not a vague expression of power relations but knowledge is within the power relations themselves. The power in producing knowledge not only because knowledge itself is useful for power, there is no knowledge without power, and vice versa, there is no power without knowledge. The concept of Foucault brings consequences, to know the power needed research on the production of knowledge underlying power. Because every power is organized, established, and manifested through certain discourse knowledge. Certain discourse produces certain truths and knowledge that give up an effect to power (Foucault, 1982:787).

> *..tapi segera aku sadari, membuat khotbah seperti nasehat mereka memang tak mudah. Apalagi untuk mengkhotbahkan pernikahan pasutri (pasangan suami istri) alias memberi kesaksian hidup tentang pernikahan yang padahal aku dan teman-temanku dinarahkan untuk tidak menikah. Sungguh sebuah kegelisahan yang salah huruf bisa dibaca sebagai Ironi* **(BI, hal.7)** […] but soon I realized, making sermons like their advice is not easy. Especially to preach married couples, in other words to give life testimony about the marriage despite the fact that I and my friends directed not to marry. Really an anxiety can be misread to be an Irony (BI, p.7).

The anxiety afflicted the life figure "I" in the novel was not only due to his duties as a candidate for priesthood, but also his experience as a child born from a couple of parents convicted by society because of unable paying for *belis*. His father was a man from an ordinary family named Pit, his mother named Rose, a Sumbanese woman of a nobleman with a title Rambu. In Sumba, an area in the East Nusa Tenggara still strictly measured by social stratification. *Rambu* entitled to a noble title for women and Umbu, for men. *Belis*, or dowry in Sumba was/is very high let alone the status of women nobility, *belis* can reach dozens of buffaloes, horses, gold and ivory. *Belis* has been a fixed price because it is considered as a substitute for breast milk. This is reflected in the expression of the story in the novel *Belis Imamat*:

> *Sebagai laki-laki Timur, kami di ajari kalau melunasi belis merupakan kewajiban terhadap kaum keluarga wanita. Tidak melunasi belis sama artinya tidak menghargai wanita beserta kaum keluarganya* **(BI, hal.46)** [As Eastern men, we are taught that paying off *belis* is a duty to the female family. Not paying for *belis* means disrespecting the women and their families (BI, p.46)]

> *Belis bagi orang timur memiliki nilai yang tinggi. Belis melambangkan penghargaan pria terhadap wanita. Belis merupakan penghargaan pada orang tua wanita yang telah mengasuh dan membesarkan wanita pinangan pria. Secara metaforis belis dianggap sebagai "balas air susu mama"* **(BI, hal.45)** [Belis for the East Nusa people reflects a high value. *Belis* symbolizes men's appreciation to women. *Belis* is a tribute to the elderly woman who has nurtured and raised the future wife of the man. Metaphorically *belis* considered as "to return the virtue of mama's milk" (BI, p.45).]

Belis, for people in the East Nusa Tenggara, especially the Sumba society, is a manifestation of the male's self-esteem. However, it is important to note concerning the way and effort of making *Belis* as an obligation, so that men's honor will not be undermined. The social-educational values reflected in *Belis Imamat* novel positioned Belis as a form of appreciation to the bride and her family who are considered to have a great role in raising the man's future wife from childhood to adulthood. The existence of *Belis* along with the social function and meaning for the people of East Nusa Tenggara, particularly the East Sumba society is a statement of social norms. *Belis* reflects prestige and self-esteem for both women and men; either getting paid or not, *Belis* shows the social norm and economic ability of each family. The social

value implies a lot of mutual cooperation in the family because the affair of *Belis* in repayment often involves a large family of men. Having respect for women and the family of their parents is a form of social value taught in *Belis* tradition.

> ***Karena itu suatu saat, kembalilah kesini. Antarkan belis buat keluarga Ros, biar kau di anggap lelaki terhormat. Belismu adalah hutangmu dan juga harga dirimu. Jangan rendahkan harga dirimu dengan tidak melunasinya* (BI, hal.45)** [Therefore, someday, come back here. Send the *belis* for the Ros family, let you be regarded as an honorable man. Your belief is your debt and also your pride. Do not lower your price by not paying it off (BI, p.45)]

Due to having problem with *belis*, my parents, Pit and Rose were evicted from their hometown and family and community in Sumba. They went to Kupang, the capital of East Nusa Tenggara province. They settled and lived in Kupang, being afraid of going back returned to Sumba, until they gave birth to two children, one of whom was the figure story "I" or Aku (in Indonesian).

The figure "I", in his journey through life as a candidate for an *Imam*, finally received his final assignment that took place in Sumba, the birthplace of his parents, where his relatives and his family live. The presence of the figure I, as a priesthood candidate within the relatives' circle in Sumba, slowly but surely melts the coldness of the relationship and the isolation that wakes up between him, his parents and his extended family as a result of a disregard/unlawful marriage of his parents. The disregard marriage was primarily due to the *belis* tradition, which sets the two families apart and started not knowing each other.

In the end the figure "I", could finally reunite his family, his father and his mother and his relatives at the time the ordination of the figure "I" as a priest. Both families could gather together in the event. The issue of belis between his parents' family ends with the statement of the figure "I", that the priesthood and ordination as a pastor is a *belis* dedicated to his family, *belis* to his mother, *belis* from his father. The story ends here.

> ***Di depan nenekku, di depan kaum keluarga yang pernah menolak ayah-ibuku, kupersembahkan iamamatku sebagai belis bagi mereka. Belisku adalah belis ayahku. Belis bagi keluarga ibuku. Meski bukan dengan ternak.Bukan dengan gading.Bukan dengan perhiasan emas, intan dan berlian. Ku persembahkan sesuatu yang sederhana untuk mereka yang mana kesederhanaan itu ternyata amat berharga di mata nenek, tante,kaum kerabatku, ayah dan bundaku. Ya,imamat tak lain tak bukan adalah belis kehidupan. Belisku untuk nilai kehidupan yang terlampau luhur* (BI, hal.246)** [In front of my grandmother, in front of the families who once rejected my mother and father, I offered my savior as a belis to them. My *belis* is my dad's *Belis*. *Belis* for my mother's family. Even though this is not paid with livestock. Not with elephant tusk. Not with gold jewelry, diamonds and diamonds. I dedicate something simple to those whose simplicity is very precious in the eyes of my grandmother, aunt,

relatives, father and mother. Yes, the priesthood is nothing but a life *belis*. My *belis* to the value of life that is too sublime (BI, p.246)].

The Resistance against the Restraining Indigenous Systems through Literary Writing

Inyo Soro grew up amid the academic situation of a faithful seminary in fight against his chronicle. Buletin Sastra Sandal jepit, a discussion forum of Republik Sharung and Teater Aletheia were the atmosphere around the author who has successfully contributed to the building of his novel story. Referredly, the spinning tangles of the story may soon be based on historically valid facts, and may still be preserved until now in Ledalero, as a setting of this novel. Regardless of the mimetic to his past experience, the semantic autonomy of this novel text in my reading offers a symbolic meaning that is not cheap. Like Santo Paulus who sheathed swords and used pens as a weapon, for Inyo Soro, writing is a weapon to fight for human values and embrace the truth.

Before writing can be used as a weapon, one must first struggle to learn it. Like the first time to pedal a bike, people must fall awake in search of body balance. Not surprisingly, Inyo Soro gave up 5 chapters of his novel to tell stories about the writing experience. In some parts, the writing is a unique experience, and on Iting the experience is always thrilling. The experience of preparing sermons for couples celebrating *perak pernikahan (*silver marriage) (p. 3). The duty of lecturers to abstract the ideas of the philosophers from the Plato era to the Postmodern era in a single page of HVS (p. 87-90); The task of preparing the theater script (pp. 106); The experience of writing poetry for falling in love (p. 127-128); Writing thesis (pp. 186-189); And which is not explicit in the text is the success of the Iting, either the personification of the author himself (?), bringing his oldest novel into existence.

The repetition of writing experience in some parts is always flanked by the same refraint. Writing can cause somatic effects. Head dizzy, hungry disappear, eyes dreamy, waterproof or spoiled (bath rare), even, insomnia. This experience is similar to the result of each encounter with the Bintang jatuh 'the fallen star'. Here we sniff out the similarity of the experience of falling in love with the writing experience.

Arriving at the last page of the novel, a question directly touched my head. Is it the commitment of the Iting and Bintang which at the end turned her as a sister will last? As for love, Inyo Soro writes, "... A reasonable instinctive change attacks every man and woman's proximity." (p. 25). The closeness between men and women is a fire in a novel that will have a double effect when the closeness involves a priest, who is said to have been promised not to marry for the rest of their lives. Open ending on BI as a local literary novel of the homeland has become a distinctive story, for example, other well-known writers such as the novel Saman' (Ayu Utami) and 'Lembata' (F. Rahardi), for example. Does the two previous novels inspire the birth of BI 2?.

The Structural Analysis of *Belis Imamat* Novel

1. **The author's World View to the Existence of Belis in Novel Belis.**

   Inyo Soro's view on the existence of *Belis* in the East Nusa Tenggara community customs as outlined in *Belis Imamat*'s novel reveals that *Belis* is indeed a tradition that reflects a very burdensome marriage custom, even more than that, *Belis* often erodes the value of love and humanity as the basis of a relationship in marriage. The strong and inevitable tradition of a member upholding *Belis* society holds an alternative view of Belis to replace Belis with a value higher than the material in Belis, that is, religious values. The priestly offering as the supreme sense of commonality, was a substitute for *Belis,* which equally measured the essence of *Belis* itself. It is possible that this leads an opinion towards the community holders of tradition who concern preserving *belis* making the religion as an intermediary for the impasse of a customary tradition.

2. **Backgrounds**

   A reflection of the Socio-Cultural life in Novel *Belis Imamat* by Inyo Soro was strongly based on the customary life or adat and the belief of Marappu, which is a custom held hereditary by the ancestors of the East Sumba people. The custom is contained in the novel Belis Priest is a tradition in the tradition in regard of marriage, the tradition of giving up for *Belis*. This tradition assumed to be the basic determinant in marriage, whether or not payment of *Belis* determines the validity of marriage and marital status of the offspring later. The amount of Belis depends on the status of women, usually the number of items for *Belis* girls should not be less than the amount ever received by the mothers, at least the amount should be the same. *Belis* can be a model payable or paid off with consequences, if it is indebted, the men must participate in the family of women until the *Belis* paid off. For the people of East Sumba as described in the novel *Belis Imamat*, the numbers of cattle become reasonable payment method for *Belis*.

3. **Occupations**

   The occupation that grows and develops within the lives of the East Sumba society as was told in *Belis Imamat* novel is mostly traditional works. The work that many people cultivate is farmers and livestock. It is in accordance with the natural conditions of the East Sumba land which is dominantly covered by savanna fields.

4. **Settings**

   The setting in this novel is located in the East Sumba, a region of the East Nusa Tenggara which consists mainly of savannah and dryland farms. Another setting is the Flores region, which is one of the areas in the East Nusa

Tenggara consisting of coastal and mountainous areas. The building is described in the dormitory life of the Ledalero Catholic High School of Philosophy.

5. **Education**

Education in the novel *Belis Imamat* was described in the lives of prospective priests or pastors at the Catholic High School of Philosophy in Ledalero, Flores.

6. **Religion**

The participants recount on the novel *Belis Imamat* are Catholics. This is evidenced from the background that all the Catholic nuances was at the very concern, the life school of the Ledalero pastor STFK, the description of the building, stages of a priestly candidate, the duties of a priest etc. .

7. **Language Use**

The language used in recounting every part of the story and event in *Belis Imamat* novel in addition to Indonesian language as the main language, Inyo Soro also recounted the story with a little bit mix of Malayic Kupang, Latin and also English. This is inevitable given that a pastor has much to do with philosophical literature, liturgy, prayers taken in the book by using the Latin in it. The Malayic Kupang language is a social language used by almost all inhabitants living in the East Nusa Tenggara areas in a social conversation between different regional languages owned by each region or tribe of the East Nusa Tenggara.

3. Conclusion

Conclusion that can be derived from the review on the results and discussion of this study, described in the following statements. The author's world view of Belis as was highlighted in *Belis Imamat* novel by Inyo Soro is that the people of East Nusa Tenggara generally, both educated and uneducated view *Belis* as something beyond their natural limits as human. The existence of *Belis* in social class of the East Nusa has become a legitimate parameter in to the social structure of the people. The socio-cultural background of the community reflected in the novel *Belis Imamat* cocern the customs and beliefs, religion, language, ethnicity, occupation, education, and residence of the East Nusa Tenggaran people as cultural conductors of the tradition.

Inyo Soro's view on the existence of *Belis* in the East Nusa Tenggara community customs as outlined in *Belis Imamat*'s novel reveals that Belis is indeed a tradition that reflects a very burdensome marriage custom, even more than that, Belis often erodes the value of love and humanity as the basis of a relationship in marriage. The strong and inevitable tradition of a member upholding Belis society holds an alternative view of Belis to replace Belis with a value higher than the material in Belis, that is, religious values. The priestly offering as the supreme sense of commonality, was a

substitute for *Belis*, which equally measured the essence of *Belis* itself. It is possible that this leads to an opinion towards the community holders of tradition who concern preserving Belis making the religion as an intermediary for the impasse of a customary tradition.

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Misogyny in Hell-Joseon: An Intersectional Approach to the Misogyny of South Korean Society

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Abstract

This study aims to explain the recent misogynistic atmosphere of South Korean society through intersectionality theory. While misogynistic hate speech and resulting feminist movement increase, the generalized binary framework, which regards men as offenders and women as victims, maintains the fight between men and women. Black feminism, which emphasizes identity politics, provides an alternative framework for analyzing the misogyny of Korean society. Therefore, this research focuses on the intersectional identities of Korean men and women, thereby identifying the misogyny of Korea as a result of the gender sensitivity formed by dialectical interaction between colonial history and contemporary social contexts. The so-called "Hell-Joseon" discourse, which compares Korea to hell, summarizes this dialectical interaction. Looking back on the genealogy of misogyny in Joseon/Korea in the 20th century, this paper reveals that Korean misogyny discourse has been formed by men who have attributed the cause of national crisis to women who are thought to have polluted the essence of the nation. While Korean men have established themselves as the owners of the nation, they have also formed a repressed identity through colonial experience. This intersectional identity constitutes a particular pathos among men and results in double oppression of women. This profoundly rooted colonialism and the resulting distorted nationalism, intertwined with widespread defeatism of young people, form the basis of today's misogyny. Analyzing the dynamics of the misogyny in a broader context, this study discusses in what ways Korean feminist movement and cultural studies can challenge the gender imaginary created by colonialism.

Keywords: misogyny, South Korea, intersectionality, black feminism, colonialism, nationalism

Introduction: after a murder at Gangnam station

On May 17, 2016, a young woman was stabbed to death in a bar restroom near Gangnam station. The murderer said that he had committed the crime because women had always ignored him. Therefore many women viewed this tragic incident not as any other murder but as a misogynistic criminal act. They flocked to Gangnam station and put up Post-its on one of the station exits. Most of the Post-its communicated the message "I have #survived." "#survived" – implying "If I were there instead of her, I would have been killed only because I am a woman" – became slogan for women who wanted to accuse Korean society permeated with misogyny. They started to give testimonies on the misogyny they experienced in their lives, from the gender inequality structure in the workplace to physical or sexual violence from men. The Gangnam station murder definitely marked a turning point in Korean feminism.

The more popular feminism has become, the more backlash has occurred. Some men showed displeasure about the "#survived" movement. They claimed that the murder was just one of many murders and it was very rude for women to accuse innocent men as being potential criminals. One man even likened men to carnivores who kill herbivores, which became controversial since this statement implies that a natural hierarchy exists between men and women.

The murder at Gangnam station triggered a broad-scale gender war. The binary framework, men as offenders and women as victims, was a generalized assumption sustaining this gender war. To solve this conflict, we need alternative frameworks to view this phenomenon. This paper draws an answer from black feminism, which emphasizes identity politics. This paper focuses on the intersectional identities of Korean men and women, thereby examining the misogyny in Korea as a result of the gender sensitivity manifested from these particular identities. There is a dialectical interaction between colonial history and contemporary social contexts. The so-called "Hell-Joseon" discourse, which compares the socioeconomic crisis in Korea to hell, summarizes this dialectical interaction.

Looking back on the genealogy of misogyny in Joseon/Korea, this study reveals that Korean misogyny discourse has been formed by men who have attributed the cause of national crisis to women who are thought to have polluted the essence of the nation. While Korean men have established themselves as the owners of the nation, they have also formed a repressed identity as a result of colonial experience. This intersectional identity constitutes a particular pathos among men and results in the double oppression of women.

The profoundly rooted colonialism and the resulting distorted nationalism, intertwined with the widespread defeatism of young people, form the basis of today's misogyny. Analyzing the dynamics of the misogyny in a broader context, this study aims to shed light on disregarded aspects of Korean misogyny and feminism. Finally, this research gives attention to how the Korean feminist movement and cultural studies can challenge the gender imaginary created by colonialism.

Incorporating intersectionality theory into Korean gender studies

Intersectionality describes overlapping or intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989). One's identity is constituted of diverse dimensions such as gender, race, nationality, religion, and so on. These identities are not "unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but rather reciprocally constructing phenomena" (Collins, 2015). Thus an intersectional perspective on identity politics helps understand how social inequality has been created on a multidimensional basis.

The most significant aspect of intersectionality theory is that it provides an alternative to the binary frame of men and women. When people discuss feminism, they are prone to bring up this binary frame, thereby generalizing and denouncing men as inflictors, misogynists, or social evils. This is why discussions about feminism often rouse antipathy, especially from men. However, intersectionality theory provides a theoretical frame to examine not only minorities', but also majorities' standpoints in broader contexts as to understand how a certain structure of oppression has been formed.

In Korean research, not much attention has been given to the intersectional perspective. It was just mentioned in quantitative researches that categorize gender as one's identity (Kim, 2011; Kim, 2015). Or it was just introduced at the theoretical level while explaining black feminism or the feminism movement in Western countries (Park, 2014; Bae, 2016).

There are, however, some researches based on the intersectional perspective. For example, some researches on gender inequality in the labor market (Bae, 2009; Seok, 2004), difficulties working mothers face (Kim, 2010, 2014), and female prostitutes (Won, 2011) discuss the intersection of gender and class. Researches on multicultural families (Lee, 2014; Jung, 2015) and comfort women (Moon, 2014) touch on the intersection of gender and race, or gender and nationality.

However, unlike Western countries' diversity of ethnic and national backgrounds, Korea has been considered as ethnically homogenous. Thus only the distinction or hierarchy between men and women has been visibly discussed, while diversity within a certain gender or one's intersectional identity has been less discussed.

This paper attempts to discuss Korean men's hatred of Korean women by examining the intersection of gender and nationality. Nationalism and colonialism have been strong ideologies that permeate Korean culture due to people's historical experience, and they have also constituted misogyny in Korea.

Women with dragon tattoos: double-suppression upon Korean women

It is not a new phenomenon for certain Korean men to detest or express rage toward Korean women. To be more precise, there have always been men who disapprove of certain women being "Korean" women. While men have stood as creators or owners of the nation and have striven to establish the honorable history of the nation, they have felt ashamed of certain women who seemed to contaminate the essence of the nation and alienated them. This chapter will review the history of misogyny in Korea.

"Hwanyang-nyon(화냥년)" is a bad word indicating immoral women, usually used by the elderly. It is said that this word stems from the Qing invasion of Joseon that occurred in the 17th century. When the newly established Manchu Qing dynasty invaded Korea's Joseon kingdom, the Qing troops abducted many Joseon people for forced labor. After the war, the Joseon people returned to their hometown. However, "hwan-hyang-nyo(환향녀, "returned women" in Korean)" had to live the rest of their lives in misery because people, including their husbands, condemned them and accused them of losing their chastity to the Qing people. So hwanyang-nyo[1] became a derogatory word and is still used as a misogynistic word. [2]

As Joseon entered the 20th century, some women received high education, had careers, cut their hair in modern styles, and engaged in free relationship. They were called "new women." However, some found these women repulsive since these women transgressed the traditional patriarchal discipline. People thought that new women had abandoned the "Joseon-ness" and ideal femininity of Joseon, and accused them as being slaves to vanity (Joo et al, 2013).

Similar responses existed toward "yang-gongju,"[3] prostitutes who serviced members of the U.S. military during the 1950~80s. While South Korea exploited them, calling them patriots for earning dollars from the US, Korean men were ashamed of them (Joo et al, 2013). A newspaper column proves the hatred toward yang-gongju by stating:

> Those women who ride cars with Americans, who wander the street chewing gum, who wear strange make-up and hairstyles! Their vanity contaminates Joseon's beautiful and fine customs, destroys our nation's morality, and disregards our dignity. Using national surveillance, we should expel them from our beautiful country. *Chosunilbo* (1947. 1. 21)

People did not have a problem with men who wore modern styles, hung out with Americans, and chewed gum. Neither the term "new man" nor "yang-wangja"[4] existed. Only women were regarded as troublemakers who polluted the "dignity" of "our beautiful country".

In 1990, comfort women became a political issue for the first time in Korea. Comfort women were sexual slaves during the Japanese colonial period. Forty years passed before the past existence of comfort women could become an openly politicized issue. Japan has tried to cover up their past and Korea somewhat abetted its concealment because many people were ashamed of comfort women having existed. When Hak-Sun Kim, the first woman to come forward about the plight of comfort women, had a press conference, some people were reluctant to make this known to the international

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[1] In Korean, "nyo" means "a woman", and "nyon" is roughly equivalent to "bitch."

[2] It has turned out that this origin is a fabricated story, not historical fact. Nevertheless, it is true that women who returned from Qing suffered persecution.

[3] "Yang" indicates "Western", especially related to the US, and "gongju" means "princess."

[4] "Wangja" means "prince."

community. They felt it was Korea's disgrace that Korean women had lost their chastity to Japanese men, and felt their masculinity was disgraced since they had failed to protect their own "sisters" and so they wanted to silence the comfort women (Ueno, 1999)

At the end of this lineage comes "kimchinyo."[5] "Kimchinyo" is the most common misogynistic word today. It refers to a young Korean woman who is shallow, loves expensive designer bags and jewelry, and who expects her boyfriend to pay for dates and their future wedding. Although there are some women of vanity who actually caused the birth of this word, the problem is that some people use this word to indicate Korean women in general. They think Korean women are morally inferior to foreign women. Furthermore, anti-feminists and misogynists accuse Korean feminists of being kimchinyo.

As such, the "Koreanness" of Korean women forms the core of Korean misogyny. Misogynists think that Korean women are embarrassing the country while Korean men are citizens who are fulfilling their duty to sustain the nation's honorable history. This view shows that nationalism is an ideology at the basis of Korean misogyny. Thus it is not surprising that people, even journalists, note the president's gender when a political scandal broke out in Korea recently. They said: "The female president has ruined Korea."

Pathos of male surplusage: the intersectional position of Korean men in a neoliberal society

Throughout history, Korean men have been privileged in deep-rooted patriarchy. On the other hand, they have felt the burden of their privileges. As the breadwinners of the family and the owners of the nation, they have been obliged to protect their family and nation. Although they failed to do so during the colonial period, their sense of ownership has been an important part of their identity constructed throughout history.

However, the recent economic structure and economic crisis have resulted in a crack in the hegemonic masculinity. Along with the global current, Korean society has developed neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism in Korea is contextualized as "developmental neo-liberalism" through which the flexibility of labor, political and economic polarization, and the winner-take-all effect has been aggravated (Yoon, 2009). In response to this social transformation, a new subjectivity has been encouraged as a way of surviving – the self-empowering subject (Seo, 2010). People are called upon to cultivate and control themselves to be the flexible labor sources that a neo-liberal system requires.

By combining the generation theory with this social atmosphere, a new generation discourse on contemporary Korean youth has arisen. The impactive terms indicating the youth today are "880 thousand won generation," meaning the youth earn very small salaries from their unstable jobs and "n-po generation"[6] meaning the youth have

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[5] Kimchi is a traditional food of Korea. The fact that "kimchi" is included in this misogynistic word indicates that misogyny is directed toward Korean women.

[6] The word "po" means "giving up". In the late 2000s, the word "3-po" appeared which means that young people give up dating, marriage, and giving birth due to economic difficulties. And as young

given up some parts of their life due to economic reasons. According to these terms, the Korean youth today are represented as subjects lacking hope for the future due to their economically and socially unstable status. Kim(2015) says that existence today in Korea can be defined as "survivalism" in which people relentlessly struggle to survive the harsh competition of life almost every moment, and this survivalism has become a strong regime in the minds of youths.

This is the context from which "Hell-Joseon" has emerged. Hell-Joseon is a newly coined term that indicates the harsh reality for young people after the economic crisis in the late 2000s. People refer to Korea as "Hell" and even "Hell-Joseon" because they feel that a person's economic status seems predetermined at birth and class mobility is almost impossible just like it was in the Joseon dynasty. In addition, Hell-Joseon also recalls colonialism. The term "Hell-Joseon" originated from an online history community that depreciated the Joseon Dynasty. They compared Joseon in the 19th century with Japan, which had already achieved phenomenal modernization at that time and justified its colonization. So Hell-Joseon means that Korea is Hell compared to other countries, especially Japan.

In Hell-Joseon, many young people fail to find jobs, lose their jobs or give up finding jobs so they become NEET - Not in Education, Employment, or Training. This hopeless defeatism may be more prevalent among men because they have been holding economic hegemony throughout history. Although the recent socioeconomic situation is not favorable to both men and women, people only talk about the crisis of young "men". The economic crisis is not linked to women because the "economy" is not considered to be of much concern for women, and "crisis" has been a basic condition for women's lives in the patriarchy hierarchy. Thus the recent economic crisis is reduced to a "crisis of masculinity".

Actually, a reconfiguration of the gender order has occurred. Despite the harsh economic conditions, more and more women are receiving higher education and entering into professional careers compared to the past. With the "masculinization of women's life" (Esping-Anderson, 2009), the modern family—which consisted of the breadwinner husband and the homemaker wife—breaks down. The gender division of labor, which was considered as the most ideal family system of the modern era, no longer works, thus indicating that men are losing their economic hegemony.

Furthermore, some young men think like "women's lives are easier and better than men's." In Korea, men must serve in the military for about two years. Korean men in their early twenties think that while they are wasting two years, women in their age can spend those years seeking a job, building up a career, or enjoying the world. In addition, as gender inequality in the labor market has been brought into question, several workplaces are adopting a quota system for female employees, which can seem like reverse discrimination for young men who are struggling to find employment.

The so-called "surplusage" is a subjectivity that has emerged based on these changes. This is not exactly a male identity, but it is more noticeable among men. Surplusage

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people give up more and more aspects of their lives such as housing, car, relationship, appearance, dream and even hope, the prefixed number increases and finally becomes an indefinite number "n."

refers to a "useless" person who does not create socioeconomic value, and is therefore perceived as a "loser" who fails to meet social standards or fails in social survival. These surplusages gather in online communities. While they are recognized as creators of a unique online subculture, some of them show politically incorrect behaviors by expressing their anger toward society in a distorted way.

"Ilbe" is an online community that exhibits an irrational attitude toward politics, females, and minorities. It is at the center of online hate speech. Several studies have tried to explicate the misogyny of Ilbe (Yoon, 2013; Eom, 2016). What distinguishes Ilbe from the traditional patriarchal perspective is that it claims the existence of absolute equality between men and women. Ilbe users think that Korean women receive too much protection and privileges. They ignore the sociohistorical structure where women have been marginalized and claim that it is men who are marginalized today. So they justify their misogyny and enjoy mocking and objectifying women. Users of Ilbe also share the Hell-Joseon discourse, and this serves as a context for their gender sensitivity. Just as people think that Korea is hell compared to other countries, Ilbe users think that Korean women are hell compared to foreign women, especially Japanese women.

To sum up, "a crisis of masculinity in Hell-Joseon" is the dominant pathos among men and affects their gender sensitivity. While they struggle to survive, women have not only risen as competitors in the labor market, but women's lives also seem much easier than theirs. The anxiety and anger that stem from the precarious socioeconomic structure transform into their anger toward women.

Misogyny in Hell-Joseon

As mentioned above, "kimchi-nyo" is the most commonly and casually used misogynistic term, and it sums up misogynistic discourse in Korean society. Misogynists say that Korean women deserve their hatred since they are kimchi-nyos. Especially Ilbe users try their best to prove that Korean women are kimchi-nyo, and there are several issues that they have grounds for claiming that Korean women are kimchi-nyo.

The first one is regarding the army. In Korea, men are required to fulfill their military duty. Many men accuse women for free-riding on the nation's security that they provide, and this is one of the reasons that misogynists accuse Korean women of being kimchi-nyo. They say "women don't pay us for our efforts to protect the country."

The second issue is regarding dating and marriage. Men accuse Korean women of not sharing enough of the economic burden in dating or marriage. One TV show on which foreign female guests talk about Korean culture became an issue when some guests from Western countries said they could not understand why men pay more for dating or marriage in Korea and said that going Dutch is regarded normal in their countries. There are some women who actually take for granted that men pay more. However, we should not generalize that all women have this view. We should also note that there has been a patriarchal order where women had no or less economic power in the past and even today. However, misogynists ignore this and accuse women.

Thirdly, misogynists compare Korean women's bodies to foreign women's bodies, especially those of Western women. They complain that Korean women have small breasts and hips, and they try to justify that it is okay to hate Korean women since they lack sexual appeal. It is their logic that women who fail to fulfill men's sexual desire deserve their hatred.

As we can see from these three issues, comparison between Korean women and foreign women is at the core of Korean misogyny. In other words, Korean misogyny is based on an obsequious idea. In addition, combined with the Hell-Joseon discourse, Korean women are pointed out as the very reason that Korea is hellish. Misogynists think that Korea is inferior to Western countries due to some uncivilized women.

More interestingly, Japan is a major country used for comparison despite the fact that it is an Asian country. A term that has the opposite meaning of "kimchi-nyo" is "sushi-nyo," which refers to Japanese women because misogynists tend to think Japanese women are much more favorable. They say that sushi-nyo value equality between genders, try to make a happy family, and love their husband sincerely.

Why do Korean misogynists compare Korean women to Japanese women? Japan is represented as Western in Asia or whiteness (Ashikari, 2005). But more crucially, Japan was the country that colonized Korea. It's been more than 70 years since Korea retrieved its independence from Japan, but tensions remain tensions between the two countries. On the one hand, Koreans show extreme antipathy toward Japan and on the other hand Japanese culture is an object of envy for some Koreans. Korea, as a country with colonial experience, has discussed colonialism as a problematic ideology for some time now. But concerning feminism, only the comfort woman issue has been emphasized on the level of colonialism. However, colonialism is much more than that. It is widespread and deep-rooted in our daily life thereby affecting gender sensitivity.

The newly coined term "sam-il-han" is a striking example of Korean misogyny embodying a colonial view. It means that woman should be beaten every third day. The concept behind this term originates from the idea of Japanese people during the oppressive colonial period that, "Josenjin(朝鮮人)s[7] don't listen unless they are beaten." When Korean people today point out the backward aspects of Korean ethnicity, they call themselves "Josenjin" either jokingly or self-mockingly. This self-mocking term is used much more frequently among young people who consider Korea to be hellish. And in the eye of misogynists, Korean women are the most primitive ones who should be beaten.

Another interesting aspect concerning colonialism of misogyny is detected from Ilbe. In Ilbe, some men show off that they are dating, or married to a Japanese woman. For example, one man posted a photo that shows a notebook with Korean words written in it. He explained that his wife is Japanese and currently working hard on learning Korean. He boasted that he would "bang" his wife that night. His post was followed by comments expressing envy of him. Ilbe users sexually objectify Japanese women as well, but at the same time, they share a desire to conquer Japanese women.

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[7] It is a Japanese word to indicate "people from Joseon" literally, but as this word was used in the oppressive colonial period, it has a negative connotation.

As such, Korean misogyny has developed through the intertwining of nationalism, toadyism, and colonialism. As the owners of a weak country in the Far East, Korean men have identified their masculinity with the dignity of their nation. Colonial experience has brought the failure of masculinity to Korean men who had to bow to the more authoritative masculinity of Japanese men. The colonial mentality from this traumatic experience was inherited and has been reflected onto the field of gender.

Conclusion: beyond the binary gender war

This paper has examined of misogyny in Korea from the perspectives of nationalism and colonialism. There is a history of Korean men hating Korean women. From hwanyang-nyon to yang-gongju, men detested that these women were "Korean/Joseon" women and that they disgraced the nation by selling themselves to foreign men. More recently, people who hate their own country and refer to it as "Hell-Joseon" accuse women as being one of the factors that make Korea hellish. Korean men who suffer from the economic crisis and a reconfiguration of the gender order are apt to be carried away by misogynistic discourse. Their anger or disappointment toward their country is projected onto women because they view women as being the ones who have always disgraced their country throughout history. As such, nationalism and colonialism are intertwined with underlying Korean misogyny.

Concluding the discussion, I want to mention a recent controversy in the Korean feminist movement. In 2015, an online feminist community named "Megalia" was created. Some Megalians, members of Megalia, identify themselves as radical feminists and they began to "mirror" the misogynistic comments. They appropriate the misogynistic terms created by Ilbe and mock Korean men just as Ilbe mock Korean women. It has been debated whether the Megalians' actions can be viewed as man-hating ones or not. Their strategy is a kind of counterattack to vicious misogynistic practices and was definitely effective in raising feminism to the surface. However, in light of this research, such actions should not be continued anymore, for this movement is actually based on misogyny. Megalia's mirroring is based on misogynistic terms. Thus their feminism ends up being rooted in the colonial perspective.

As can be seen from the murder at Gangnam station and Megalia, the recent feminism debate has been framed too much as "misogyny vs. misandry," and "men vs. women." To broaden our discussion in the sociohistorical context, I suggest that we examine this phenomenon as a matter of "intersectionality" where gender, nationality and socioeconomic class meet. The specific masculinity and misogynistic stereotype built through Korean history have shaped Korean misogyny. And the Hell-Joseon discourse should be discussed as a major background for this. The recent misogynistic atmosphere might be an aspect of Korea that failed to decolonize.

To cope with deep-rooted misogyny, we should develop a multi-dimensional and broader perspective to look into what is rooted in this phenomenon. Also, we should keep discussing whether recent online and offline debates, or even a gender war can be constructive conflicts to develop a more harmonious society or if such lead to the ghettofication of feminism in Korea.

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Transcending the Catastrophes and Horrors of History: Atomic Bomb Threat and Activism in Tanaka Chikao's The Head of Mary

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Abstract

The moment of 1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombing, along with the Holocaust, is imprinted in our memory to be the most terrible disaster mankind has suffered. The moment was promising to end the most destructive war in human history. It also, paradoxically enough, resulted in another disastrous massacre or what anthropologist Mircea Eliade calls "the catastrophes and horrors of history" that "no longer allow any escape." Thereafter, the matter of overcoming disaster has been emerging as a new challenge for modern humanity. Japanese playwright Tanaka Chikao (1905-1995), for instance, consciously digs in human reaction and attitude in the face of A-bomb disaster, and at the same time suggests 'religion' as an alternative way of overcoming. He brings back to the mundane the God's word and the subsequent possibility of salvation which has been attacked as unscientific and anachronistic, and finally sentenced to death by the western intellectuals with the dawn of the modern era. Especially, *The Head of Mary* (*Mario no Kubi*, 1959) presents these aspects well. Set in the post-war Japan situation, the play deals with the issue of overcoming, or mastery of the A-bomb disaster, in the context of Catholicism. The protagonists in the play portray the human beings helpless before the disaster of the atomic bomb. However, it is worth noting that they do not passively continue their ephemeral existence, assuming wait-and-see attitude. Rather they willingly struggle to do 'something' to overcome the given condition. The play gives a clear message of overcoming and activism.

Keywords: Atomic Bombing, Post-war Japan, Religion, Activism, Mastery, Tanaka Chikao, *The Head of Mary*

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Introduction

A religious scholar and writer Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), in his book *The Myth of the Eternal Return; Or, Cosmos and History* (1971), maintains as following:

And in our day, when historical pressure no longer allows any escape, how can man tolerate the catastrophes and horrors of history—from collective deportations and massacres to atomic bombings—if beyond them he can glimpse no sign, no transhistorical meaning. (Eliade 151)

In the quoted statement, Eliade emphasizes how much 'the catastrophes and horrors of history' restrains human freedom, and on the contrary, how foolish and absurd to find the way out of such restraint. Particularly noteworthy in Eliade's statement is that he takes the collective deportations, massacres, and atomic bombings as examples of 'the catastrophes and horrors of history'. Not to be overlooked is the 'last' position of the atomic bombings among the above three examples. It conforms that the atomic bombing is the most recent major catastrophe. Also it reaffirms that the atomic bombing is at the end of the amplification phase, starting at collective deportations through massacres to atomic bombings, even in the intensity of fear and shock.

As Elidae puts it, the atomic bombing is certainly the most recent and most powerful disaster that human history has experienced. In this sense, Eliade's statement reminds us of the moment of Hiroshima/Nagasaki atomic bombing that ended the Second World War, the most horrific disaster in human history. Considering that the atomic bombs dropped to end the reckless carnage such as the Holocaust caused another disaster of massive A-bomb victim and incurable trauma both mentally and physically in Japanese people, Eliade's commentary that "historical pressure no longer allows any escape" meets not only the post-war Japan's situation but also the present situation in the new millennium where humanity cannot be free from the horrors of global nuclear holocaust. In a different light, Eliade's statement also points to the limitations of 'Modernism's optimistic view about the humanity and future, regarding the overcoming of death in the post-war Japan's special circumstances.

Atomic Bomb and the Post-war Japan

Modernism began with the emergence of Western scientific thinking and awareness during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The so-called 'scientific' thoughts, including Auguste Comte's positivism (*The Course in Positive Philosophy*, 1830-42), Charles Darwin's theory of evolution (*On the Origins of Species*, 1859), and Sigmund Freud's concept of the unconscious (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1900), challenged the human belief in the divine world and providence represented by Christianity and creationism. Friedrich Nietzche even declared that "God is dead" (Gott ist tot) in his book *The Gay Science* (1882), which was the culmination of the doubt and rejection of God, and also a death sentence for the all traditional values (Brustein 8). Modernity and the period, set out with conscious liberation from God, started with the optimism that human problems and sufferings had to be resolved by human themselves rather than divine power, and that the above mentioned task could be accomplished. Realism, the first literary reflection of modernity, was a beneficiary of that optimism promised by modernity to mankind. Henrik Ibsen and other contemporary realist playwrights advocated the idea of 'scientific art'. They insisted that the artist should

improve the society by, like a surgeon, closely capturing social ills as if seeing through microscope, exposing them to be cured, and finally cutting them precisely with a scalpel. They also believed in this possibility.

It was no exception to Japanese modern literature. For example, Japanese playwrights Kubo Sakae (1900-1958) and Kishida Kunio (1890-1954) were active realists during the Second World War, and they fully embraced modern mentality and expressed it in their dramatic works. Kubo was a socialist realist and sought the possibility of salvation through social transformation and building of ultimate perfect society. He believed that the most obvious way to save the modern age, faced with mental death due to the extinction of divine salvation, was a socialist revolution. On the other hand, Kishida was a psychological realist. He sought the possibility of salvation in human soul and inner self. Kishida believed that the human soul and inner self were the very place of salvation.

However, the above optimism loses strength when the problem facing man is beyond his ability to solve. Hiroshima/Nagasaki atomic bombing was an epoch-making event signaling the counterattack of these unexpected variables. This historical moment proved that humans are weak and incompetent before this catastrophe. This historical moment also predicted a fundamental skepticism about what the modern era promised to mankind, that is, the belief in human capacity and the optimism about social reform. Indeed, after the Second World War the modern era was turning into pessimism about social reform and human salvation. Hiroshima/Nagasaki atomic bombing was announcing the end of war. However, at the same time, it was a sign of the end of optimism and also a signal for the human condition that will be discovered by existentialists and absurdists in the near future.

The genocide and the scars of the atomic bomb left by the war cast a fundamental doubt on the nature, status, and responsibility of man, the paragon of all creation. How can rational human beings do this irrational act? How can a man be responsible and indemnified for such acts and deaths? If it is human reality that cannot be held responsible and cannot be excused, does man exist as the paragon of all creature? What is the existence of unsaved humanity? Since Nietzsche's "Death of God" declaration, humans have lost the prospect of solving their problems and consequently finding salvation by relying on gods or outside forces. A man who has lost the ability and possibility to save himself faces a fundamental existential crisis. Jean-Paul Sartre likened human existence to the 'no-way-out situation' of the survivor abandoned in the sea without a life jacket. Sartre, of course, did not rule out the last hope for the survivor to meet a rescue ship. Albert Camus excluded even the possibility that the rescue ship might pass by, and thus drove the 'no way out situation' to the extreme. Greek king Sisyphus is rolling a huge rock up a hill, knowing that the rock will roll back down. Samuel Beckett's two vagabonds Gogo and Didi are still waiting for Godot who will not come. A man knows that he cannot escape but cannot abandon the hope of escape. This is what Camus calls the 'absurdity' of human condition.

Tanaka Chikao's *The Head of Mary*

In light of the post-war Japan situation, the atomic bombing was what Eliade calls "the catastrophe and horror of history" that human beings have borne, and human beings cannot be held responsible for it and therefore are not allowed to escape from

the pressure of history. In this situation, the post-war Japanese literature was faced with serious questions. Does the human genocide and millions of deaths have to be portrayed as an indispensable and indisputable reality that cannot be overcome? Is the possibility of human salvation or divine providence truly impossible in reality? Is it only a task left to literature to describe countless carcasses? The post-war Japanese literature responded to this, and made efforts to overcome the existential condition of human in the post-war period by recalling old things like 'religion' and 'providence and salvation of God' which were expelled along with the beginning of modernity.

Tanaka Chikao (1905-1995) is one of the representative writers who stared at the fear of the atomic bomb and the issue of overcoming it. Tanaka was born in the culturally diverse city of Nagasaki with a long cosmopolitan tradition. Historically the Portuguese missionaries had come here, and the Dutch and Chinese maintained an influence in this city. Additionally, Nagasaki had a long tradition of the Cristian faith, particularly Catholicism. During the Tokugawa period the Catholic faith was prohibited. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the religion was allowed, and relatively many people adhered to Catholic faith in Nagasaki. The presence of Christians and the religious rituals in Nagasaki gave a peculiar flavor to the psychology of the region (Konaka 423; Rimer 276). Young Tanaka was familiar with the cosmopolitan environment, and it was natural that he was interested in Western ideas. And understandably enough, he took up the study of French literature at Keio University in Tokyo.

As a student, Tanaka joined many small theatre companies and attempted acting. Also he joined *shingeki* (literally, new theatre) theatre companies in hopes of better understanding Westernized theatre. Tanaka began his playwriting career by joining in publishing the literary magazine *Playwriting*. He also participated in the launching Bungaku-za, in 1931, one of the leading *shingeki* (literally, new drama) theatre companies in Japan.[1] While he was building up his career as a playwright, the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki on August 8, 1945. The complete devastation of the city turned out to be a turning point for Tanaka to be born again as a playwright. With the fall of Nagasaki and its spiritual and religious traditions, including Catholic faith, he felt "the uselessness of everything his father's generation had stood for" and attempted to search out some "transcendental meaning beyond the emptiness" (Rimer 278). Accordingly, Tanaka explores essential human conflicts in the post-Nagasaki disaster situation through the eyes of a Christian, and embraces 'religion' as an alternative to the limit of human salvation faced by the modern era. The writer recalls again in this world the possibility of God's world and consequent divine providence and human salvation, which was devalued by modern thoughts as an unscientific and obsolete tradition and eventually sentenced to death. Tanaka's play *The Head of Mary* (*Maria no Kuni*, 1959) exemplifies this well.

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[1] Shingeki was the leading form of modern theatre in Japan in the 20th century. It was the effort to introduce Western-style realist theatre to Japan, first by presenting the works of Western writers such as Henrik Ibsen, Anton Chekhov, Maxim Gorky, and Eugene O'Neill, but then by producing Japanese works. Performances reflected the styles of Russian proscenium theatre, and some of the elements included realistic foreign costumes, the use of actresses over traditional *onnagata*, male actors who played women's roles in Kabuki theatre. (Wikipedia.com 'Shingeki')

This play is set in the aftermath of the atomic bomb attack on Nagasaki, particularly on the Urakami Catholic Church. The play is about survivors of the atomic bombing, and the author Tanaka, a Catholic himself, pivots upon the religious motif and traditions of the Roman Catholic faith (Treat 1995: 309). In the play, a group of survivors plot to steal a statue of Virgin Mary so that they may rightfully restore their faith. Among them, Shika makes her living by prostitution on the second floor of a local market in Nagasaki. A big and red scar on the left side of her face is the trace of exposure to radioactivity at the time of atomic bombing. On the lower floor, Shinobu sells medicines and poetry, and receives guests. Shika and Shinobu work as nurses at the hospital by day. Yabari, an inpatient, wants to bring Shika of a scarred face to the United States to inform the world of the reality of atomic bomb damage. He argues for political activism in an effort to ban atomic bombs. But Shika craves for absolute justice and believes that only God can provide that (Goodman 599), by retorting "Absolute justice cannot be found in politics. Nor in existence. Nor absolute freedom either" (Tanaka 145).

Shika and Shinobu do a special thing every night. They gather the pieces of the stone statue of Mary at the Urakami Church destroyed by the atomic bomb, bring them to the prostitute's room, and assemble them. Their efforts to complete the icon have a metaphoric meaning of rebuilding their religious faith after the destruction and also the difficulties of rebuilding the faith. The sculpture is ahead of completion, with leaving only the head of Mary. On a snowy night, Shika arrives at the Church. The head of Mary is covered with snow, and has a scar on her face like Shika. Shika grabs the rosary and asks Mary for forgiveness. Shinobu also arrives at the Church. In the last scene of the play, the two women struggle to move the head of Mary, the last remaining piece to complete the icon, but the head does not budge. At that moment, the head of Mary miraculously and surrealistically speaks to them:

I'll let you suckle at my breast, I'll let you drink to your hearts' content. My milk is so sweet, oh so sweet! First drink, then I'll listen to your prayers. So come, come! (Tanaka 180).

Shika and Shinobu's action to cherish the statue conveys their religious devotion. And Virign Mary, by giving away the last thing she has, becomes a sacrifice herself (Konaka 423). The voice and words of Mary's head suggests the possibility of hope and salvation. Although Shika and Shinobu are unsuccessful in moving the head and completing the icon, their efforts to reconstruct their faith are rewarded (Goodman 599).

Conclusion

The two women, Shika and Shinobu, in the play portray the human beings helpless in the face of the irresistible disaster of the atomic bombing. Failing to lift Mary's head symbolizes the difficulty or impossibility of overcoming in reality. On the other side, this act suggests another important point. They struggle to do 'something' to overcome the given condition, rather than just extend their lives for another day, assuming wait-and-see attitude. At the moment of action, they have an existential meaning, and at the very moment they are practicing their will to overcome. While we cannot promise when the overcome will be achieved, the mysterious voice and message of Mary implies that their struggle for human salvation is not meaningless.

Like this, the play ends with such "complex symbol" of the last but unforgettably imprinted action of the two women (Wetmore 109). In this way, *The Head of Mary*, set in the post-World War Japans situation, deals with the issue of 'overcoming' or mastery of the A-bomb disaster, especially in the religious context of Catholicism and Christianity. The strategy of recalling the past paradigm of religion and god to the present expresses the author's conscious will to overcome or master the human condition after the atomic bombing, which gives a clear message of activism.

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A Book Review Analysis on Haruki Murakami in Four Countries

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Abstract
Haruki Murakami novels have obtained a worldwide reputation. We analyze how his novels are read in foreign countries via their book reviews, using the Amazon book reviews on his novels in Japan, US, UK, and Canada. If possibly we would like to identify the cultural differences among the countries. The reasons why we selected Haruki Murakami are first that the number of reviews is so large and secondly that Mr Murakami has a good command of English so the translation from Japanese has done quite well owing to his sense of English. We set the target novels *Norwegian Wood* and *Kafka On The Shore* because types and themes of the two novels are different.
The core technology of this analysis is text mining. The morphological analysis tool for Japanese named "MeCab" and one for English named "TreeTagger" are used. In addition, by using "word2vec", vector representation models of reviews have been made. The word2vec also offers the high measurement quality of representations in a word similarity level. We would like to analyze the change of the word representations in the vector space among the four countries' reviews. From the results, we spotted a notable difference in reviews of *Norwegian Wood* between Japanese and the Western countries, although we found no distinction in reviews of *Kafka On The Shore*.

Keywords: text mining, morphological analysis, word2vec, book reviews, Murakami Haruki, Norwegian Wood, Kafka on the Shore.

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Introduction

Haruki Murakami novels have obtained a worldwide reputation. We analyze how his novels are read in foreign countries via their book reviews, using the Amazon book reviews on his novels in Japan, US, UK, and Canada. If possibly we would like to identify the cultural differences among the countries. The reasons why we selected Haruki Murakami are first that the number of reviews is so large and secondly that Murakami has a good command of English so the translation from Japanese has done quite well owing to his sense of English. The translations are also wonderful. We think that the excellent translation keeps the essence of the novels as the original Japanese ones. For example, Jay Rubin, an honorary professor of Harvard University on Japanese literature is one of the notable translators and there are many ingenuity in his translation(Rubin 2005). Among the Murakami novels, we select the target novels *Norwegian Wood* (Murakami 2000) and *Kafka On The Shore* (Murakami 2005), because *Norwegian Wood* was sold explosively around the world and because types and themes of the two novels are different.

The core technology of this analysis method is text mining. The morphological analysis tool for Japanese named "MeCab" and one for English named "TreeTagger" are used. In addition, by using "word2vec", vector representation models of reviews have been made. The word2vec outputs the principal component vectors by which the vector space coordinates are represented. The number of the principal component vectors is about 100. The word2vec also offers the high measurement quality of representations in a word similarity level. We shall analyze the change of the word representations in the vector space among the four countries' reviews.

In the next section, we shall survey the worldwide reputation on Murakami novels and the features. Then the analysis methods are explained. In Section 4, the analysis results are shown. Finally we conclude the paper with discussions.

Survey of Murakami Novels Features

Murakami's novels are translated in many languages and they have caused a boom that we did not expect around the world. In the section, we survey how Murakami works are read in the world and its features. As a generally approved descriptions on Murakami novels, we selected *The CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO Modern Japanese Culture(Sugimoto 2009),* because we think that would offer impartial evaluations. The Murakami novels are described as follows:

- ☐ non-Japanese: Storylines can take place anywhere in the world and place no emphasis on uniquely Japanese attributes (by Yoshio Sugimoto in "An Overview")

- ☐ Characters enjoy encountering others in cozy settings.(by Takeshi Inoguchi in Chapter 9)

- ☐ The leitmotif of his novels preceded the neuroscientific discovery of the "monkey-see, monkey-do" theory in which the monkey sees a human subject's movement and its memory is activated causing its muscles to move. (by Takeshi Inoguchi in Chapter 9)

- ☐ His characters are all individualist. They are interested in the inner itself, but they are also open and associated with others. (by Takeshi Inoguchi in Chapter 9)

- ☐ He has created mew models free from modernist values. He suggest that they are ways to live through this age, whether in Japan or elsewhere, as long as people gracefully abandon norms that governed them in the past. (by Toshiko Ellis, in Chapter 11)

Concerning Murakami novels wide popularity, Shozo Fujii analyzes as follows: *The young middle class in the Chinese-speaking world is reading Murakami as a manual of urban consumption culture such as a bar, a single apartment house, a travel, jazz, etc., which was rapidly spread along with economic growth (Fujii 2009).* Fujii says that the Murakami boom had moved as the order Taiwan→Hong-Kong→Shanghai→Beijing and the boom occurred at a time when their high-rate economic growth nearly halves (Fujii 2007). The Murakami boom may be a phenomenon related to cultural maturity.

Christian Rudder analyzes SNS messages on the online dating web system and concerning *Norwegian Wood*, he asks "Why do Asian people like *Norwegian Wood* ? " because the word *Norwegian Wood* appears as most typical words for Asian men/women's messages; in other groups that are (1) white men/women, (2) black mem/women, and (3) Latinos/Latinas, there is no the same phenomena(Rudder 2014a, 2014b). We would like to find a difference concerning *Norwegian Wood* between Japan and Western countries in our analysis.

We have selected two Murakami bestsellers as tour target; they are *Norwegian Wood* and *Kafka On The Shore*. For those who did not read the novels, we cite the editorial reviews from Amazon.com in the following:

- In 1987, when *Norwegian Wood* was first published in Japan, it promptly sold more than 4 million copies and transformed Haruki Murakami into a pop-culture icon.

- Joining the rich literature of runaways, *Kafka On The Shore* follows the solitary, self-disciplined schoolboy Kafka Tamura as he hops a bus from Tokyo to the randomly chosen town of Takamatsu, reminding himself at each step that he has to be "the world's toughest fifteen-year-old."… Meanwhile, in a second, wilder narrative spiral, an elderly Tokyo man named Nakata veers from his calm routine by murdering a stranger. An unforgettable character, beautifully delineated by Murakami, Nakata can speak with cats but cannot read or write, nor explain the forces drawing him toward Takamatsu and the other characters.

The novel *Norwegian Wood* has especially boomed in Asian countries such as China and Thailand. As shown in the above Rudder's comment, even in USA, the distinct concerning *Norwegian Wood* can be found between Asian and other groups. Therefore we selected *Norwegian Wood* as our target. In addition, as a non-love story, we selected *Kafka On The Shore* to conduct the comparison.

Our Analysis Method and Data

In this section, we will describe our research method and data we used. The data we used in the analysis are reviews of Amazon; the USA data are from Amazon.com, the UK data are from Amazon.co.uk, the Canada data are from Amazon.ca, the Australia data are from Amazon.com.au, and the Japan data are from Amazon.co.jp. The number of collected data is shown in Table 1. The text size of the Japanese texts is 1,714,599 Japanese characters including Chinese character Kanji, with the retrieval keyword "Haruki Murakami". With the keyword "Norwegian Wood", the number of characters is 1,202,571. From the figures, we found that *Norwegian Wood* is much more popular than others.

Concerning the UK, USA, Canada, and Australia, the given retrieval keyword is "Haruki Murakami" only. The collected data size is 1,301,842 words in the UK reviews. Although we expected the number of reviews in USA was bigger than others, contrary to our expectations, the number of UK reviews is the biggest. The second one is the USA and the third is the Canada data. In the Australia Amazon, we could not collect enough reviews.

Table 1: Collected data from 5 country review sites.

Country	Language	Retrieval Keyword	Text Size (Japanese characters, English words)
Japan	Japanese	Haruki Murakami	1714599
Japan	Japanese	Norwegian Wood	1202571
UK	English	Haruki Murakami	1301842
USA	English	Haruki Murakami	972965
Canada	English	Haruki Murakami	324793
Australia	English	Haruki Murakami	6611

We used TreeTagger[1] as the morphological analysis tool for segmentation of the English reviews. As a word unit, we use a unigram that is one word. In the same way, we conducted text mining in Japanese reviews. As the messages are written in Japanese, we used MeCab [2] (Yet Another Part-of-Speech and Morphological Analyzer) as the morphological analyzer. As a word unit, we use a bigram such as "恋愛"+"小説" which means "love" + "story" in English.

We used the word2vec[3] for the analysis (Mikolov et al. 2013). Word2vec, based on the two-layer neural network, makes the word vectors which correspond to principal components so that they can represent words in the vector space. In advance, we make a vector representation model from the input text file. The output is the vector representation model (vector space) in which each word is represented as a vector. Let us show you an example in Figure 1. There, the first to sixth vector element values are shown.

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[1] http://www.cis.uni-muenchen.de/~schmid/tools/TreeTagger/

[2] http://taku910.github.io/mecab/

[3] https://code.google.com/archive/p/word2vec/

```
> word2vec_model[["Japanese"]]
A VectorSpaceModel object of  1  words and  100  vectors
        V1          V2          V3          V4          V5          V6
 0.009571 -0.221544   0.340363   0.147666 -0.384261 -0.048622
```

Figure 1: A vector representation example of the word "Japanese".

Using the vectors, we can calculate the similarity level between two words. Then, given a word, we can extract the similar word list to the word. Then we can get the subset of the vector space of the extracted word list. For the subset vector space, we shall conduct visualization using t-SNE (t-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding) as shown in Figure 2. The t-SNE conducts dimensionality reduction that is particularly well suited for the visualization of high-dimensional datasets(Maaten 2014). In the paper, the number of dimensions are reduced from 100 to two. The two axis are the two principal component directions that t-SNE extracted. In the following of the paper, we shall use the same framing of the t-SNE without axis names.
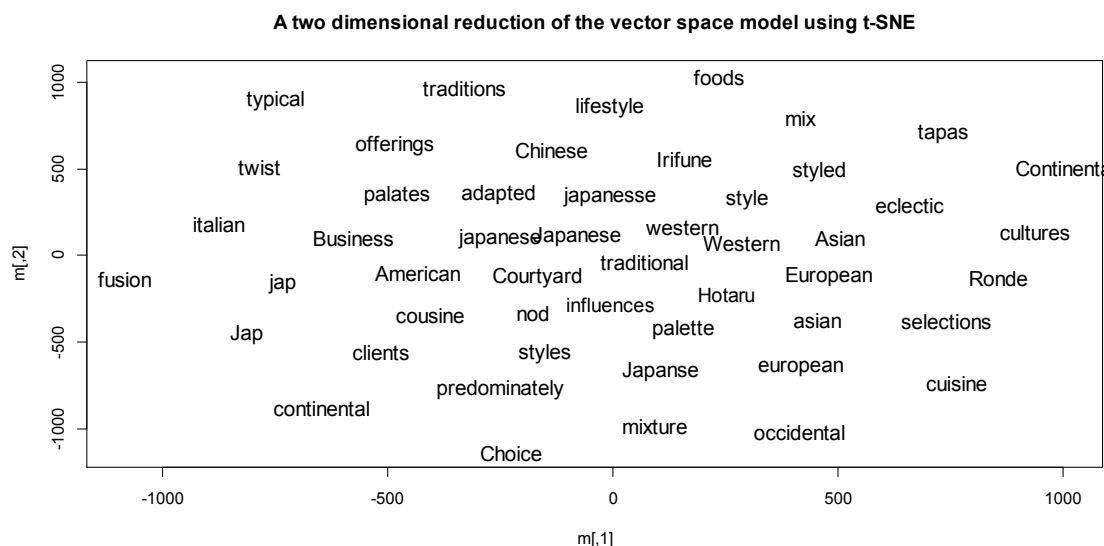
Figure 2: A two dimensional reduction of the vector space model using t-SNE.

Result Analysis

In the section, we present the results from word2vec and t-SNE and do the comparison.

First let us show the UK results. The vector model here is generated from the reviews with retrieval work "Haruki Murakami". Namely every Murakami related reviews are input. Then given a work such as "Murakami" against the vector model, a similar word list can be obtained and we shall visualize the word list using t-SNE.
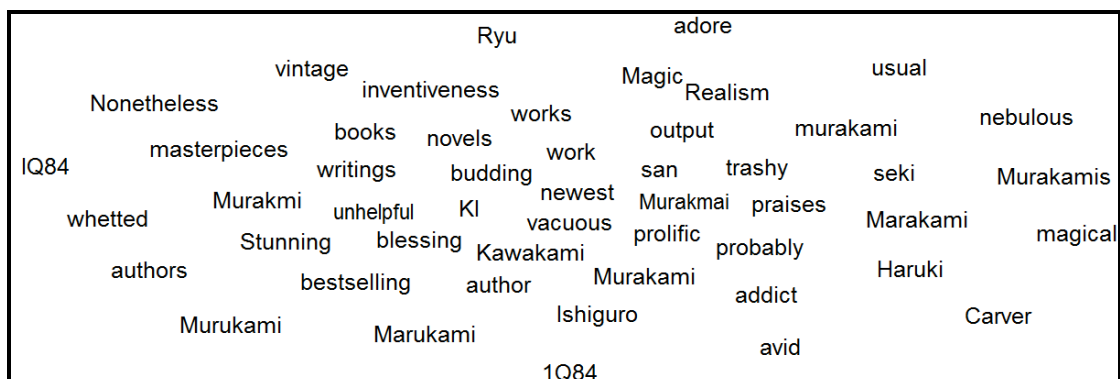
Figure 3: The vector model similar to "Murakami" in the UK data.

Figure 3 shows the entire reputation in UK. The positive word are *whetted, stunning, blessing, inventiveness, budding, adore, avid, praises, newest, magical, bestselling, masterpiece,* and *vintage*. As negative words, we can see t*rashy, vacuous,* and *usual*. As another popular writer names, we found "Ryo (Murakami)" and "(Kazuo) Ishiguro".
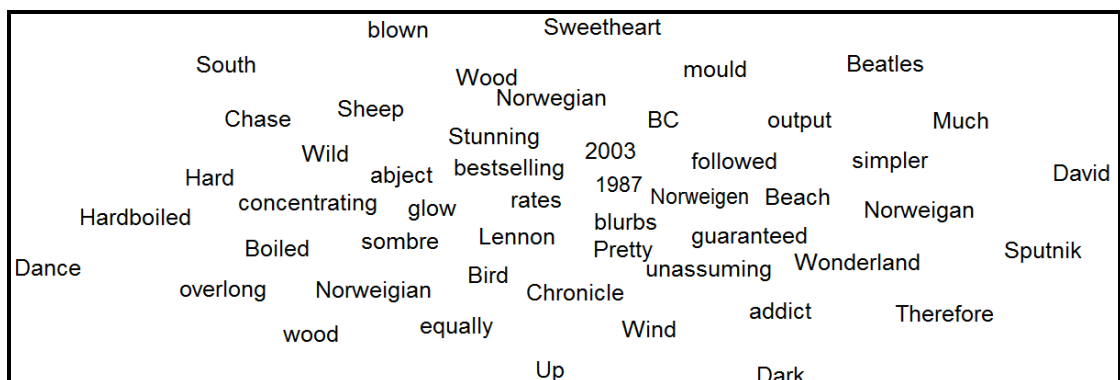
Figure 4: The vector model similar to "Norwegian (Wood)" in the UK data.

Next let us show the similar words of "Norwegian" in Figure 4. The extracted words are considered to be tightly connected to *Norwegian Wood*. The positive words are *bestselling, stunning, guaranteed, concentration,* and *addict*. On the other hand, we found as negative words, *abject* (failure) and *mould*. Words in parentheses are complementary by the authors. Contrary to our expectations, there is no word "love story" in the UK result. When *Norwegian Wood* was sold explosively in Japan at the beginning, it seems that young people read and sympathize more than aged persons. We think as follows; When *Norwegian Wood* was translated into English as a popular novel and read by UK readers, it might have been read from the beginning with the stance of a best-selling novel. As a result, it seems that the reader became more aged, and the spirit of deeply reading the philosophical theme of the novel, like life and death, was strong.

The similar words to "Kafka" are shown in Figure 5. The word "converges" in Murakami works has an impressive meaning which are found in the reviews, for example, as follows:

• the two stories *converge* with the truth coming out in the last few chapters.

-      causing their lives to *converge* with devastating effect

-      there are parallel narratives which *converge*

In *Kafka On The Shore*, different two stories converge. The words "converge", "Oedipal (complex)", and other character names appear there, from which we can find that reviewers discussed the theme and story of the novel. In addition, we extract similar words to "Nakata, Kafka" (See Figure 6). There, Mr. Nakata is also lovable in UK as in Japan. Concerning *Kafka On The Shore*, we can hardly find the notable difference between UK and Japan.
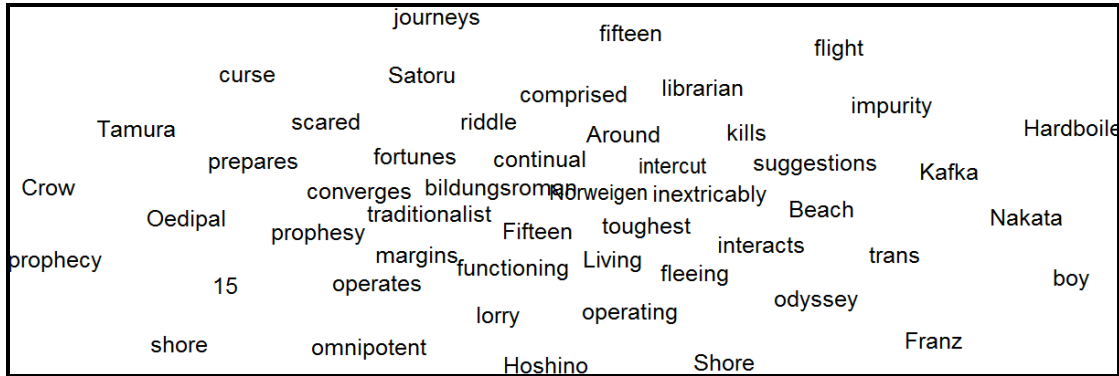
Figure 5: The vector model similar to "Kafka (On The Shore)" in the UK data.
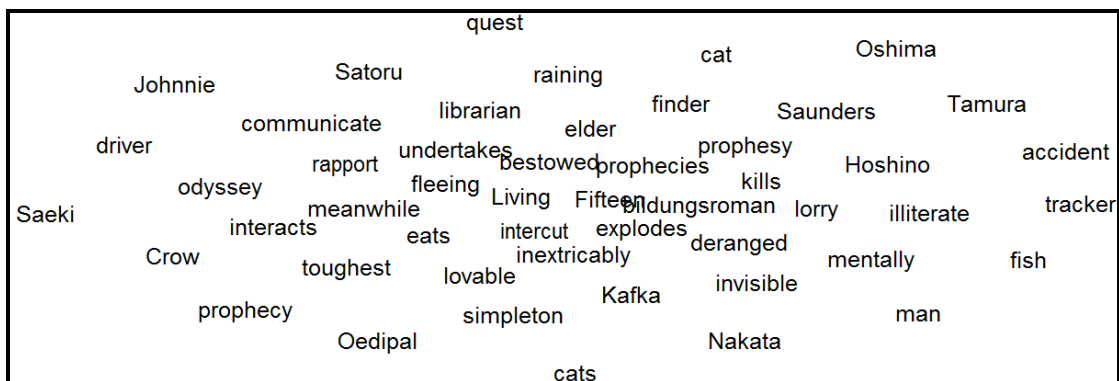
Figure 6: The vector model similar to "Nakata, Kafka" in the UK data.
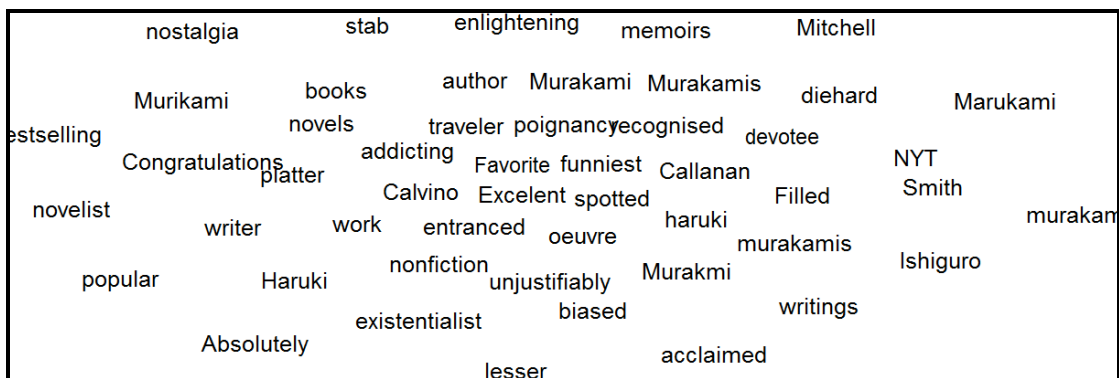
Figure 7: The vector model similar to "(Haruki) Murakami" in the USA data.

Next, let us describe the USA reviews. Concerning the word "Murakami", the similar words are shown in Figure 7. In the United States, *Colorless Tsukuru Tazaki and His Years of Pilgrimage* was admired in the Sunday Book Review of The New York Times (Smith August 5th, 2014) and *Kafka On The Shore* was also reviewed in The New York Times (Miller February 6th, 2005), which made Murakami popularity still higher. The word "NYT" in Figure 7 is an abbreviation of New York Times. In Figure 7, positive words are *nostalgia, stab, enlightening, entranced, stab, acclaimed, excellent, favorite, funniest, recognized, addicting, devotee,* and *poignancy.* The negative word *biased* is found; this is for the newspaper book review. The word list similar to "Norwegian" is shown in Figure 8. The positive words are *polished, vein, generous, pyrotechnics, stab, irresistible,* and *moody.* The negative words are *pales* and *tamer.* There is no word like a love story.
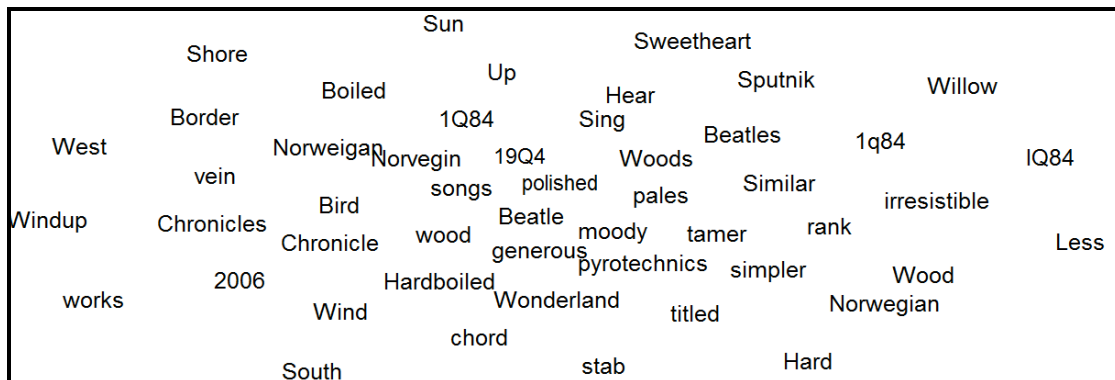
Figure 8: The vector model similar to "Norwegian (Wood)" in the USA data.
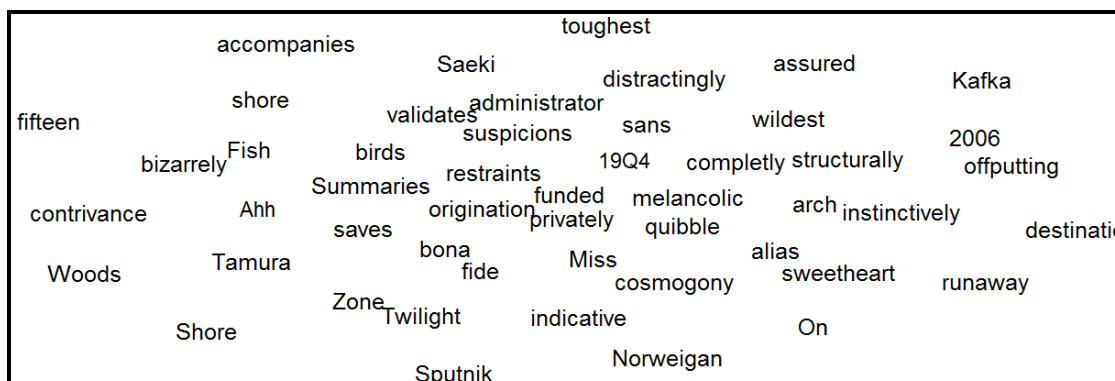
Figure 9: The vector model similar to "Kafka (On The Shore)" in the USA data.

Figure shows the word list similar to "Kafka". There as other countries reviews, we found the term "Oedipal" (complex).

Next let us see the Canadian results. We found a subtle distinction concerning *Norwegian Wood* (See Figure 10). There are many praise for *Norwegian Wood,* but some reviews say that it is *convoluted, complicated, skewed, hesitatingly.* This is an impression that it was not in US, UK, and Japan. On the other hand, concerning *Kafka On The Shore,* there is no distinction; the word "Oedipal" was found in Canada's result like others. In the Canada result, instead of "converged", we found "combined".
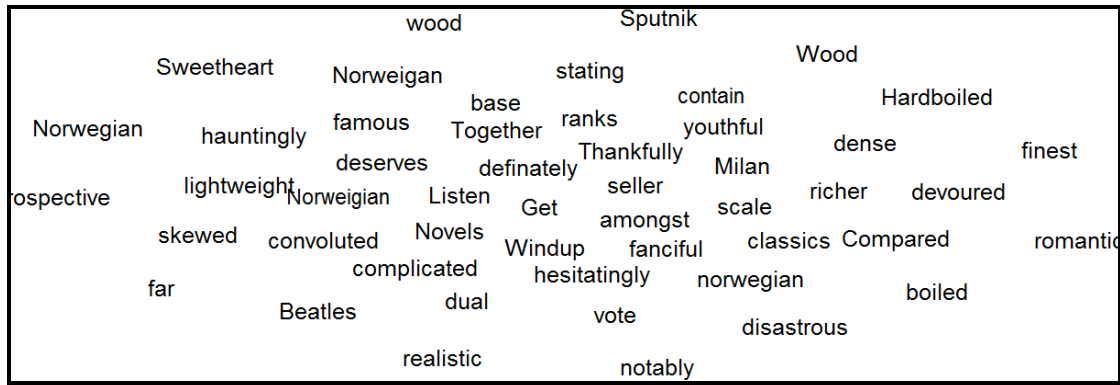
Figure 10: The vector model similar to "Norwegian (Wood)" in the Canada data.
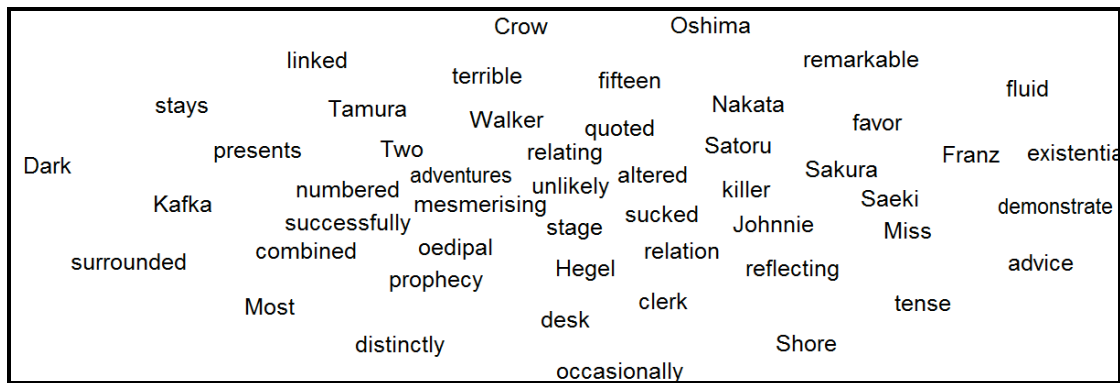
Figure 11: The vector model similar to "Kafka (On The Shore)" in the Canada data.
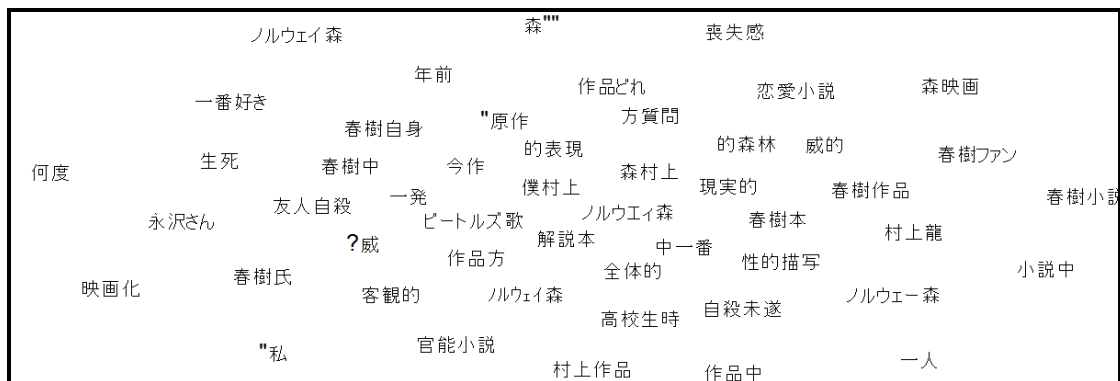
Figure 12: The vector model similar to "ノルウェイ"+"森" (Norwegian Wood) in the Japanese data.

Finally, we shall analyze the Japanese reviews. Figure 12 shows the word list similar to *Norwegian Wood*. The vector representation model was generated from the reviews collected with the retrieval keyword "Norwegian Wood", not "Haruki Murakami". Because we use a bigram as a word unit, a bigram is supposed to be the given word to the vector model.

Given the word "Norwegian Wood", the subset vector space was extracted and there the word "Love story", "Beatles song", "High school age", "Friend suicide", "Attempted suicide", "Sense of loss", "Ms. Nagasawa (major character)", "Sexual

portrayal ", and " Sensual novel " were extracted. These are all appearing as words similar to "Norwegian Wood" also in the analysis of the vector space model for the retrieval keyword "Murakami Haruki".

Compare to the Western review results, a notable difference is that the word "love story" appears only in the Japanese reviews and the concept "love" related words did not appear in the Western reviews.

Conclusion

We conducted a comparison of reviews on the two Murakami novels, *Norwegian Wood* and *Kafka On The Shore*. The reviews first were collected in various countries Amazon review web sites. The analysis methods are generation of the vector representation model by word2vec and its vector model visualization by t-SNE.

In the reviews on *Kafka On The Shore*, there is no difference among the countries. The appearing words and review concepts are, for example, "Oedipal complex", "Convergence of two worlds" which is leitmotif of Murakami novels, and "Mr Nakata" who can converse with cats. However, on the *Norwegian Wood* reviews, a notable difference is found that the word "love story" appears only in the Japanese reviews and the concept "love" related words did not appear in the Western reviews. When *Norwegian Wood* was sold explosively in Japan at the beginning, it seems that young people read and sympathize more than aged persons. We think of the difference reason as follows; When *Norwegian Wood* was translated into English as a popular novel and read by UK readers, it might have been read from the beginning with the stance of a best-selling novel. As a result, it seems that the reader became more aged, and the spirit of deeply reading the philosophical theme of the novel, like life and death, was strong.

Fujii says that the young middle class in the Chinese-speaking world is reading Murakami as a manual of urban consumption culture which was rapidly spread along with their economic growth. We are also interested in the relationship between economic growth and Murakami boom in Asia. As a future work, we will analyze the SNS written in Thai. As Japanese literature, there has not been a best-selling one like Murakami novels. For the cultural difference survey, we will continue to analyze and compare the reviews of Murakami novels in various countries.

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The Entanglement of Signs—Examining the Political Turn of Internet Memes in China

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Abstract

Memes in China are quite popular in recent years thanks to the high penetration of the Internet and usage of mobile phones. Previous studies on Chinese Internet memes mainly go into two directions, one is from a political perspective that addresses how memes reflect the tension between the Chinese party-state and civil society. The other direction is quite apolitical, which focuses on the playfulness of the Internet environment and youth culture. However, this paper proposes an "entanglement" between the apolitical and political memes and argues that under certain circumstances, apolitical memes could take on political significance and even strengthen the Chinese state's ruling power and hegemony. Thus, this paper applies a social semiotic analysis to examine the "China-Taiwan memes war" on Facebook in January 2016 to further observe the key contexts and circumstances that foster the entanglement of signs and meanings. The findings demonstrate that: 1) this entanglement should give credit to the popular culture and entertainment industry which often serve as a safe hub for mild political expression and circumvent the political surveillance; 2) only when the ideas expressed in the memes are not challenging but supporting the authority's ideology can they participate in the construction of nationalism; 3) when traditional cultural signs are reinforced with the help of popular culture (memes), consent is easily achieved and hails the netizens to re-imagine nationalism, which again, makes the Chinese party-state the ultimate beneficiary of this celebratory online culture.

Keywords: memes, memes package, China, entanglement, China-Taiwan memes war

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Introduction

One of the liveliest scenes on Chinese Internet today is the "memes packages" (*biao qing bao*). "Memes packages" are collections of funny images with simple captions on them that Chinese Internet users create and share online. Memes packages are similar to the Western "image macros" such as the "Y U No guy" and "grumpy cat," but are distinct in several ways: first, the sources are not limited to stock photos. Instead, any image with a caption can become an addition to the memes packages. Second, memes packages update quickly and stay up-to-date since netizens like to use the latest, most trending images and modify them into memes. Third, memes packages are used as tools to enrich and even replace textual and verbal communication. They can also act as "weapons" in online arguments and form a visual conversation that may be more peaceful and polite.

Figure 1: Examples of "memes packages" on China's Internet.

Many studies on memes in China tend to explore from a political perspective that specifically addresses how memes reflect the tension between the Chinese party-state and civil society. Meanwhile, there is another trend to look at memes from an apolitical perspective by focusing on the playfulness of the Chinese Internet environment and youth culture. While it is obvious that these two could overlap and intertwine at times, not many studies have extensively analyzed how and under what circumstances such transitions happen. Therefore, this paper proposes the idea of *entanglement* to examine the relationship between apolitical and political memes in China's "memes packages." It argues that there is no clear-cut point that defines when an apolitical meme becomes political or vice versa because in certain social, cultural, and critical contexts, the creation and circulation of memes can be fluid, unstable, and arbitrary.

The Traits of Memes in the Age of Hyperreal

Barthes (1977) proposed "the death of the author" by claiming that when a work was finished, it was up to the readers to interpret it. He rejected the notion of a stable author identity and stated, "once the Author is removed, the claim to decipher a text becomes quite futile" (p. 147). Baudrillard (1981), following Barthes, defined the postmodern era as "a generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (p.1). In the age of hyperreal, the meaning of images is detached from its original relation to the world because the real and unreal are blurred. People are living in "simulacrum": a society of symbols and signs in which representation and reality become difficult to distinguish. Within a simulacrum, originality is being represented by endless copies.

Memes are perfect examples of the society's decentralized creation of cultural products in a postmodern hyperreality. The term *meme* was first coined by biologist Richard Dawkins in 1976 when he was trying to "convey the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*" (Dawkins, 2006, p. 192). He also offered some examples of memes being "tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches," which contained cultural references as well (p. 192). Shifman (2013) explained that, "'Internet meme' is commonly applied to describe the propagation of content items such as jokes, rumors, videos, or websites from one person to others via the Internet (p. 362). Thus, there is no originality for memes because the raw materials are scattered, ready-made, and could easily evolve into another meme. Today, Internet memes are ubiquitous and contain a great deal of cultural significance that can even overcome national barriers.

Political Memes vs. Apolitical Memes

Memes can come in the forms of videos, images, or texts; what they have in common is that they can easily trigger people to react and respond, and sometimes even inspire people to act in an offline space. Studies on the political role of Chinese memes tend to focus on how memes reflect the tension between the Chinese party-state and civil society. They usually address that Internet users create secret codes and local languages to circumvent the state's surveillance. Yu (2015) stressed the "Postsocialist condition" in contemporary China and how popular culture found its way to exert political influence. Focusing on the online parody films, Yu explained the concept of "e'gao," which was a form of memes that went from purely cultural to a political direction in China. According to him, "e'gao films are multimedia parodies or satires that employ different forms of expression, such as wordplay and digital manipulation of audio-visual and photographic elements… The e'gao phenomenon is inseparable from China's postsocialist technological, sociocultural, and media conditions" (p. 55).

Mina (2014) defined some Chinese memes that tackled political issues as "social change memes," which "express a sentiment for changing a social or political issues" (p. 362). What differentiates social change memes from others is that they do not directly target authority or challenge the current regime; instead, they are usually an online "symbolic action," as Mina explained, that "can be powerful in the context of

an authoritarian state like China, which exerts control over all broadcast and internet media" (p. 362). The most famous social change memes in China during the past decade were unarguably the "Grass Mud Horse" and "River Crab," which have been studied by many scholars. Grass Mud Horse (*cao ni ma*) sounds like a profane phrase of women's genitals in Chinese, but literally means a llama or alpaca. River Crab (*he xie*), on the other hand, sounds similar to the Chinese word for "harmony." These two "sacred animals," as called by the Chinese netizens back then, became a rebellious response to the government's promotion of a "Harmonious Society (*he xie she hui*)" under the former President Hu Jintao's administration.

Meanwhile, some scholars suggested abandoning a purely political approach to study memes. Szablewicz (2014) claimed that Chinese youths nowadays were apolitical. She stated that, "while some see the meme as a relevant form of political critique, others dismiss it as indicative of a psychological malaise affecting contemporary youth" (p. 259-260). In addition, China's softened power and ideological control of the society have gained effectiveness by directing the public's focus from looking for loopholes in the authority to enjoying the achievements of the economy. As Wang (2012) pinpointed, the "general satisfaction with the regime's economic rise easily overwhelms the great desire for democracy" (para. 34).

Moreover, Yu (2015) studied a few popular bloggers in China and found that the economic gains from producing memes or even "being the memes" clearly outweighed the risks an activist undertook by creating political memes (p. 60). For example, some bloggers' images and writings have been advertised on T-shirts and books; some have even become the spokespersons for famous brands.

The *Entanglement*: Redefine "Political"

However, political and apolitical memes are never two parallel entities. They could overlap, intertwine, and sometimes transform to each other. Therefore, this paper proposes the word *entanglement* to describe the relationship between political and apolitical memes as it is quite impossible to separate the two when studying today's memes packages in China. Unlike the Western cyberspace where popular cultural products like memes have a quite unrestrained space to grow, the development of popular culture in China is constantly under the party-state's scrutiny, thus memes can take on more dynamic roles in response to the government's ideological control and regulation of the Internet and discourses.

Howley (2016) pointed out that the burgeoning memes culture illustrates "the increasingly intimate and dynamic relationship between popular culture and political engagement" and thus he positioned memes at "the intersection of popular culture and geopolitics in digital space" (p. 156). Meanwhile, under the contemporary Chinese context, Szablewicz (2014) called for a redefinition of "political" by stressing that "the Chinese Internet is a place where contentious activity through play flourishes" (p. 262). To her, Chinese youths were dealing with a lot of pressure and frustration from the competitive market in the post-socialist, neoliberal Chinese society (p. 260), and thus she suggested scholars to shift away from the prevailing "Tiananmen Square"

political approach, i.e. the confrontational and violent authoritarianism, and look at "the political possibilities inherent in everyday uses of the Internet" (p. 262). Her research was on "diaosi," which means loser, a self-deprecating word that many young people in China call themselves. With words like "diaosi," Szablewicz indicated that the presentation of identity through apolitical memes could become politicized "as bringing visibility to a group of young people rendered otherwise invisible by a society in which success is often defined by educational achievements and material wealth" (p. 263).

This argument demonstrates an important point that the seemingly apolitical statement made by memes could be an alternative way for political engagement and participation. Besides, memes as an "everyday" creation, with their mundane and approachable traits, could be politicized based on people's particular needs. This kind of transformation is different from the previous "social change memes" such as the Grass Mud Horse and River Crab, because even though those memes also used mundane images and texts to circumvent the government surveillance, they were designed with a clear goal to make a political statement against the government and dominant ideology. However, the *entanglement* discussed in this paper is a more recent phenomenon with the emergence of "memes packages." These initially apolitical memes are turned into political statements without previous planning or agenda setting. They are more spontaneous, flexible, and are not limited to a single goal. Therefore, by proposing the *entanglement* between political and apolitical memes, this paper examines two questions: 1) What contexts could trigger the entanglement between apolitical and political memes? 2) How does the entanglement manifest itself in these contexts?

Method

The questions above require an examination of the larger social context within which creative visual texts and discourses like memes emerge, make sense of, and respond to the surroundings. This study thus applies a *social semiotic analysis* as a foundational framework to help connect the visual language with the cultural and political contexts.

Saussure (1983) stated that the sign was the basic unit of language which consisted of two parts—the signified and signifier. The signified was "a concept or an object," while the signifier was "a sound or an image that is attached to a signified" (Rose, 2016, p. 113). Saussure also claimed that the relationship between signifier and signified was arbitrary (p. 119). However, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)'s proposal of the "social semiotic theory" argued that instead of looking at the relation between signifier and signified as arbitrary, it was "motivated" and shaped by social constructs and the sign-makers' interests of meaning-making. They explained that, "signs are motivated conjunctions of meaning (signified) and form (signifier) in which the meanings of sign-makers lead to apt, plausible, motivated expressions, in any medium which is to hand" (p. 11). van Leeuwen (2005) also observed that, "in social semiotics the focus changed from the 'sign' to the way people use semiotic 'resources' both to produce communicative artefacts and events and to interpret them—which is also a

form of semiotic production—in the context of specific social situations and practices" (p. xi). Thus, social semiotic analysis does not see signs as alienated subjects of study, but are products of their surrounding contexts and conditions.

In addition, Barthes' (1977) idea of "anchorage" also helps decipher today's memes culture. Anchorage, usually in the form of texts that go along with an image, "helps to identify purely and simply the elements of the scene and the scene itself" (p. 156). It was applied to "every society" within which "various techniques are developed intended to *fix* the floating chain of *signifieds* in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs" (p. 156). In a word, anchorage helps navigate through different meanings and secures a desirable one, thus producing a fixed connection between the signifier and signified.

Semiotic studies tend to examine data selectively. Rose (2016) stated that semiologists "choose their images on the basis of how conceptually interesting they are… Thus semiology very often takes the form of detailed case studies of relatively few images, and the case study stands or falls on its analytical integrity and interest rather than on its applicability to a wide range of material" (p. 110). Therefore, this paper conducts a case study of the "2016 China-Taiwan memes war on Facebook" by analyzing memes that were largely used during the event.

The China-Taiwan Memes War on Facebook

The relationship between China and Taiwan has long been troubled. After the World War II, China's People's Liberation Army led by Mao Zedong and the Kuomingtang (KMT) Party led by Chiang Kai-shek were engaged in a civil war. With the winning of the former, Mao established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 whereas the KMT retreated to Taiwan and continued to hold power as the Republic of China. The PRC firmly sticks with the "One-China Principle," which claims that "Taiwan is an inalienable part of China" ("One-China Principle"). Taiwan, on the other hand, insists the Republic of China's legitimacy. In recent years, due to economic concerns, more and more trades happen between the two regions and so does the entertainment industry, but the two sides' political stances remain unchanged.

The China-Taiwan memes war on Facebook was triggered by a photo of a young idol Chou Tzu-yu, who held a Korean national flag and a Taiwanese flag to represent her identity as the only Taiwanese in a Korean pop idol group. This photo did not go viral until Huang An, a Taiwanese pro-One China celebrity, posted it with criticism on his Weibo account. Chinese netizens, who had long been educated that "Taiwan is an inseparable part of China," were furious and started to condemn Chou on Weibo. Under the pressure and the possibility of losing commercial opportunities in China's huge market, Chou's company, JYP Entertainment, publicized a video of Chou's apology on January 15, 2016. In the video, the 16-year-old held a script and read the apology from it. She emphasized that, "There is only one China. I am a Chinese." (jypentertainment, 2016). However, the video did not satisfy the Chinese netizens; instead, many accused Chou for not being sincere because she seemed detached in the video and simply read from a script. Meanwhile, people in Taiwan were also

outrageous after seeing the video. They criticized the Mainland netizens for repressing a 16-year-old girl.

Moreover, since this incident happened during the final phase of Taiwan's Presidential Election and Tsai Ing-wen was elected the new President of Taiwan, the Chinese netizens had already been upset about this result as Tsai was known as a pro-independent political leader. Hence, "Li Yi Ba" ("Di Ba") immediately decided to organize an online movement in the form of "memes war," which meant to bombard Taiwanese news media's Facebook pages with Chinese memes packages. The Di Ba is affiliated with Baidu, China's largest search engine that also hosts forums. According to Baidu's wiki, originally built for the Chinese soccer player Li Yi in 2004, this forum developed into one of the most populous online forums with 21 million registered users by February 2016 and a total of 850 million posts ("Li Yi Ba").

On January 20, 2016 at 7 p.m., an army of Chinese Mainland netizens flooded to Facebook and started to post memes under several major Taiwanese news pages including *Apple Daily* and SET News, known as the most vocal news agencies promoting Taiwan independence. In addition, the official Facebook page of Tsai Ing-wen was also filled with memes, making the event almost like an "occupy movement." According to *Wall Street Journal,* by midnight of the movement, "five hours after the online posters began their coordinated effort, the latest posting on Ms. Tsai's official Facebook page had received more than 35,000 comments, most of which were messages indicating that Taiwan is a part of China" (Huang, 2016, para. 7). It also reported that "at least 4,000 Internet users were involved. More than 60% them are members of China's post-1990 generation" (para. 8).

When digging deeper, the memes war showed something more than "fun" because it was extremely well organized by a huge online community within a short period of time, and on a political issue which would normally be sensitive on Chinese Internet. As its mission was to spread the notion that "Taiwan is part of China" in the form of memes, the mundane memes suddenly took on political significance. In a decentralized Internet environment, online movements could easily take place; but under China's sensitive regime that prevents political movements online, it was truly astonishing how such a large-scale movement could successfully "break the Firewall" and quickly make an influence. Thus, by examining the major visual themes emerged from the memes war, this paper presents the following findings to decipher the *entanglement* of apolitical and political signs.

Finding 1: From entertainment to politics—the intertextuality of celebrities' images

The fact that the "memes war" happened in the entertainment realm gave the online movement a relatively safe space away from the political attention. Most memes in this "war" were manipulation of figures in the entertainment industry. The raw materials included screenshots from Chinese and Taiwanese TV dramas, music videos, news reports, etc. Among them, Huang Zitao, a Chinese idol who used to be in a

South Korean idol group and then left to develop his solo career in China, had been used extensively as memes. Many Chinese netizens liked to make fun of his capricious personality and facial expressions. Thus, during the memes war, his previous photos were turned into memes and became the forefront fighters.

Figure 2: "Do you think I'm afraid of you?"
Figure 3: "Do you have some problems here? [pointing at his head]"
Figure 4: "French style mockery"
Figure 5: "You go die."

To interpret Huang's memes as signs, Peirce's "icon" "index" and "symbol" could be used for the primary level of analysis. The original images of Huang taken from his live performance footages, interviews, and music videos are the icons, which "represents the signified by apparently having a likeness to it" (Rose, 2016, p. 119). According to Rose, "In index signs, there is an inherent relationship between the signified and signifier. 'Inherent' is often culturally specific" (p. 120). Huang's facial expressions are indexical signs of an angry and complacent person, which could also be the Chinese netizens' emotion towards the pro-independence Taiwanese people. Moreover, as Huang had always been laughed at by Chinese netizens, his appearance on popular memes package had become a symbolic representation of something that was unfavorable. Once again, although these were just images of a pop idol, they conveyed emotions that were relatively easy to discern for other Internet users and those who were familiar with the Chinese popular culture.

On the other hand, the Huang Zitao memes also demonstrated the "intertextuality" of memes. According to Rose (2016), intertextuality "refers to the way that the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text or image, but also on the meanings carried by other images and texts" (p. 187). Huang's memes created a discursive field that people's understanding of him had already generated fixed interpretations before the memes war. These interpretations were then carried on in this new political context between China and Taiwan. The young netizens who were involved in the memes war could thus quickly pick up the meanings and disseminate the messages.

However, in a different case, the intertextuality was challenged as the memes could signify messages that had no reference to previously existed contexts. This was best demonstrated by another set of popular memes of Tsai Ing-wen. Since she was not from Mainland China's governmental board, it was relatively safe for the Chinese netizens to edit her images. Like Huang, Tsai's images were Photoshoped and became a prevalent icon. However, without texts as "anchorage," the memes would not represent the same "signified" because there was a lack of context.

Figure 6: "I'm silently watching you acting cool."
Figure 7: "I'm confident like that."
Figure 8: "I feel so wronged but I won't say."
Figure 9: "I'm so doomed."

Here, the indexical signs seemed vague. Unlike Huang's images that flamboyantly showed his emotions, Tsai's facial expressions captured in these photos would be harder to interpret without some contextual background. Hence, texts became important tools to anchor the meaning, which would otherwise be unstable. In fact, it was the creators who actively altered the original "signified" to serve their political and ideological purposes, which were to demean the Taiwanese pro-independence leader and make her look immature and silly.

The memes made of cultural and political celebrities showed how Chinese netizens used the new media platform to artfully challenge and test the bottom-line of political expression. Besides, by making memes of people who occupied more political power, social capitals, and cultural capitals, this action itself was a political act that not only confronted the authority but also fostered self-empowerment. Further, as the government stayed away from the controversy that originated from the entertainment industry, Chinese netizens found a way to turn anger into a celebratory culture that walked in between apolitical and political realms.

Finding 2: Ideological consent—the "father-son" discourse

An important reason that the memes war went viral without any interference from the authority, at least during the event, was because it was not anti-government. Instead, the Chinese party-state's ruling ideology was strengthened by the netizens' spontaneous nationalist actions. Gramsci (1996) claimed that for the authority to maintain hegemony, it needed to gain consent from the civil society. To achieve this goal, it exerted power not only through coercive methods such as the army and police, but also educational ways. In the case of the memes war, some major news sites in

China even picked up the event and praised these netizens, thus acted as a non-violent force that encouraged the public to further defend the Chinese ruling power. For example, Sina, one of the largest portal sites in China, commented that, "The significance of the memes war has been underestimated," noting "the seemingly funny and unserious event actually showed the richness of contemporary Mainland Chinese popular culture in contrast to the falling of Taiwan's" ("Taiwanese Internet," 2016). Youth.cn, the mouthpiece of the Communist Youth League of China, defined this event as "Di Ba's Crusade to Facebook." Although Facebook was not supposed to be accessed in China due to the Great Firewall's censorship, this article praised the movement and called it a "patriotic communication" that showed "young people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait's yearning for deeper communication" ("Di Ba's Crusade," 2016).

The major media's support made people realize that this online movement had become a plausible demonstration of nationalism. Thus, a sense of pride emerged. One of the examples showing this surging pride and nationalism was the recurring "father-son" discourse in the memes. Foucault (1970) stated that "in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality" (p. 52). He thought that discourse was constructed through a process of exclusion and hence power was involved. Rose (2016) explained the Foucauldian idea of power by stating that, "Discourse disciplines subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting, but this is not simply repressive; it does not impose rules for thought and behavior on a pre-existing human agent. Instead, human subjects are produced through discourse" (p. 189). In this case, by presenting a "father-son" discourse through memes, Chinese netizens exerted power over the fellow Taiwanese people. This power was not "imposed from the top of society down on to its oppressed bottom layers" (Rose, 2016, p.189), but was omnipresent through the most mundane presentations.

Figure 10: "Wrong number. This is your dad."
Figure 11: "What? Get your head over here and let me show you some father's love."
Figure 12: "How dare you speak to your father like this?"
Figure 13: "It's time to give you some father's love."

The above memes showing a "father-son" discourse did not incorporate any real person in the image; instead, the creators used stock images that appeared often in other apolitical memes and simply edited the texts with an authoritarian tone from a father to a son, which also metaphorically represented the Mainland China's

sovereignty over Taiwan. Here, the literally apolitical filial relationship became an indicative sign, or a metonymic sign (Rose, 2016, p. 121) that represented the dominant power of China over a region that it claims to be his.

Finding 3: Peaceful becomes powerful—the image-driven nationalism through showing-off

The entanglement of apolitical and political memes was also demonstrated through the showing-off of China's cuisines and sceneries. One of the participants named Bala Bala posted a message that could best conclude their intention:

> In order to abridge the distance between the Chinese and Taiwanese netizens, based on the idea of being polite, having evidence, and rejecting dispute, we aim at expressing the Mainland Chinese people's hospitality through showcasing the Chinese cuisines, beautiful sceneries, and enabling Taiwanese friends to appreciate the beauty of the Mainland. All we want to do is to connect with Taiwan and shorten the distance between our hearts. We strongly oppose any form of separatist motions. We hope we could get more approval and involve more people from both sides. Building a great China needs all of our efforts." ("Di Ba crusade," 2016).

This statement was diplomatically written, but in fact contained some irony and sarcasm as it stressed that the Mainland China had the advantage of good cuisines and sceneries that Taiwan did not have. Essentially, these apolitical images of foods and sceneries became cultural products "exported" to Taiwan through Facebook. As the intention was to "enable" the Taiwanese to see the greatness of China, it already indicated a presumed power relationship between the two regions, yet in a peaceful and safe way. Moreover, these images not only targeted the pro-independence Taiwanese, but also re-introduced Chinese culture to the younger generation who were the main force in this memes war and who were often known as indifferent about political issues.

Doherty (2009) stated that, "Nationalism is not a naturally occurring sentiment, but rather needs to be carefully nurtured and sustained in the social imaginary through the production and circulation of unifying narratives that invoke the nation's imagined community" (p. 1). In the case of the memes war, the presentation of the impressive images of China and Chinese culture acted as a reinforcement for the Chinese netizens to re-imagine their nationalism. Also in this way, the traditional culture is celebrated through the form of popular culture, i.e. the memes packages.

Figure 14: "Finish this roasted Peking Duck and then fight."
Figure 15: "If you can noise over me, I will treat you this Rou Jia Mo."

Figure 16: Under an album named "cultural exports," all the pictures have the caption: "Let the Taiwanese pro-independence dogs gain some vision."
Figure 17: Cities of Hangzhou, Harbin, and Dunhuang, each with a seal that says: "For Di Ba anti-Taiwan independence use only."

Conclusion

Billig (1995) proposed "banal nationalism," indicating that nationalism in modern, industrialized nation-states was revealed through the daily representation of familiar images and clichés in people's lives, such as the national flag, anthem, etc. Hence, people's shared recognition of nation is "indicated, or 'flagged', in the lives of its citizenry" (p. 6). Perhaps nothing is more banal than the memes packages on Chinese Internet today, given its appearance, content, and distribution channels. People's extensive usage of memes packages on the Internet and social networks makes it an indispensable part of daily conversation and interactions. As Billig argued, language is "a prime determinant of nationalist identity" and "the creation of a national hegemony often involves a hegemony of language" (p. 29). Indeed, the Gramscian theory of cultural hegemony highlighted the "spontaneous consent" from the masses in response to the dominant power's ruling ideology (Lears, 1985, p. 568). The subordinate group, which in this case the Chinese netizens, reified the power of

cultural hegemony by utilizing memes to spontaneously and collectively promote nationalism without ever being coerced by the authority.

The findings from the China-Taiwan memes war demonstrate that the entanglement of apolitical and political memes on Chinese Internet should first give credit to the blossoming popular culture and entertainment industry, which often serve as a safe hub for mild political expression and could avoid the political surveillance. It is easy to engage and organize people who are already in the popular culture scene to become aware of some political issues, and even hail them into an ideological battlefield which is by no means physical or violent.

In addition, the entanglement of apolitical and political memes was manifested in a variety of ways, including amateur Photoshop of celebrities, play of language, reliance on cultural instead of political imageries, etc. During the memes war, as the younger generation on the Internet were re-introduced to their own culture, they also utilized such cultural signs to re-imagine the Chinese nation and nationalism. The memes' transformation from apolitical to political in this case demonstrated how social media and new media technology helped generate and propagate nationalism without the authority's direct education and intervention.

Consequently, only when the ideas expressed in the memes are not challenging but supporting and reinforcing the authority's power can they participate in the larger agenda of nation-building. As the memes war was exclusively pro-One China, the mainstream media even helped fueling the flame along the way. This kind of support encouraged the Chinese netizens' political participation in the form of peaceful and fun visual communication, which in fact, possessed a clear power relationship. After all, the Chinese party-state was the ultimate beneficiary of this celebratory online nationalist movement.

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The Myth of Creative Work as Liberation

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Abstract

The rise of the creative industry as the new economic sector for post-industrial societies has afforded great interest in the global economy, with its promise of autonomous and self-realizing creative work that not only satisfies the labor force, but also generates substantial revenue in the process. However, there is a blatant disregard for the exploitative nature of creative work, which mainly results from its precarious nature, in the hopes of institutionalizing it. Creative work then becomes nothing but a myth manipulated by neoliberal technocrats in order to attract potential public and private investors to the creative industries agenda. Through a historical materialist approach, this paper aims to illustrate the exploitative nature of creative work and how it is magnified in developing countries by using the Philippines as a case. This paper concludes with the limits of extensive and institutionalized creativity and its potential repercussions on the capitalist society as a whole.

Keywords: creative work, creative economy, creative industry, exploitation, precarity, Philippine film industry

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Introduction

Creative work concerns the production of symbolic commodities that are *primarily* aesthetic rather than functional, albeit involving other kinds of non-creative labor in the creative ecosystem (Banks & Hesdmondhalgh, 2009, p. 416). Creative work brings a promise of liberation in the nature of its work: flexible hours, increased autonomy and self-realization, meritocratic hierarchies, and equal access to employment—all the while putting primacy to self-expression in the name of 'passionate work'. These virtues have been highlighted in creative industries proposals to aid the marketing of the creative industry concept to potential private and public investors. But there is a seeming unease in the superficial treatment of creative work, a depth that is blatantly disregarded by the neoliberal technocrats involving the darker side of creative production: creative work is as exploitative as it is liberating, sometimes even more.

The exploitative nature of creative work can be traced back to the subsumption of cultural labor and artistic labor as creative work, accounted for by the creative industries' claim of the "*conceptual and practical convergence* of the creative arts with the cultural industries" (Hartley, 2005, p. 5) in the advent of the new economy. This paper will explore and build on the occurrence of exploitation in creative work by first defining the nature of creative work through the nature of the creative commodity[1] being produced and consumed in the creative industries. It will be followed by the promise of creative work as operationalized by technocrats and various sectors championing the creative industries across policy documents and researches. Lastly, this paper will attempt to demystify the myth of creative work by enumerating the three situations by which exploitation occurs. It will be supplemented by the current conditions creative work in the Philippines with a specific focus on film workers, the various attempts at institutionalizing creative work, and the probable repercussions of institutionalized autonomy on the capitalist society as a whole.

The Nature of Creative Work

Art and culture as a commodity stems not from its capitalist notion but from the nature by which it is being exchanged. The autonomy and divinity of art instigates a substantial and distinct value as a "way of understanding the world and trying to change or affect it for human purposes" (O'Connor, 2010, p. 34). We can look at the evolution of the nature of the creative work, based on the production and exchange of the creative commodity, across four phases: 1) Pre-capitalism; 2) Renaissance market economy; 3) Industrial Revolution to Fordism; and 4) Cognitive Capitalism.

Across all four phases, the crucial commonality is the development of the concept of 'autonomy' where the promise of creative work is based. For both pre-capitalism and Renaissance market economy, prestige and mysticism were associated with the commodity and the workers themselves. In the advent of pre-capitalist societies, it is the cultural commodity being exchanged under the *gift economy* that is associated with

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[1] In the context of creative industries, also pertains to the cultural and artistic commodity

prestige, as these 'gifts of exchange' acquire their sociopolitical value by the transference of the objects through complex non-monetary negotiations. However, it was during the Renaissance market economy when the association of prestige shifted from the commodity to the creator or the artist himself through the patronage system considered a prestigious condition of commissioned or long-term employment. This association of prestige in artistic labor devalued manual labor by deeming artistic labor not as work but as *creation* made possible by a 'visionary faculty'. It was also during the Renaissance period when the concept of 'autonomy' flourished through the content and quality of the works of artists previously anonymously engaged in artisanal work.

The Industrial Revolution, continuing on to 20th Century Fordism, democratized art and culture as commodities through mass production. Fordism influenced the creative work through the adoption of Fordist reproduction in art and culture, much to the critique of Adorno and The Frankfurt School who first referenced culture as and industry. In this phase, autonomy is now seen as an expression of freedom of 'public opinion' independent from patrons and religious production. However, the 1968 crisis in France and the crisis of Fordism, fueled by mas education and the social and artistic criticism of capitalism, resulted to the evolution of commodity production into *'cognitive capitalism'*.

Cognitive Capitalism ushered in the present nature of creative work, wherein the relation of capital to labor was no longer primarily temporal but rather marked by the production of the immaterial and cognitive aspect of labor. Cognitive Capitalism established a new paradigm in the subjection of labor that challenged the relationship of the exchange value and use value (Vercellone, 2007), and called for new mechanisms in accumulating surplus value using the intellectual, immaterial and affective labor as capital.

The present nature of creative work in the context of Cognitive Capitalism can better be described through the nature of the production of the cultural commodity. Cultural commodity production is characterized by the indeterminacy of the commodities' cultural value set against a difficult business model in a capital-intensive industrial setting, adopting mass production and distribution through technological means, with hierarchical organizations and highly developed divisions of labor predominantly aiming for maximization of profit and efficiency (Garnham, 1991). Capital accumulation lies on two distinct profit-strategies: audience maximization and creation of artificial scarcity. Audience maximization is through the provision of a repertoire of cultural goods where several types of audiences can choose from, since the commodities' use value is constructed by its subjects. Creating artificial scarcity, through mechanisms such as intellectual property, aims to limit audience access since cultural commodities, unlike other commodities, are not destroyed in the process of consumption (Garnham, 1991). The bulk of these strategies, however, can be felt in the impossibility of pre-determining of the use value of cultural commodities. The several mechanisms for determining cultural use value include: the 'socially' necessary time to produce it, the meaning and enjoyment attained in its consumption, and the authenticity of experience despite its liable volatility in the face of profit (Ryan 1992, as cited in O'Connor, 2011).

Given that landscape, the creative workers who produce these commodities include "a vast multi-national workforce of talented people applying their individual creativity in design, production, performance, and writing [who] range from fashion designers in Milan to shoe-factory operators in Indonesia" (Hartley, 2005, p. 29). These workers comprise the creative ecosystem lured by the promise of the nature of creative work.

Creative Work: Liberating or Exploitative?

The promise of creative work has been instrumental in heightening the interest of various stakeholders by articulating and promoting its virtues, as can be seen in creative industries proposals such as UK's Creative Britain and the Philippines' *Arangkada* (Move) Philippines by the Joint Foreign Chambers (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Forbes, 2010). These virtues such as autonomy and flexibility are said to address the requirements of the ever-changing 'globalized' economy, wherein the need for 'flexible specialization' entails harnessing a workforce capable of innovating and producing a repertoire of goods in the spirit of competition (Oakley, 2011). In order to nurture this workforce, there should be a semblance of 'post-Fordist socialism', 'humane' workplaces, less hierarchical working environments, autonomy in creative work through self-expression and individualization, and the freedom to produce meaningful work. Creative work becomes 'good work', 'desirable work' or 'passionate work' because of its predisposition to the immaterial, emotional and affective labor. It is said to be the actualization of the situation foreshadowed by Marx wherein the leisure of the workers is gained through the contraction or fluctuation of temporality, of the working day and the socialization of work, eventually changing the nature of the work as liberation: the workers can now appropriate their free time to education or self-actualization and full individual development.

This promise of meaningful work hinged in the autonomy and self-actualization lures the workers into '*apparent voluntarism*' (Ursell, 2000 as cited in Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009), dubbing it a *vocation* and making it indistinguishable from leisure or play. Another cause of this apparent voluntarism is the meritocratic promise of creative work: the democratic nature of work seems to level the playing field wherein anyone can 'make it' out of sheer talent (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009).

But the crux of the matter lies once the liberating promise of creative work is actually adopted, more so when it is adopted to neoliberal enterprise. It becomes a myth, a '*motionless prototype*' (Barthes, 1972) of the experience: stifling, limiting and rather exploitative in its subjugation of the workers to a fixed institutionalized promise. As a consequence to the conformity to the conditions imposed by 'mechanisms of rule' (Banks, 2009), the autonomy of the creative workers are being sacrificed, resulting to further alienation brought about by the regulated conditions of production. The shift to a flexible and globalized economy leads to further rationalization in subjecting the precarious nature of creative work to capital, strengthening capital over creative work and making it more 'uncreative' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002 as cited in Banks, 2009). The creative economy agenda, with its myths and promises, paved the way for further urban decay, inequality, gentrification, disenfranchisement, cultural value reduction and new forms of exploitation, all deeming creativity, innovation and entrepreneurialism as mere 'empty signifiers' (Oakley & O'Connor, 2015).

Creative workers on average are relatively younger than other workforce, are metropolitan-based and better educated and are subject to underemployment, self-

employment or intermittent unemployment, thus forcing them to second-job or multiple-job for sustenance. When employed, their wages are non-substantial and remain as such because of the vast reserve of unemployed creative workers who posit tough competition, escalating the difficulty in employment access which are 'resolved' by job-sharing, or shifting between creative and non-creative work (Menger, 1999). The occurrence of these exploitations can further be categorized into three situations: 1) through the generation of surplus value; 2) through the facilitators of exploitation; 3) through the 'precarity' emerging from the combination of the two.

1. Exploitation through the generation of surplus-value

When there is a fluctuation in the temporality of creative work due to flexible working hours, how then is surplus value generated? One simply needs to look back on the two profit-making strategies: through supplying a repertoire of commodities for audience maximization, and through the creation of artificial scarcity by limiting audience access and imposing intellectual property. In the abundance of creative commodities that make up the repertoire, the creative worker sells himself short by shouldering the production of high risk, likely to fail commodities in the hopes of becoming that one 'hit' that subsidizes the many misses. And the hopes of becoming that one 'hit' leeches on the autonomy and self-realization of the worker by demanding from the workers high levels of personal and emotional investment at the face of public scrutiny in the marginal likelihood of appealing to an individual or to niche markets (Hesmondhalgh, 2011).

Alienation in the advent of creative work expresses itself in many ways: by the seeming meaninglessness of an emotionally invested work set against the other works in a commodity repertoire (Hesmondhalgh, 2011); by the 'shriveling of the aura' in the ironic distancing and renunciation of the product compensated by a wage that can never equate to the investment of the worker's heart and soul in creating a product inseparable from the person (Benjamin, 1892; Vercellone, 2007); and by the mechanics through which the products are circulated in the interest of the new primitive accumulation via intellectual property, cementing the commodification of creative work for the sake of creating artificial scarcity (Vercellone, 2007).

However, the mere fluctuating temporality of creative work fosters exploitation in itself whereby 'free time' begets 'free labor' or intense labor over long periods of contractual hours generates a stop-go 'bulimic' pattern of working which poses emotional, psychological and physical hazards to the workers (Gill & Pratt, 2008). The blurring of lines between work and leisure, despite initially promising, favored the enlistment of the workers "thoughts and impulses in the service of salaried time" (Hesmondhalgh, 2011, p. 72).

In this case, the promise of autonomy and self-realization are simply replaced by disappointment, disillusion and self-blaming (McRobbie, 2002 as cited in Hesmondhalgh, 2011) as these virtues are institutionalized and rationalized by the industrialization of creativity itself.

2. Exploitation through the facilitators of creative work

In the advent of Cognitive Capitalism, the facilitators of creative work as the 'new cultural intermediaries' similar to Bourdieu's 'new petty-bourgeoisie' are the ones who facilitate the generation of surplus value. They are the ones who are increasing the managerialism, routinization and (self)-exploitation of the proletariat, dubbed as the 'precariats' or proletariats of precarity. The shift of power to the financial and managerial aspect allowed for the rise and reassertion of the new cultural intermediaries under neoliberalism (O'Connor, 2013). They now become agents of *'precarity'* as the dominant fraction overseeing the competition between the dominated precariat through the manipulation of the costs of production and the demand for commodity repertoire (Garnham, 1993 as cited in O'Connor, 2013).

Owing to the prestige and mysticism of artistic labor, the new cultural intermediaries presuppose that psychological reward, as opposed to proper remuneration or other citizenship benefits, is enough payment to the workers for living 'the life of an artist' and 'doing exactly as he pleases' (Girard, 1982). This validates the cutting of production costs by compromising the wage of the workers, along with other mechanisms for extracting surplus value.

3. Exploitation through the 'precarity' of creative work

The new cultural intermediaries and the generation of surplus value have created a landscape of precarity in the nature of creative work. Because of the multiplied precariousness brought forth by high levels of competition and a reservoir of unemployed creative workers, precarity has been vehicle to 'flexible exploitation' which includes volatile employment conditions, unequal access to employment, self-exploitation, and so on. The false democratization of the work intensified self-commodification and apparent voluntarism in the hopes of attracting gainful employment (Hesmondhalgh, 2011).

Another 'trend' prompted by precarity is *'network sociality'* (Wittel, 2001) which prioritizes networks in the advent of socialized work; wherein unpaid work, as *favors,* is seen as a requisite to overcoming barriers to entry. These barriers to entry, now somewhat sociopolitical, become more exclusive as indicated by the underrepresentation of women, ethnic minorities and the working class in the creative workforce (Oakley, 2011). Technological advancements also allowed for the participation of the audience as *'prosumers'* or producer-consumers. As a result, creative work is now seen to be generic, easily accessible for the middle class and without the need of the specialized creative worker. Nonetheless, if and when the working class gains employment, the meager wage offered to creative workers is insufficient for his subsistence, pushing him to multi-job or to abandon creative work altogether. Precisely because of this that the demographics of creative workers are centered around the young generation, mostly in their twenties and thirties, continuously haunted by the insecurities of precarity and socialized work (McRobbie, 2015; O'Connor, 2013; Hesmondhalgh, 2011; Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Gill & Pratt, 2008).

All in all, these forms of exploitation in creative work were mythicized to fit the institutionalization of its liberties-turned-demons. The extent of these exploitations will be

further exemplified through the analysis of creative work in the Philippines and the Philippine film industry.

Creative Work in the Philippines

The Philippines have been catching up with the global creative industries fever, turning its promises of GDP and job-creation into industry proposals. According to Nestor Jardin, former president of the Cultural Center of the Philippines, "the economic contribution of artists is such that in 2006 alone, the arts contributed to the Philippine economy P324 billion or 5.37% of (the) GDP" (Nono, 2014, p. 3).

However, Filipino artists still fall prey to the creative industries paradox of high levels of employment and unemployment in the face of precarity, wherein the dynamics of unequal access means the successful ones are the ones who were 'born to wealth' and who engage in art as members of the cultured gentry. Success in the Philippine creative industries is often for the bourgeoisie. However, artists from the working class who still engage in creative work "are mainly ignored by industry and revenue services," for reasons such as: "culture costs", and art as a "waste of taxpayers' money" (Nono, 2014, p. 3). In an effort to fend for themselves, artists, out of their own initiatives, have built organizations for the protection of their members. But these organizations remain sector-based, contingency-driven and quite exclusive.

To specifically illustrate the nature of creative work in the Philippines, one can look at a particular sector which is considered the most lucrative: the Philippine film industry. Film workers employed in the film industry and their auxiliary sectors comprise 0.13% if the total labor force, with a nationwide population of 52,733 engaged in Motion Picture, Video and Television Programme Production, Sound Recording and Music Publishing Activities and Creative Arts and Entertainment Activities (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017). Film workers, which include actors, directors, producers, technical workers, production staff, creatives and artistic staff, often fall prey to exploitation and various forms of discrimination due to the lack of articulation of their basic rights and privileges. Average taping hours extend to more than 24 hours to avoid extending shooting days, which means additional costs for the producers. Work remains contractual or project-based, with most big studios and networks doing away with benefits and privileges for their workers. There is a large discrepancy in the wages of workers, where "stars" earn P 500,000 to P 1 M (USD 10,000 to USD 20,000) per shooting day while background talents and technical workers earn as low as P 300 (USD 3). In the Creative Arts and Entertainment Activities sector, gender discrimination remains prevalent: the male population is projected at 63% while the female population remains at 37%. Seven regions throughout the country have all-male workers, while regions with female workers have a ratio of 3:1.

Figure 1: Percentage of Workers According to Gender

Figure 2: Number of Workers Per Region According to Gender
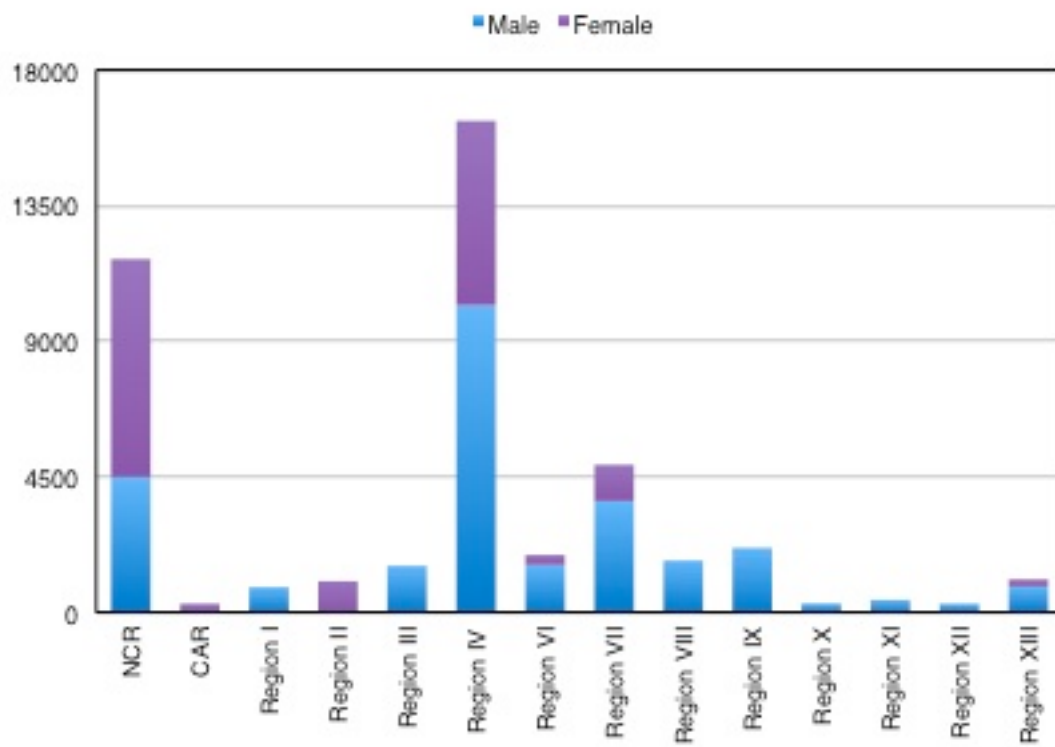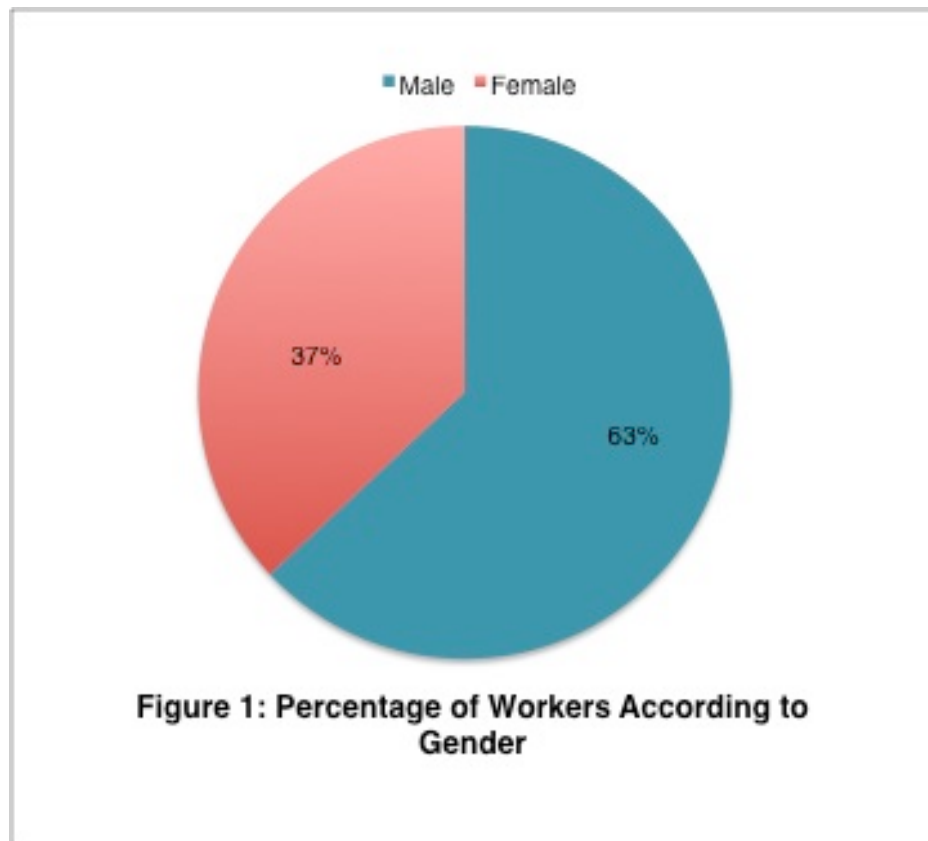
In this light, agencies such as the Film Development Council of the Philippines[2] (FDCP) saw the need for championing the interests of the workers through a binding policy that stipulates their basic rights and privileges such as the Magna Carta for Film Workers. There are other existing private organizations that support the welfare of film workers and provide ample benefits such as MOWELFUND or the Movie Workers Welfare Foundation, Inc., an industry development foundation established by former President Joseph Estrada (MOWELFUND, 2011). But FDCP aims to address the exploitative nature of creative work on a national level, using legislative infrastructures to provide benefits such as social security and health care services while standardizing wage and regulating working hours. This buffers the exploitative nature of creative work in the film industry by providing government support to self-employed workers, but at the same time raises the question: Are we merely institutionalizing the benefits, or are we institutionalizing creativity itself?

Conclusion: True Liberation in Creative Work

The institutionalization of individuality is the last straw by which neoliberalism can get a hold of human existence. For autonomist Marxists, the subjection of immaterial labor to capitalism creates a spontaneous communism, a social potential that feeds on the affect of the human in its socialization (Gill & Pratt, 2008). Precarity activism is exercised through 'creative activism', which uses theater, performance, music, and visual arts to effect and affect political change through the artistic critique of capitalism. The transcendental notion of art, of its association to beauty, to religion, to magic, and to the various ways of understanding the world, in its subsumption, has made labor for the multitude a venue for self-reflection that is paradoxically critical of the nature by which production takes place. The creative worker now becomes more 'social' and more 'political' in their creation wherein they now clamor for 'alternative way of production' that considers the ethical and moral value of economics (Banks, 2009; Gill & Pratt, 2008).

Creativity, when institutionalized, becomes a subversive threat to the present economy by providing a reflection of alternatives that can easily be adopted by the creative workers. In this case, choice and freedom—initially mythicized—are no longer to the benefit of the neoliberal technocrats. As Mark Banks (2008) perfectly puts it: "Encouraging people to 'be independent' and 'think for themselves' runs the risk that one day they may actually do it—in ways unanticipated and unwelcomed by the government." The promise of creative work, therefore, does not lie in the mythicized liberating nature of the work, but rather in the subversive potential of its institutionalization that will ultimately set the workers free.

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[2] The Film Development Council of the Philippines is a developmental government agency under the Office of the President

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Queer Taiwan:
A Critical Overview of Discourses on Queer in Taiwan from 1994 to 2016

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Abstract
Queer studies in Taiwan have its own trajectory of development for over two decades. Scholars from different disciplines have been engaging with queer theories, politics, activism, and performing arts, all of which have, in turn, redefined the relation between gender and identity. This paper aims to present a critical reading of discourses on queer in Taiwan from 1994 to 2016 and argues that, while they have destabilized gender binaries and traditional gender norms, these produced discourses seem to restrict the meaning of queer within gay or lesbian identities or desires. In this sense, queer becomes an exclusive term that hardly signifies those who are positioned outside the dichotomy of the heterosexual and gays and lesbians. By appropriating Taiwanese scholar Yin-Bin Ning and Australian queer theorist Nikki Sullivan's conceptualizations of queer, this essay suggests that "queer" is not simply about one's sexual identity or sexual preference. Rather, the idea of queer designates a sort of ability to interrogate, disturb, and reconstruct existing heterosexual norms.

Keywords: Discourse, Queer Theory, Sexuality, Taiwan

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Introduction: Backgrounds and Motifs

Since the early 90s, a series of critical debates on the concept of queer and its politics have been carried out within the fields of gender studies, feminist theory, and cultural studies in Taiwan. These debates have expanded the theoretical horizon of gender studies which has been shaped by Taiwanese feminist thoughts in the 1980s. However, this essay argues that, while the term queer, including its theoretical and political implications, has been widely applied by the Taiwanese intellectual, theoretical discourses on queer in Taiwan seem to be short of explicit elaborations that differentiate the queer from gays and lesbians. That is to say, queer, whether as an identity or a theoretical concept, is often interchangeable with gay and lesbian identity, sexuality, and desire, making queer studies in Taiwan a theoretical mélange of gender identities, sexual experiences, and sexuality formations. Therefore, the term queer in the Taiwanese context obscures its own potentialities in terms of queer theory, queer politics, and the formation of queer subjects.

This essay aims to present a concise but critical reading of discursive elaborations on the idea of queer in Taiwan from 1994 to 2016 and explains how queer has become interchangeable with gay and lesbian identities and desire in the Taiwanese context. In the rest of this paper, I will firstly present a critical overview of discourses on queer in Taiwan and point out that they share a common interpretation of queer which restricts the queer within gay and lesbian identities. After that, I will elaborate that queer cannot be simply understood as a category of sexual identity or desire. By reading the Taiwanese scholar Yin-Bin Ning's interpretation of queer, I will show that queer should be viewed as a sort of ability that interrogates heterosexual norms.

Queer Discourses in Taiwan

In the early 90s, the term queer was introduced to the Taiwanese intellectual circle along with the idea of gay and lesbian. Before the import of gay and lesbian studies from the West, the word homosexual was widely adopted to signify individuals who did not show heterosexual desires. Similar to how the term homosexual had been invested with negative and pathologized meanings in the West, homosexual as a signifier had carried abnormal and unhealthy implications in the Taiwanese context for a long time. For instance, medical journals often published essays that connected gay men with AIDS, murders, problematic parenting, and mental disorders (Hant, 1982, p. 68-75).

The open prejudice and stigmatization of non-heterosexual desires in Taiwan, however, were not simply a phenomenon shaped by the Western thoughts of homosexuality. Since 1949, the imposition of Taiwan Martial Law had made the circulation of critical ideas very difficult. In many cases, contents of speech and writings were strictly censored by the government before they were published, and feminism was defined as provoking because it asked for a reform of division of labor of gender which might cause systematic changes and endanger the patriarchal authority of the government. Under this circumstance, it was almost impossible to conduct any critical study of how gay and lesbian came to be psychologically or medically "abnormal" sexual experiences.

The Taiwan Martial Law was lifted in 1987, and the lifting had changed the Taiwanese society dramatically in the 1990s. According to Taiwanese literature scholar Liang-Ya Liou (2015), it was because the lifting that feminism, gay and lesbian studies, and queer theories from the West could be introduced to Taiwan (Liou, 2015, p. 48-49). Moreover, this particular historical context of Taiwan explains a very special academic phenomenon regarding the development of queer theories during the 1990s. While many Western experiences show that feminism often starts earlier than LGBTQ's rights movements, the distinct historical and political condition of Taiwan makes feminist activism take place almost at the same time with gay and lesbian and queer movements. In a word, feminist thoughts, gay and lesbian studies, and queer theory start to develop altogether in Taiwan after the Martial Law was lifted.

From *Ile Margins* to the Discursive Construction of Queer

In 1994, the concept of queer firstly appeared in the critical circle of Taiwan. The 10th issue of *Ile Margins*, a journal that dedicates itself to discussions of critical thoughts, took queer as its theme and used the Chinese character "酷兒" (pronounced as *ku'er*, meaning "cool kid") as the translation of the English term queer.

At the beginning, however, the idea of queer is not used as a serious theoretical concept but a trendy term to indicate deviant sexual practices or desires that are not accepted by social norms. For instance, "A Little Encyclopedia of Queer", an article published in the 10th issue of *Ile Margins*, suggests that "queer/*ku'er*" is a new idea about sex, sexual identity, and sexual desire. Accordingly, queer refers to a wide range of sexual fantasies, preferences, and practices beyond romantic heterosexual relationships, such as sadomasochism, transvestism, voyeurism, and fetishism. In this sense, the article blurs the idea of queer, along with its developmental trajectory shaped by feminism, gay and lesbian studies, and other critical theories, and makes queer merely a Western trendy word that promotes "abnormal" sexual acts and fantasies.

The mixture of queer and gays and lesbians remained for a while. For example, scholar Hsiao-Hung Chang, an advocate of feminism and LGBTQ rights, confuses the theoretical and political aspects of queer and gays and lesbians in her essay "Queer Politics of Desire". In this essay, Chang (1996) analyzes the political, historical, and social meanings of "Gays and Les' Top Ten Dream Lovers", an activity organized by the Alliance of Gay and Space in Taiwan. The activity, which had lasted for one month in February, 1996, invited gays and lesbians to vote for their dream lovers at Taipei New Park. Chang notices that the place where the activity was held implies the politics of "coming out" because Taipei New Park is a public area and, most of all, had used to be the place where gay men looked for casual sex during the martial law period. From Chang's perspective, the park itself implies the gayness of Taipei's history (Chang, 1996, p. 12). Furthermore, Chang asserts that through the voting process of this activity, one sees how homosexual identity and desire disturb the dichotomous structures of "heterosexual vs. homosexual" and "male vs. female" (p. 8). This is because the candidates of the "dream lovers" were mostly heterosexual celebrities, politicians, singers, and movie stars with high popularity, showing that both homosexuals and heterosexuals share the same object of desire, regardless the sexual identities of those who were being desired. Therefore, Chang argues that

human desire has no strict boundaries, and it may blur and transgress the binary between the heterosexual and gays and lesbians.

However, Chang's essay shows a general confusion of what queer is by relating queer to gays and lesbians. The title of the essay, "Queer Politics of Desire", seems to imply that the essay is about *queer* politics. But one soon realizes that the Chinese title is quite different ("Gay Lover, Very Desire: Gay Movements' Cultural Attack in Taiwan") and, unfortunately, the political ambition of the essay is thus made vague. This confusion of queer and gays and lesbians, from my perspective, is not an accidental ignorance of the queer's differences from gay men or lesbian women, but a general theoretical phenomenon in the *fin de siècle* Taiwanese intellectual circle. Because the Martial Law was just lifted, and because various theories and ideas from the West were imported at this moment, the whole of radical or critical thoughts must be translated and transplanted in a blissful urgency. On the one hand, the Taiwanese experience of queer delineates an alternative developmental trajectory of theories, making a phenomenon of local hybridization of Western knowledge against the larger globalizing background. On the other hand, nevertheless, it is because that queer at the beginning has been discussed with gay and lesbian studies, queer theories in Taiwan scarcely show well-elaborated and distinctive conceptualization of what queer is or who can be called queer.

The Postcolonial Queer

In the late 20th century, queer theory in Taiwan has come to be influenced by postmodern and postcolonial thoughts, and the concept of queer begins to be discussed through the frameworks of race, gender, ethnicity, and national identity.

For instance, scholar Ivy I-Chu Chang (1996) uses the term queer to describe the status of "not being complete" as a contrast to the modern subject as complete. In her essay "Queering Across the Border: Deterritorialization and Eroticism in Richard Fung's Video Productions", Ivy Chang makes the Trinidadian Chinese artist Richard Fung's biological documentary *My Mother's Place* her subject of analysis and suggests that one's queerness, as Fung's experience shows, can be the fact of being gay in an immigrant, monogamous, bourgeois family in the British colonial territory. The queerness of Fung is not only about his gay identity, but also related to his family's diasporic history. All of Fung's experiences show that cultural displacements are often co-existent with heterosexual imperialism. In this sense, Ivy Chang fuses the ideas of colonialism, diaspora, and queer and, through the framework of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, blends them into a "schizophrenic" figure (i.e., Fung) that fights against the meta-narrative of nationalism upheld by a series of systemized heterosexual signs. This schizophrenic figure, however, is positively praised because it has its theoretical root in Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*, where the authors describe the schizophrenic as the one who continues to wander, migrate, and "plunge" into "the realm of deterritorialization" (Chang, 1996, p. 8-9).

Ivy Chang's analysis of Richard Fung's cinematic works through the framework of Deleuze and Guattari expands the scope of the queer subject. The queer now becomes *the indispensable other* who upholds and secures the legitimacy and discourses of the colonizer, the West, and the heterosexual. And it is through the eyes of the queer as

the schizophrenic that one witnesses how the matrix of different power relations interweave with each other and exercise their effects on individual bodies.

However, Ivy Chang's application of Deleuze and Guattari is not without issues. She claims that she uses Deleuze and Guattari's "anti-Oedipus theory" and their idea of deterritorializaion to analyze Fung's "anti-hegemonic discursive strategy" and "the schizophrenic status of Asian-American gay men" (Chang, 1996, p. 8), but she fails to "sexualize" the idea of queer as the schizophrenic. In other words, it seems that queer for Chang is already the sexual other, represented by the already self-claimed gay man Fung. Therefore, what makes a queer subject *queer* is the idea of deterriorialization rather than one's becoming of *the sexual other* through the mechanism of power-knowledge-pleasure within the territories of knowledge production. In this sense, Chang blurs some crucial differences between the normalization of heterosexuality and the exercise of colonial power. Although there have been adequate feminist and anticolonial texts showing that the exercise of colonial power is often interrelated with heterosexual hegemonies, how the queer subject is constituted under colonial power deserves more explanations in Chang's elaboration. In short, one does not become queer simply because he has diverse cultural backgrounds and unusual living experiences. *Who* can be called queer remained uncertain.

New Century Queer: The Penumbrae and the Ghostly

In the 21st century, more discourses on queer are produced in the Taiwanese academia, and local scholars begin to interpret the idea of queer through the frameworks of Taiwan's culture, beliefs, and history. While some look for inspirations from ancient Chinese philosophies, others develop fictional strategies of writing as a way to emphasize queer's queerness.

Jen-Peng Liu and Nai-Fei Ding are the first to apply Chinese philosophy to provide an epistemology that explains queer's social positioning. In their essay "Implicit Aesthetics and Queer Politics", Liu and Ding (2007) use the Chinese philosopher Zhuang-zhi's fable of the penumbra and argue that the queer is like the penumbra who always stands in-between the heterosexual subject and its sexual other.

In Zhuang-zhi's *The Unifying*, there is a story about the penumbra, the shadow of an individual's shadow. One day, the penumbra asks the shadow that, since it is dependent on its master's movements, if it ever feels tired of being tied to its master. The shadow replies that it seems that it is not free, and yet it is set free as soon as it is in darkness. What this fable implies is that living individuals often impose too many objective restrictions on themselves, so they often act like the penumbra and feel that everything, like the shadow, is unfree. Nevertheless, Liu and Ding read the penumbra's story quite differently. They interpret the penumbra's asking through the framework of Enlightenment philosophy and suggest that the relation between the master and the shadow may be understood as the dual relation between the knowing subject and its object of knowing. In this sense, queer, like the penumbra, is neither the subject, a "sexually healthy" person who accepts dominant heterosexual norms, nor the object, the other of the subject, who is excluded from "normal" gender codes. Rather, the queer is the one who is positioned in-between the subject-object binary.

For Liu and Ding, queer's in-between position allows it continuously destabilizing the antagonistic dichotomy between the heterosexual and gays and lesbians. The destabilizing is necessary because most discourses on gender in Taiwan primarily discuss gay and lesbian experiences, as if any theoretic activism pertaining to gender identity had no more concerns except same-sex desires. Therefore, the idea of the penumbra (the queer) is introduced by Liu and Ding, and they view it as a sort of implicit existing that is always-already there, and is ready to interrogate the subject-object (i.e., heterosexual-homosexual) dichotomy. Liu and Ding describe this strategy of the penumbra's interrogation as "implicit aesthetics" because it is not the kind of open activism that characterizes the Western politics of coming out from the closet with pride. From Liu and Ding's observation, Taiwanese gay men and lesbian women often choose implicit ways to come out because the whole disciplining culture of gender in Taiwan is also exercised in implicit fashions, and thus it is inadequate to appropriate the whole of Western queer politics and impose it on local queers.

Having been inspired by the idea of the penumbra, the young scholar Lucifer Hung translates this idea into "the ghostly" as a term that indicates the "ugly" queer. Hung began her "queer career" as a writer rather than a scholar. She is known for her writings of science fictions, where queer plots take place with erotic flavors. For instance, Hung's novel *Dissecting Monsters* (1995) describes a world of individuals in half-man and half-machine shapes and how these unusual human beings fall in love with each other regardless of their sex, gender, race, and sexuality.

For Hung, discussing unusual sexual practices and desires in real and imaginary lives may be a strategy to disturb both heterosexual norms and the discursive hegemony of existing queer theories. Therefore, it is common to see how Hung describes S/M practices, public sex, and representations of queer desires in films or novels in her writings and essays. Through elaborating these strange loves, Hung develops a mystic and ghostly style of writing which makes the idea of queer truly *queer*.

For example, Hung's academic essay "Anti-Normative Body Politics and Battles of Trans-Queer Masculinity: Re-reading Queer Masculine Narration in Contemporary Speculative Fiction" (2015) challenges the prevailing discourse of queer in Taiwan. From Hung's perspective, the prevailing queer discourses in Taiwan have reproduced the ideology that the political subject must be healthy and beautiful, and the ways in which these discourses are articulated are often filled with optimistic hopes and terms. The optimistic motif that runs through the whole of queer discourses implies that ugly, disabled, or mentally disordered queers, along with their experiences of existence, are often excluded from these discourses. The queers who are not recognized as "proper queer" thus lose their power to speak and mobilize themselves in real movements of gender equity. Therefore, Hung describes this kind of queer subjects as the penumbra and the ghostly because they are doubly ignored by the public and their queer fellows.

However, while the idea of the penumbra and the ghostly expand the scope of the meaning of queer and show Taiwanese scholars' efforts of appropriating local experiences, the question of what makes an individual queer remains unresolved.

As I have argued in the previous section, the concept of queer in Taiwan has been used to indicate gay and lesbian identity, desire, and experiences due to the specific historical and political condition of Taiwan, and thus lacks explicit elaboration

pertaining to queer's ontological and epistemological issues. Although Liu and Ding have tried to apply the penumbra as a way to form the epistemological framework of the queer subject in Taiwan, I argue that they only reveal a way for scholars to sense the position in which the queer might be situated, but they do not explain how queer politics can be articulated through the idea of the penumbra. Similarly, although Hung develops the concept of the ghostly as the theoretical extension of the penumbra, what she shows is the diversity of those who may be called queer, and thus ignores how these various subjects can be mobilized as a political weapon that fights against both heterosexual norms and the domination of optimistic queer discourses.

From Being Queer to Performing Queer

In regard to the question of what queer is and how it may be used as a political concept with real effects, Taiwanese gender studies scholar Yin-Bin Ning's elaboration of queer is quite useful.

In 1998, Ning wrote an essay "What is Queer Politics?" (1998) through a Foucauldian lens. He discussed the constitution of the queer subject and how performing one's queerness may be politically effective. Published in *Gender Studies*, the first academic journal in Taiwan which dedicates to introducing radical and critical gender theories, Ning's essay suggests that to be queer is to expand the meaning of homosexuality through the larger framework of sexuality and examine how power/knowledge functions to regulate certain representations and cultural logic of deviant sexual acts (p. 36).

Heavily influenced by the theories of Michel Foucault, Ning argues that the meaning embedded within the term queer is essentially political. It is anti-heterosexual in the way that it questions the formation of sexual stratification, through which a certain type of sexuality that power relations permit and promote is consolidated, naturalized, and normalized. Queer politics is thus one's practices that traverse, unsettle, and subvert heterosexual norms, including the practices that mock or challenge the heterosexual beliefs hidden within same-sex relations. For example, some lesbians may wear military costumes or intentionally have sex with heterosexual men to show that one's gender identity has no direct and determined connection with his or her sexual desire. Since there is no predetermined relation between identity and desire, there can be no pre-given truths about good or bad sexual acts. For Ning, through one's judgements of good or bad sexual acts, one sees how individuals' sex and desire are regulated and represented through the stratification of sexuality operated by what he calls "sex negative culture" (p. 37). And from the idea of stratification, Ning develops his radical conceptualization of queer politics, which is to abandon the stratification of sexuality completely (p. 38).

Moreover, Ning specifically elaborates the question of who the queer subjects are. As Ning suggests, those who are outside "heterosexual conjugal relationship" are potential queers. In his words, "deviant homosexuals/bisexuals, transgender individuals, home-wreckers, the unmarried, people who have multiple sexual partners, sodomites, people who fall in love with their family members, sexual workers, the promiscuous, surrogate mothers, etc.)" (p. 42) may be viewed as revolutionary queer subjects who shall fight against the system of monogamy once they are discursively articulated. However, this does not mean that Ning is proposing sexual practices

which bring harms or dangers to individuals. Rather, what Ning is trying to do is deconstruct the fact that the general belief of "good sex" is fundamentally a social and cultural effect of the stratification of sexuality, which is established and consolidated through the networks of power/knowledge that regulate and manage individuals' perception of sex.

Theoretically speaking, Ning's idea is similar to the Australian scholar Nikki Sullivan's understanding of the queer subject, and this allows more individuals to identify themselves as queer confidently. For Sullivan, rather than a label that indicates one's sexual identity or sexual preference, queer is a kind of ability and positionality in the sense that it "can be taken up by anyone who feels themselves to have been marginalized as a result of their sexual preferences" (Sullivan, 2007, p. 49). In this way, queer ceases to be an identity category reserved for the non-heterosexual and becomes a descriptive word that embraces anyone who feels frustrated by any existing gender norms. For instance, Sullivan quotes the American scholar David M. Halperin's words and suggests that "queer" could denote "some married couples without children . . . or even (who knows?) some married couples with children—with, perhaps, very naughty children" (p. 44). That is to say, anyone could have done "wrong" regarding the existing gender culture, so every individual has the equal potential to become or self-identify as queer.

In terms of queer politics, both Ning and Sullivan share the idea of real practices that destabilize the prevailing beliefs set up by heterosexual norms. For Ning, queer politics may be carried out through the works of justifying teenagers' sex, decriminalizing and naturalizing sexual workers' social status, and realizing new styles of marriage and family which recognize the legitimacy of same-sex couples and other parenting forms (Ning, 1998, p. 44-45). What Ning is doing is realize and materialize Sullivan's queer politics that analyzes the "Hetero/Homosexual figure as a power/knowledge regime that shapes the ordering of desire, behaviors, social institutions, and social relations" (Sullivan, 2007, p. 51), all of which constitute the foundation of "the Platonic parameter of Being" and Western structures where the non-reproductive and non-sterile human relationships are condemned as unnatural abnormal (Sullivan, 2007, p. 52).

Overall, Ning's elaboration of queer politics in "What is Queer Politics?" enriches theoretical discourses on queer in Taiwan, and he indeed makes the discursive archive of queer studies more sophisticated and theoretically exact. Moreover, his conceptualization of the queer subject is theoretically and politically useful. For instance, his envision that queer politics shall take conjugal marriage as one of its major battlefields has real effects on the legalizing movement of same-sex marriage in Taiwan. On 24th May, 2017, the constitutional court of Taiwan announced that prohibiting same-sex marriage violates the freedom to marriage and the right to equity. This means that the parliament of Taiwan must amend or enact laws that acknowledge the legitimacy of same-sex unions. What might happen in the near future is that there will be more debates on the ideas of marriage, family, and love, all of which points to the core of the concept of queer.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have presented a critical reading of queer theories and discursive productions of the idea of queer in Taiwan from 1994 to 2016. Through this reading, I find that, due to Taiwan's particular historical and political reasons, early discourses on queer do not differentiate the queer subject from gays and lesbians. Queer in this sense is often taken as an umbrella term that indicates the identities, desires, or sexual experiences of gay men or lesbian women in Taiwan, and this makes the idea of what queer means or what queer politics may be unclear.

In recent years, Taiwanese queer scholars begin to look for theoretical inspirations from local experiences or Chinese philosophy, making the discursive archive of queer theory in Taiwan more diverse and localized. However, from my reading of the concepts of the penumbra and the ghostly, I argue that the core issue of what queer is remains uncertain. Whether the idea of the penumbra or that of the ghostly only helps the reader to understand the various social positions in which queers might be situated.

In order to answer the question of what queer means or how it may be understood as a political weapon, I use Ning and Sullivan's conceptualizations of queer as those who are frustrated by or excluded from "normal" conjugal relationship or heterosexual norms and suggest that each of us has the potential to carry out queer politics. In the current social context of Taiwan, what queer politics is may be thought as Ning's suggestion that the existing laws and beliefs regarding sexual workers, marriage, family structure, and social perceptions of deviant sexual practices should be questioned, reinterpreted, and reorganized. And this cannot be accomplished if every individual has not realized the potential queerness she or he has.

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Anthropomorphic Imagery and Characterization in Haruki Murakami's Novel *Kafka on the Shore*

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Abstract

The research paper traces the effect of employing anthropomorphic elements in Haruki Murakami's novel *Kafka on the Shore*. The delicate art of characterization when combined with anthropomorphism highlights the very nature and function of Murakami's animals. The article traces the function and effect of imagery, as a literary technique, in highlighting the characteristics of the various animal characters, encountered by the human characters, on their quest for the unknown. Imbued with recurring themes of "search for identity" and "postmodern strains", the novel stands as a testament to the social conventions that plagued the masses of Japan. The qualitative analysis puts forth the irony of ascribing identity to stray animals by the ones who themselves lack an identity and sense of self. The novel has been subjected to qualitative analysis from two perspectives: character portrayal and imagery, in terms of the animal characters of the novel. The specific tools adopted for scrutiny are a mix of rhetorical and narrative tools: Character Attributes, Types of Imagery (thermal, olfactory, tactile, auditory, gustatory, kinesthetic, visual), Point-of-View, Simile, Metaphor, Allusion, Hyperbole, Onomatopoeia.

Keywords: Anthropomorphism, Haruki Murakami, Animals in Literature.

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Introduction

'Murakami's style is rarely less than seductive and I read Kafka on the Shore in one non-stop feeding frenzy' **(Mitchell, 2005)** muses David Mitchell. *Kafka on the Shore*, in essence a bildungsroman, composed by Haruki Murakami traces the story of the protagonist, Kafka Tamura who, pitted in the midst of a looming prophecy, flees from home in search of an identity. A novel marked by parallel odysseys and perspectives, induces a sense of time paralysis, owing to its slow pace. Laura Miller, a writer for The New York Times comments, 'Murakami is an aficionado of the drowsy interstices of everyday life, reality's cul-de-sacs, places so filled with the nothing that happens in them that they become uncanny...' **(Miller, 2005)**. In the mesh of reality, he creates instances of magic and time warps, that reflect the deepest desires of the subconscious of the characters. The most intriguing aspect of the novel stems from his art of anthropomorphism which is represented through the characters of the talking animals. Nakata, the decrepit old man can communicate with cats, who in turn help him trace his destiny. The most crucial aspect of Murakami's novel stem from internalized issues that need to be corrected. **Patricia Welch** states that these internalized issues are observed by the felines of the novel but no words of wisdom or solace are offered, instead Nakata is guided through his journey by the cats he chooses to communicate with. *Kafka on the Shore* is marked by dark dreams and the oscillating subconscious.

Sarah Stebbins, in her article *Anthropomorphism,* establishes that the attribution of mental states to nonhuman animals depend mostly on compulsive human behavior owing to constant interaction with various animals on a daily basis. She states that, in the literary sense, animals are viewed as sentient. Stebbins traces the cause of attributing mental states to animals as a result of anatomical capability on the part of the animal and the capacity of human beings to empathise based on physical expressions. Animals are similar because they exist in similar environments and behave in similar manner.

The Animals of the Novel

Haruki Murakami employs cats, a dog and a crow as the animal characters in his novel *Kafka on the Shore.* The cats talk to Saturo Nakata and aid him in his journey through the novel. Kafka, the protagonist is observed to refer to 'the boy named Crow', for constant approval of his decisions. The talking cats provide an insight into the plot. The conversations that take place between Nakata the cats highlight the similarities between ordinary felines and human needs. The animals of the novel enact rather crucial roles. Bryan Walsh comments on Haruki Murakami's obsession with cats and says; 'Cats are key to Murakami…Murakami himself is catlike: aloof and independent, fastidious yet dreamy. Cats are frequent characters in Murakami novels too--and the more cats, the better' **(Walsh, 2011)**.

Animal Characters Reflect the Human Characters

1. Otsuka

Otsuka appears to be a rather caring and concerned cat even though he is a stray cat. He appears to be concerned about the lost one-year-old tortoise shell cat Goma, because he knows that a domestic cat when lost in the outside world, will find it extremely hard to cope with her circumstances. He states, '…wouldn't know the first thing about making herself in the world…' (Murakami, p.52). Otsuka also seemed rather concerned for Nakata, who according to him was not dumb like he had been told all his life. He tells Nakata that the mere fact that he can talk to cats is proof of the fact that he is not dumb. However, he urges Nakata to look for the other half of his shadow instead of hunting lost cats. His concern for Nakata's shadow is vital in proving that the cat is a rather caring and concerned one. He was curious about too about what kind of accident befell a man that made him rather peculiar and bestowed him with the ability to talk to felines. Otsuka is presented by Murakami as rather intelligent and as he converses with Nakata it becomes clear that his level of understanding and reasoning skills are much like an ordinary human's. Otsuka aids in highlighting the similarities between cats and humans, creatures of habit. Despite being a cat, he understands the habits of humans and attempts to explain to Nakata how cats function on similar basic needs of sex, hunger and shelter.

He provides Nakata with the option of meeting him again, whenever he feels the need to, because he enjoyed their little chat. Therefore, he is not merely caring and concerned but he liked the idea of communicating with the peculiar old man. Otsuka appears to be more of a friend who provides pertinent information, to help Nakata find Goma. The conversation does not appear to be one between an animal or a human, but between two human beings. Apart from the rare instances, where the narrator describes Otsuka's postures and movements and paw licking actions, Otsuka appears to be just another human being, while conversing with Nakata. Nakata's constant contact with cats, highlight his ability to relate to the animals and consequently empathise with them and therefore attribute them with mental states, as stated by **Sarah Stebbins** in her article *Anthropomorphism*.

Otsuka resembles Hoshino to a great extent, since Hoshino too decides to help the old eccentric man, without any hesitation or clue about where the journey would eventually lead. Much like Otsuka, Hoshino offers valuable advice to the old man and convinces him to be proud of the fact that he stood out from the crowd. Otsuka offers him advice and urges him to seek out his shadow. Otsuka tells Nakata that he was a fine man and that he, thought him to be smart and intelligent. Similarly, Hoshino too tells Nakata that it was absolutely fine for him to not be able to read since he was the only one who could accomplish other tasks, like talking to the entrance stone and making sardines rain from the sky.

2. Kawamura

Kawamura is described as the least '…brightest kitty in the litter…' (Murakami, p. 83) by Mimi, the Siamese cat. Mimi narrates to Nakata, Kawamura's accident when he was a kitten – 'When he was still young a child ran into him with his bicycle, the poor thing, and he struck his head against some concrete. Ever since then he hasn't

made much sense' (Murakami, p. 83). Therefore, Kawamura spoke in a rather strange manner with a limited vocabulary, using the same words to answer different queries – '…Nakata found Kawamura impossible to decipher…' (Murakami, p. 81). But overall none of his statements made any sense to Nakata, as he appeared to talk in riddles – 'What the cat said came out sounding more like riddles…' (Murakami, p.81).

Kawamura, in a way, represents the character of the 'not so bright' Nakata who was barely understood by fellow human beings. His childhood accident parallels Kawamura's past, since he too underwent the same plight at a young age and ever since, neither of them have been able to retain the ability to talk properly. Kawamura, with his eccentric and incomprehensible speech is what Nakata's speech is viewed as by fellow human beings ---------. Therefore, Nakata fails to comprehend the stray's linguistic approach, which is exactly what others face while communicating with Nakata, in the human world. Murakami highlights the similarities between Kawamura and Nakata, with the same childhood accident and resultant linguistic and mental shortcomings. However, despite the linguistic errors, Kawamura attempts to help Nakata in his search for Goma by sprouting eccentric statements every time he meets the old codger.

3. Mimi

Mimi, the black Siamese cat is known in the area as a rather self-reliant cat who likes to keep to herself - '…or perhaps you'd say a very private sort of cat, and I don't normally interfere in others' affairs…' (Murakami, p. 83). In spite of her practices of not interfering in others' business, Mimi chooses to help Nakata, which depicts her as a rather accommodating cat – '…I've been watching for a while, and I'm afraid I couldn't just sit idly by. I know it's forward of me to do so, but I had to say something.' (Murakami, p. 83).

Mimi attempted to aid Nakata because she overheard their conversation about Goma and she chose to take pity on Nakata, being aware of Kawamura's condition to not be comprehensible. However, she pitied Kawamura's condition as well since his verbal and mental issues were not a result of his own misdeeds – 'It's not his fault he's this way, and I do feel sorry for him…' (Murakami, p. 84).

Mimi, the posh domestic Siamese feline, represents the sophisticated and elite upper strata of the humans, who choose to while away time listening to Puccini Opera, whilst nibbling on exotic food. Mimi is the mirror image of the trendsetting woman of the elite class, who cares only about grooming herself and fill their heads with worthless facts, absorbed from excessive television exposure. Her cognitive ability is highly developed, for she overhears the difficulty Nakata faces while communicating with Kawamura and then offers to help him comprehend the eccentric cat's speech. Her knowledge base trumps Nakata's as well, which implies that she was far more intelligent than some humans. However, in spite of Nakata's lack of intelligence Mimi communicates with him effectively and does not judge him to be a mere eccentric old man. Murakami representation of Mimi falls under the category of a round character since, she develops a liking for Nakata from being absolute strangers, after choosing to communicate with him and she warns him to be careful of the man in the hat.

The Siamese warns Nakata of the cat catcher who prowls the neighbourhood and requests him to tread with utmost care seeing as the person she was referring to was particularly evil and dangerous – 'Mr. Nakata…nobody can escape the violence…You can't be too cautious. The same holds true for cats as for human beings.' (Murakami, p. 88). This highlights her caring and cautious nature, as she warns Nakata, a man she barely knew and even chose to help him with his problem.

The stark contrast between Mimi and Kawamura has been highlighted by Murakami through their behaviour and physical attributes. Kawamura, a mere stray brown striped cat and Mimi was the agile and educated Siamese. The two represented two polarities of the society – the eccentric stray and the posh domestic. In a way, one can associate Nakata with Kawamura and Mimi with Nakata's siblings with regards to the class difference between them.

However, Mimi appears to resemble Oshima to a much greater extent. The Siamese aids the old man, just like Oshima aids Kafka by providing him with work at the library. Yet, Kafka does not heed Oshima's warning of not wandering deep into the woods and Nakata too chooses to overlook Mimi's words of caution, as he continues his search for Goma and eventually falls into Johnnie Walker's trap. Her knowledge base is extensive, more so than the old man's, just as Oshima's expertise trumps Kafka's.

4. Okawa

Okawa the stray '…black and white tabby with torn ears…' (Murakami, p.129) was surprised by Nakata's ability of talking to cats. He called it 'Impressive'. Okawa did not have a problem with the name Nakata assigns him, therefore when Nakata asks him if he was fine with being called Okawa, his reply was 'whatever'. However, the minute Nakata showed him the image of Goma, his expressions changed instantly – 'Okawa glanced at the photo and made a gloomy face…' (Murakami, p.130). He seemed rather disturbed and '…blinked in consternation several times…' (Murakami, p.130). He tells Nakata that he cannot talk about the cat in the photograph because '…I'll be in hot water if I do…' (Murakami, p.130). Okawa warns Nakata and asks him to forget about Goma. He requests him to stay away from the vacant plot because – 'I don't want you to get into trouble…' (Murakami, p.130). He was fond of Nakata and thus he was warning the man, because he knew that Nakata would definitely be in danger if he chose to linger around, looking for Goma. He apologises to Nakata – 'Sorry I couldn't be of more help, but please consider this warning my way of thanking you…' (Murakami, p.130). Therefore, Okawa was a cautious stray, who did not want Nakata in any danger and thus requests him to leave the plot and forget about looking for Goma. Okawa says this with so much confidence because he is clearly aware of something that Nakata is not and in order to thank Nakata for offering him sardines he asks him to stay away from both Goma and the vacant plot, just to stay out of harm's way. He somehow felt that Nakata, even though he was human, was in the same danger the other cats of the area were in.

5. Black Dog

When Nakata opens his eyes, he sees 'A huge, black dog…the beast looked more like a calf than a dog. It had long legs, short hair, bulging, steely muscles, ears as sharp as knife points and no collar…' (Murakami, p.131). The dog resembled the breed that were used in K-9 Corps, therefore Nakata could tell that it was as vicious as it looked. The dog's eyes were expressionless, his lips pulled over his fangs that was dripping blood and chunks of meat. His tongue was blood red. The vicious black dog was not exactly the cuddly puppy. It's bare bloody fangs and bloody tongue was proof of his viciousness, since it hinted that he had ripped some poor animal to shreds to satisfy his hunger or to merely kill. He commanded Nakata to stand up and follow him. There was no ounce of civility in his mannerisms and his expressionless eyes implied that he would not make for a very good friend.

He did not bother replying to Nakata's inane questions about if they were still within the boundary of Nakano ward, or if the dog belonged to the Governor. Therefore, the dog knew his business well and did what he had to do with great precision and focus. The beastly dog was not merely strong but also intelligent for he guided Nakata with absolute precision to Johnnie Walker's house, without hesitating for a second. He also maintained a pace that would be suitable for Nakata to follow – '…the dog continued walking, setting a pace he knew Nakata could keep up with…' (Murakami, p.133).

The dog ignored traffic lights at pedestrian crossings and when the cars honked at them he merely bared his fangs and walked decisively because he knew he would get his way. He also knew what the traffic signals meant. Therefore, the dog can be referred to as street smart. The pedestrians would move out the dog's way the minute the laid eyes on him because of his brutish demeanour. They were afraid of him.
The manner in which he commands Nakata also shows the essence of the alpha in his character. While guiding Nakata to Johnnie Walker's house, the pedestrians move out the way when they see the dog approaching out of pure fear – 'When people spied this giant, violent- looking beast, they leaped aside, a couple of cyclists even getting off and crossing over to the other side of the street to avoid facing him.' (Murakami, p.132). The dog never bothered following the traffic lights and kept walking even though he knew what traffic lights implied because – '…the dog bared his fangs, glared at the drivers and sauntered defiantly across the street…' (Murakami, p.132).

6. Toro

The black, fat cat was a Sushi chef's pet and his name was Toro. Out of utter shock Hoshino asks him how he understood the feline or vice versa and Toro tells him that they were at the end of two worlds because of which they could understand and talk to each other. The cat appeared to know all of Hoshino's problems and therefore, he warns him. Toro asks Hoshino to be prepared for a creature will make itself known soon. According to Toro, this creature was not human or any animal they know, but it wanted desperately to enter through the entrance. He warns Hoshino and asks him to never allow that to happen. Toro asks Hoshino to kill the creature before it reaches the entrance.

Toro reminds Hoshino that Nakata's responsibilities now rested on his shoulders and that he would not be able to find peace if Hoshino cannot stop the creature. Toro

reminds him of the fact that he was a part of the SDF, so he had professional training to murder. Hoshino wondered how the cat knew so much about Nakata and him, and the cat's reply surprised him. Toro exclaims that Nakata and Hoshino were quite famous and that all the cats were rooting for Hoshino to murder this creature and only then could he close the entrance stone for good and carry on with his life, like he wanted. Toro tells him that the creature would only emerge at midnight and therefore Hoshino should rest till then and be prepared for it.

Toro's physical, mental and emotional attributes point at the fact that he was not merely an intelligent cat, but he had moral responsibilities to fulfill. The sole reason he warns Hoshino is so balance can be restored once again in the world again, which was Nakata's only plan. He clarifies that he was rooting for Hoshino to kill the monster in order to bring peace to Nakata's soul. He provides all the pertinent information to Hoshino to help him solve the problem, to help him out of the goodness of his heart and moral accountability. Murakami presents Toro more in terms of a guiding angel, whose interruption aids Hoshino continue the work Nakata had started. Had Toro not spoken to Hoshino and explained what he was up against, the story would have been met a very different end.

Murakami's poetic genius is depicted through the use of imagery and the minute detailing of the various characters. His portrayal of the animals as extensions and reflections of the human characters of the novel, depicts the level of maturity that anthropomorphism has achieved over time – evolving from childhood novels to serious fiction of Nobel prize nominees.

Animals Guiding the Plot

Murakami's cats, become a dominant force without which the novel would not have hoped to proceed. The cats are responsible for guiding the plot along, for instance, Mimi and Kawamura aid in informing Nakata about the vacant plot of land from where the vicious black dog, leads him into the lair of Johnnie Walker. Mimi warns Nakata of the cat catcher who prowls the neighbourhood and requests him to tread with utmost care seeing as the person she was referring to was particularly evil and dangerous – 'Mr. Nakata…nobody can escape the violence…You can't be too cautious. The same holds true for cats as for human beings.' (Murakami, p. 88).

Walker's residence is soon converted into a blood bath where Walker much like an artist, cuts through the stomachs of the stray felines with extreme precision and eats out their hearts, like gourmet chefs at a food tasting festival. The silent writhing of the cats ignites something in Nakata, which leads him to stab the man to death and leave Nakano ward. Killing Walker gives Nakata a new destination and purpose and hence, he leaves Nakano Ward and embarks on the last journey of his life to find the entrance stone. The cat of taking Walker's life, changes something within him and he loses the ability to talk to cats following the show of violence. The involvement of the felines drives the plot. Nakata's cringing at the sight of the blood echoes **Singer** and **Reagan's** strategy, wherein they state that the cringing at the thought of hurting animals prove that the concept anthropomorphism is imbedded in his mindset.

Toro warns Hoshino to restore balance in the world again, which was Nakata's only plan. He clarifies that he was rooting for Hoshino to kill the monster in order to bring

peace to Nakata's soul. He provides all the pertinent information to Hoshino to help him solve the problem, to help him out of the goodness of his heart and moral accountability. Murakami presents Toro more in terms of a guiding angel, whose interruption aids Hoshino continue the work Nakata had started. Had Toro not spoken to Hoshino and explained what he was up against, the story would have been met a very different end.

Conclusion

The novel becomes an exemplary instance of Anthropomorphism. **Sarah Stebbins**, in her article *Anthropomorphism,* establishes that the attribution of mental states to nonhuman animals depend mostly on compulsive human behavior owing to constant interaction with various animals on daily basis. Therefore, Murakami through the character of Nakata, who would interact with cats on a regular basis, adheres to the technique of anthropomorphism as stated by Sarah Stebbins. Murakami painted the character of Nakata in a way that he assigns every cat a name – which can be viewed as an extension of the human behaviour to assign an identity. However, when he assigns the cats a name, their first reaction is always of confusion or shock since in their feline world, identification is done though more personal attributes of smell. This concept of assigning names echoes in the article of **J. S Blanchard** *Anthropomorphism in Beginning Readers,* where the author establishes the fact that the unknown for humans must be attributed with known characteristics of humans for better comprehension. Instances of anthropomorphism are evident when Nakata cringes as Johnnie Walker slices through the cats which adheres to Singer and Regan's strategy of attributing consciousness to animals and states that before throwing a dog, if there is the most minute second spent in thinking about the barbarity of the act, that itself implies the effect of attributing mental states to sentient animals as stated by **Fredrik Karlsson** in *Critical Anthropomorphism and Animal Ethics*.

The imagery of Chapter 16 is laced with blood and gore as Nakata is stuck watching Johnnie Walker kill cats and eat up their raw and beating hearts. The intensity of mutilation lends the scene an ominous tone, where the poor old man is the hapless audience to Walker's incessant mutilation. Kawamura, the eccentric stray falls prey to Walker's blade, and Nakata watches in horror unable to stop the vile man, who hums the tunes of Snow White while cutting cats open, which enhances the sadistic side of the entire affair. Nakata, who had never harmed anyone before is expected to stab the man with a knife which he does eventually when he sees Walker taking out Mimi, the black Siamese, out for killing. The torment of watching innocent cats die right in front of his eyes, drives Nakata over the edge and he does not feel like himself when he grabs the knife and stabs Johnnie Walker to death.

Murakami's art of characterization is impeccable, as he deftly illustrates the characters of Otsuka, Mimi, Kawamura, Okawa, the Dog and Toro. However, even more commendable than his art of characterization is the manner in which each of the animal characters had been elected to resemble the human characters of the novel. Murakami highlights the aspect of anthropomorphism by reflecting the characteristics of the animals through the human characters. He achieves this feat by minutely highlighting the physical, mental and emotional attributes of the characters. The point

of view of the narrator and that of the other characters of the novel, further clarifies the character of the animals and depicts their inner depth.

Acknowledgement

"Once the storm is over, you won't remember how you made it through, how you managed to survive. You won't even be sure, in fact, whether the storm is really over. But one thing is certain. When you come out of the storm you won't be the same person who walked in. That's what this storm is all about."

- **Haruki Murakami.**

A dissertation is no less than a storm and I say this with utmost confidence, as my mind revisits the innumerous dark sleepless nights, damaged eyesight and horrible back aches. I could not have succeeded in my feeble attempts to complete this colossal a task, had it not been for the support of many. Ms. Anupa Lewis, no amount of gratitude can ever cover how indebted I am to you for your constant support and your incessant reminders. Thank you for reminding me to reach for the stars. This is for you.

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The Trope of Ibayong Dagat in the Narratives of the Filipino Diasporic

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Abstract

The study involves a qualitative analysis and interpretation of the narratives of the Filipino diasporic who may be Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), returnee OFWs, and migrant Filipino workers who have converted to permanent residency and/or on to citizenship of the receiving countries. The narratives mostly come from the Philippine radio program "Serbisyong OFW" which airs from Monday to Friday on Philippine radio station 702 DZAS. The program feature on OFWs comes in, however, during the Wednesday and Friday schedule of the same program. The rest of the narratives come from off-radio stories shared with this researcher. For this study, 40 of such narratives aired between January to May 2017 and 5 off-radio stories were considered for inclusion. Of the 45 narratives, only 15 were selected for analysis given the objectives of the inquiry. The study is part of a growing discourse on Filipino migrant workers who are located in the Middle East, Asia, Europe, in the United States of America, in New Zealand, and in Australia. The study focuses on the chronotopic function of *ibayong dagat*, at once a real and an imaginary space whose temporal reality has grown dense with stories that have accumulated through time, thus inviting some organizing principle or, at least, a collective nomenclature. It highlights the recurrent themes unique to the narrators' space-time realities – themes of struggle, adaptation, accomplishment, fragmentation, including negotiated tension and sadness that resonate in the narrative lacuna. Informed of cultural-specific nuances, the study has polysemic potentials for further research.

Keywords: *Ibayong dagat*, chronotope, Overseas Filipino Workers, trope

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Introduction

The Philippines witnessed a massive international labor migration in the 1980s when labor export became a major thrust to sustain and improve the country's Gross National Product. This was the time when Filipino migrant workers were hailed as "bagong bayani" (literally, the new heroes), an appellation often read as a gesture of national co-optation in labor export (Aguilar, 2000, p. 172). The stock estimates from the Commission on Overseas Filipinos (2015) placed the number of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) at 10.5 million in 2012 (cited in Aguila, 2015).

As early as 1860s – 1890s though, there had been an out-migration of Filipino workers. In the absence of a nation (Philippines then was a colony of Spain), the Filipino migrant workers were collectively known as "Manila men" or, alternatively but rarely, "Philippine islanders". They worked in the Straits settlements (i.e., Singapore, Penang, Malacca) and in the waters of Australia. Along with other nationals, the Manila men were shipped to Australia to work as divers for the thriving pearl-shell industry in Port Darwin and Northern Territory (Aguilar, 2000, p.177).

The narratives of OFWs' forays into faraway lands and waters are characterized by thematic polarities tending toward either a fairytale 'success' or a tragic 'failure'. The high watermark of OFW narratives might be the story of the Manila men who were accorded with high regard by their Australian employers for their skill in pearl diving, adaptability to a multicultural setting, cautious industry, and English abilities. They carved an impression of consistent honesty as well. While other divers pocketed part of their pearl finds, the Manila men turned in all the pearls that they had gathered (Dashwood Report of 1902, p. 55, cited in Aguilar, 2000, p. 27), setting them apart from fellow divers.

OFW narratives slid to an unimagined low, on the other hand, in the execution in 1995 of Flor Contemplacion, a Filipino domestic helper in Singapore. The Contemplacion story jolted the Filipino awareness out of its dream-like acceptance of the OFW phenomenon on to a stark realization of the travail and dangers of labor migration

The study sought to find alternative narratives, the in-betweens in said thematic polarities and the elements of the OFWs' nuanced 'success' and/or 'failure'. Moreover, the study inquired into the trope of *ibayong dagat*, a visual image with rich potentials in ideational and emotional signification. Specifically, the study worked on the following objectives: to articulate the meanings invested in *ibayong dagat* in the context of the shared narratives of OFWs; to establish the themes of such narratives; and to identify the narrative lacuna in the stories and its implication.

Ibayong Dagat: From Trope to Chronotope

In the Philippine radio program "Serbisyong OFW," the expression *ibayong dagat* is dished out in plenitude such that it becomes a pat expression. Any discourse on Filipino migrant workers inevitably leads to *ibayong dagat*. Literally, the expression means the faraway seas. Its deployment, however, implies an absent-present reference to the lands that lie beyond those waters. Such lands pertain to the receiving countries of OFWs.

The Philippines is an archipelago more or less composed of 7,100 islands. Thus, it is no wonder that its inherently metaphorical language finds much inspiration in expressions that refer to the waters that circumscribe its islands, such as *ibayong dagat*. Collocationally used with the term OFW, *ibayong dagat* achieves a semantic density in relation to the narratives shared by Filipino migrant workers through "Serbisyong OFW". The term *ibayong dagat* is used as an organizing trope or an oft-deployed image which, in the study, is inscribed anew in its inquiry into the OFW narratives, their unfolding in a specific time and locale, and the possibilities of meaning that such implies. In this context of surplus meaning, the trope of *ibayong dagat* becomes a chronotope.

In the context of the study, *ibayong dagat* is a conceptual locus that holds a trace or traces of time that define it and historicize it (Folch-Serra, 1990, p.266). *Ibayong dagat* is at once a real and an imaginary space where time is made visible in the sojourns of the Manilla men to the Settlement Straits and the waters of Australia, the Ilocanos to Hawaii plantations, the construction workers to Saudi Arabia, the domestic service providers to Hong Kong and Singapore, and the health workers and professionals to all parts of the world. Likewise, *ibayong dagat* is a storied site of thematic polarities and everyday realities in the lives of the OFWs translatable into a discursive space of which the discussion that follows is a tributary.

Discussion

The narratives were organized according to the following themes: the precarious life of the undocumented, identity construction as a site of tension, Filipinaness and patriarchy, the imperative of cross-cultural proficiency, and the narrative lacuna in the stories of the OFWs. The analysis focused on the unique experience articulated in the shared narratives of Filipino migrant workers (whose true names were withheld for privacy) in their space-time contexts. The analysis was also attentive to the concept of text as a cultural artifact.

The researcher based the analysis on the transcription of the 15 narratives, recorded at the time of airing in MP3 format, in the light of relevant literature and studies.

Narrators	Countries of Work	Highlighted Experience
Lina	Italy	Entered the country through the *baklas* system; now a legitimate OFW
Remy	Lebanon, Iraq, and Germany	Worked as a housekeeper for a German consul, later on, her lover; helped Filipinos to a safe passage to Jordan
Marie	Cambodia and Thailand	Entered Cambodia through missionary work; presently a teacher in three public schools in Thailand
Hope	Dubai and Lebanon	Entered Dubai through office work; married and separated from a Lebanese when he took another wife
Maningning	Qatar	Wrestled with patriarchy
Gabby	Cruise Ship	Found brothers among fellow seafarers
Leo	Cruise Ship	Spoke his mind; thereafter, felt life aboard a ship more tolerable
Oteng	Cruise Ship	Lived by the virtue of *pakikisama*, or the skill of getting along with others
Minda	Japan	Integrated well in Japanese culture
Roel	Australia	Got somewhere with happenstance ability
Nestor	USA	Pointed to cultural adaptability as the key to integration
Millie	Hong Kong	Built her parents' dream stone house
Manseha	New Zealand	Experienced equality, respect, and fair go in New Zealand
Lila	New Zealand	Owned her friend's story; decided against OFW life
Dina	Singapore	Paid the cost that OFWs pay – estrangement from family

Table 1: Profile of the OFW Narrators

The Precarious Life of the Undocumented

Lina entered Italy surreptitiously through a recruitment agency who sent workers to Italy by means of the *baklas* system. She paid the agency P 300,000 according to the prevailing rate in 2001. The agency gave Lina a legal passport; however, the picture and the personal details of the true owner were replaced with those of her own. When she reached Milan, Lina immediately destroyed and disposed of her fake passport and reported to the embassy the incident of the "lost" passport. Since work opportunities along housekeeping and maintenance abound especially for female workers in Milan, Lina did not have a hard time finding a job. What should have been a taste of success became a nightmarish existence though. The underground nature of Lina's employment restricted her movement and, when outside of her workplace or residence, she would scour with her eyes the streets for any sign of the presence of a law enforcer who might pick her up for interrogation and, worse, imprisonment. Two years later, when the government announced an amnesty, Lina availed of this mass pardon through the help of her employer. The latter provided the needed documentation to legitimize Lina's employment. In 2003, Lina was a free person, liberated from any burden of the guilt, the fear, or the shame that haunts the undocumented.

In formal language register, a prominent Philippine banking system uses the tagline *We find ways*. Finding ways in Philippine popular culture, however, is altogether different. In Filipino street language, the expression *para-paraan* (street smartness) is not the same as *paraan* (formal expression for ways or means to accomplish something). *Baklas* falls under *para-paraan*. Despite its shady nature, *para-paraan* is resorted to in order to cut the waiting time for documentation processing, or as a matter of derring-do for the sake of family economics. In OFW discourse, family welfare consistently appears as the primary motivation in the Filipino migrant

workers' desire to leave the country and try their fortune in *ibayong dagat* (Asis, 2002, p. 74).

Narrative Identity as a Site of Tension

Remy landed in Beirut to find a suitable job. She won Miss Elegance in a local pageant and was noticed by a German consul who offered her to work as a housekeeper in his villa. The consul was thereafter posted in the war-torn Iraq still under the presidency of Saddam Hussein at the time. Remy recalled witnessing buildings razed to the ground because of left and right bomb explosions. When it was no longer possible to live in safety in Iraq, the German consul was recalled for posting in Romania. Remy, however, begged off to stay awhile in the German consul's villa while the consul flew back to his homeland before proceeding to his next post.

Remy found an opportunity to help Filipinos caught in the war to a safe passage to Jordan for their return to the Philippines. With the permission of her employer who was already in Germany at the time, she provided clothing to these transient Filipinos and temporary shelter in the villa once occupied by the German consul. Having established connections with the local Philippine embassy staff, Remy helped arrange for the transport of Filipinos who left by the busloads everyday of her weeklong extended stay in Iraq. At the behest of the German consul, Remy finally flew to Germany, to the home of her employer and the latter's aged parents.

In the course of her narration, Remy expressed her desire to find a place of anchorage. She explained that she had had enough of a life that was always on the go. In Germany, Remy sensed that she had an option. The parents of the German consul wanted her to be their caregiver. Because this development, there was a slight misunderstanding between the consul and his parents. In the end, the consul conceded to his parents' request and flew to Romania alone. In a long while, the consul's father died. Remy met a German suitor who married her and gave her a normative life. The consul called her up and congratulated her, but miserably broke down during their telephone conversation. Remy confessed that they had become lovers in Iraq.

In Remy's narrative two voices emerged. One was that of an altruistic Remy who saw her countrymen to a safe passage from the war-torn Iraq to Jordan on their return to the Philippines and who chose to be a caregiver to the aged and the sick rather than to continue the role of housekeeper-companion to her German employer. The second voice was that of the calculating Remy who, in a quandary, tarried in Iraq and faced a difficult choice in Germany but decided, nonetheless, to a slow but sure way out of an unwanted relationship. These voices are not irreconcilable; rather, they emanate from the same dialogical self and its desire to reconcile such voices to produce an integrated self, or one with a purpose more or less congruent to social norms and expectations (McAdams, 2008, p. 242).

In essence, the narrative of Marie who entered Cambodia in 2013 as a Christian missionary teacher was not a far cry from Remy's as regards the tensile relationship between conflicting selves. In Cambodia, Marie became sick with persistent cough symptomatic of asthma. She attributed her condition to her surroundings and the dust that she frequently inhaled. Notwithstanding her condition, Marie described her

resolve to stay in Cambodia as a matter of "do or die". But pressed by her fellow missionaries to return to the Philippines, Marie obeyed the voice of authority albeit with a heavy heart. However, Marie and her companion had to stop by Thailand to meet with another missionary before their return to the Philippines. They were accommodated in a Christian school which happened to need a teacher at that time. The school owner convinced her to join the staff as a supervising teacher. That night Marie prayed for healing and a clear affirmation of God's desire for her to do her mission work in Thailand. When she woke up in the morning, her coughing eased and she felt a sense of lightness and well-being, thus she stayed.

Presently, Marie teaches an evening class in English to Thai adults who are professionals from different fields. She sees this school for adults as "our market place for winning souls." During day time, from Monday to Friday, Marie shuttles from one public school to two others, entailing long travelling time which, she said, she enjoyed.

When asked by the program host the process she went through for her documentation, Marie explained that, initially, she was on a tourist visa renewed five times before she acquired a regular school work and the applicable documentation. Her first teaching engagement had the nature of a volunteer work. In her first five months in Thailand, Marie financially depended on on-call substitute teaching in online classes. This, Marie claimed, exposed her to Bangkok nook and cranny and read it as God's way of preparing her to be the guide of future Filipino missionaries coming to Thailand.

She claimed being visited by fear though because she was working without an appropriate work permit. When she was hired to teach regular classes, Marie finally acquired a work permit. Her husband who had joined her in Thailand, likewise, found a stable job in Marie's happenstance land. Marie enthused about the prospect of her son, who is graduating with a degree in communication, joining them in Thailand for a one-year exposure to Thai culture.

Marie's narrative illustrates the concept of narrative identity as "the violence [done] to stories to produce a coherent self" (Paquette, 2011, p. 146). This violence refers to the break from the linear structure of storytelling consisting of beginning, middle, and end (BME) to inscribe different or multiple temporalities in order to accommodate and resolve the ethical tension in the story (Boje, 2008, p. 26, cited in Paquette, 2011, 147). In Marie's narrative, the violence does not consist in fusing reality with fiction but in harking back to her authentic missionary self in the Philippines when she ministered to the rugby-sniffing street children, feeding their body as well as their mind and spirit, and contributing her personal funds for the mission work. There appears to be an oversubscription to the theme of the missionary slant of Marie's narrative, a tendency shared by the program in sloganeering thus, "winning Bangkok for Christ."

Filipinaness and Patriarchy

Hope fell in love with a Lebanese with whom she made a covenant: whatever happened, he would not take another wife. They met in Dubai where Hope worked as an office staff. When they got married, they decided to build a family in Lebanon. He established a family business and Hope became a homebody. She would go to

their restaurant and spend time on small talks with fellow Filipinos. Life and in-laws were good until the husband raised the idea of taking another wife despite the previous agreement. It shattered Hope's world; she went back to the Philippines. Contrary to Hope's expectations, her husband did not show any interest to woo her back. In time Hope knew that she had lost him. Unfortunately, Hope had nothing to build another life on. She demanded financial help from the Lebanese husband. He gave her funds to start a business with. Hope now lives on the income from her businesses consisting of a beauty salon and printing and photocopying services.

Maningning worked as a manager for 10 years in a top brand motorcycle company in Doha, Qatar. She noted sadly that Arab men did not think highly of women. Sometimes, the women themselves – the so-called KFC and phone credit card girls and women who sported an active night life -- were at fault for giving the impression that they could be had easily through a mutually-beneficial arrangement. However, there were instances when the blatant disrespect came from a patriarchal mindset. Maningning did not get used to such treatment such that once she punched an Arab who thereafter threatened her, "I'll bring you to jail, you Filipini." Maningning decried the plight of Filipino women who endured verbal and gestural abuse but would not do anything for fear of being sent back home by a force greater than the values of dignity and respect.

The narratives of Hope and Maningning invite diachronic referencing – the pre-colonial Filipina who were strong, assertive, and equal with men (Castro, et. al, 1985) and the contemporary Filipina who operate in the public sphere of work, agency, and appreciation of self-worth (Mercaida, 2004, pp.144-169 & pp. 181-223).

The Imperative of Cross-cultural Proficiency

The narratives told by Gabby, Leo, Oteng, Roel, Nestor, Millie and Minda instantiate the imperative of cross-cultural proficiency on the part of migrant workers. Leo, Oteng and Gabby are all seafarers. Of the three, Oteng has the longest seafaring history and, like Gabby, is a returnee OFW. Oteng is now an owner of a bakery and a parcel of land planted to cash crops such as ginger, garlic, banana and papaya trees while Gabby is a bakeshop franchisee. Roel worked as a rose farm manager in Australia before becoming a teacher. Nestor works as a caregiver in Hong Kong, while Millie is a returnee from Singapore where she worked as a domestic service provider. Of these narrators, Minda is out of her league because she became an OFW by "applying" to become the wife of a visiting Japanese national.

Seafaring can be a more trying job compared to a land-based employment. This is particularly so when one is a utility man, a waiter, or a cook, among other roles.

Gabby worked as a utility man who cleaned cabins and washed dining and cooking utensils. The magnitude of this routine chores can be understood from Gabby's own description – washing tall piles of plates and cauldrons, dipping gloved hands in hot water and, despite the protective gloves, sustaining abrasions because of continuous exposure to strong detergents.
The ship is a world by itself, Gabby said, because in it one finds fellow seafarers of various ethnicities. The ship is also a home itself, he added, since one finds his brothers among fellow workers. Gabby's six-year experience as a seaman did not

have cross-cultural issues. This is indicated in his length of stay and volitional exit from seafaring. Further, Gabby completed three work contracts with his carnival cruise employer whose criteria for renewing work contract included: one or two completed work contracts, good performance evaluation, and adaptable personality.

Leo worked as a waiter for a cruise ship with a 900-passenger capacity. In contrast to the trouble-free seafaring life of Gabby, Leo's was action-packed and conflict-ridden. For Leo, his job was a test of patience particularly in the cruise ship where he worked because the food was served a la carte. Leo was in charge of three tables that sat eight passengers each for a total of 24 hungry and irate *balaggans*, a name-call laced with prejudice, Leo admitted. He explained that they were "low end Israelis". Every time he would open the dining area, they would rush to the place causing a slight commotion. They would get impatient waiting for the food to be served. One time, when Leo was carrying a large bowl of hot soup on a tray, unintentionally, he hit one on the head with the edge of the tray. Since there was a big crowd and he was not the only waiter carrying a bowl of soup on a tray, the victim pointed to just anyone and lodged a complaint against the waiter. The cruise management made the motion of investigating the complaint but, Leo assessed, that it was a perfunctory act. Leo kept quiet because he did not want to lose his job. Shortly, a similar incident occurred. This time, and again in a hurry to serve the diners, the head waitress called his attention to his sluggish ways of doing things. Heated words were exchanged. When Leo resumed his duties, his superior retaliated by pushing him off his way such that he nearly spilled the hot soup upon the seated passengers. In a split second, he was tempted to scald her with the soup out of self-pity and sense of injustice. Leo reported the matter instead to their maître d. In their audience with the maître d, Leo explained that he was doing his job in the best way he could and, if he needed to be corrected, it should be done without being shouted at and being publicly embarrassed. Anyway, every matter could be settled in a peaceful manner, he opined. After the confrontation in the presence of the maître d, Leo observed that head waiters no longer publicly embarrassed the waiters under their supervision.

Oteng was a seafarer for 30 years. He went the rounds of a utility man, an assistant cook, and a chief cook before retirement. The ship he boarded was an "academy" where future seamen were being trained hands-on for officer roles. Oteng started as a mess man doing odd jobs. He hung around the kitchen and became a friend of everyone, including the chief cook to whom he extended sundry help until, unofficially, he started cooking meals specifically for Filipino seamen on board. The crew were predominantly Indian and Pakistani and the usual meals were cooked with curry. Oteng's meals catered to the taste of the Filipino crew who did not like curried dishes. Shortly, Oteng became an assistant cook preparing dishes for Filipinos. As an assistant cook though, he still got orders from the chief cook to do mess man duties such as fetching cavans of rice from the stock room, replenishing kitchen supplies, scraping lard from and washing huge pans and cauldrons. He did not mind these added-on duties. However, Oteng had some rough times when Filipinos complained of the routine menu and the amount of food served them compared to the sumptuous meals served to non-Filipino crew. Oteng reasoned that he only made do with the supplies issued his kitchen. At the end of his narrative, Oteng concluded that his 30-year seamanship alienated his children from him.

Of the three seafarers, Gabby and Oteng exemplify the same level of cultural proficiency. Gabby lived by a peaceful and accommodating life principle. Oteng lived by the Filipino value of *pakikisama* or getting along with people in whatever place or circumstance one finds oneself. Also, both of them did not report any incident of altercation with fellow seafarers and officers. Leo, who is the youngest of the three, exhibited an impatience not found in the first two. His narrative though is realistic in its account of the presence of work-related conflict. This may be explained by his proximity to the incident compared to the distant retrospective vantage from which Gabby and Oteng related their stories.

The 1996 Report to the UNESCO of the International Commission of Education underscored the need for an education curriculum that would prepare 21st century workers in global citizenship in the advent of complex technologies and the birthing of a borderless world. Such training in global citizenship would include skills in multiculturalism, communication, collaborative problem solving, among others. The same report likewise emphasized the values of lifelong learning, inclusion, full respect to pluralism, building relationships among individuals, groups and nations, and learning to live together and manage conflicts in a peaceful manner (Delors, 1996, pp. 13-14, 21-22). Gabby and Oteng acquired their education before globalization vis-à-vis 21st century skills became an education byword. Regardless, both seafarers manifested adaptability to a multicultural workplace. In Leo's case, although there were some rough edges in his interaction with his superior, his homegrown sincerity and communication skills proved adequate to convey his point about the values of mutual respect and consideration in the workplace.

Roel, Nestor and Millie each displayed cultural adaptability in the work setting. In his initial years in Australia and his family, Roel lived in a caravan house, a trailer kind of shelter with bunk beds but without a washroom or toilet. He and his family depended on the good heart of a fellow Filipino who allowed them the use of their toilet. Roel, who taught English in the Philippines, worked as a utility person in a rose farm in his initial years in Australia. His billionaire employer, who did not miss his industry and dedication to work, offered him to try his hands at propagating new varieties of roses imported from Africa. Roel did his job well and was promoted to rose farm managerial role. He pointed to anonymity as a positive factor for Filipinos like him to be accepting of any kind of work available. Likewise, Roel's happenstance ability or the knack for responding to situations beyond one's control with self-efficacy (Krumboltz, et.al., pp. 15-16) worked well as an adaptation strategy for him.

Nestor is a licensed physical therapist in New York. The city impressed him as very [culturally] diversified and welcoming to migrant workers. His hurdles sounded minuscule but, given his cultural roots, might not be quite so. He had a problem with first-name calling basis and doing away with honorific titles both of which mattered much in the Philippines. Ten years in America and now an immigrant, he sits easy with the ways of his second culture.

Millie worked as a housekeeper for five years in a Filipino-Chinese household in Hong Kong. Her qualities of hard work, honesty, and filial piety endeared her to her employer. The latter helped her to deposit her savings in a Hong Kong bank and to remit money to her parents in the Philippines. Through her savings, Millie fulfilled her parents' fondest dream – a stone house that would stand strong against the storm.

Though hardly schooled, Millie had metacognitive skills in that she acquired cultural proficiency at work.

Minda's narrative is a cut along the fairytale plot. She married a Japanese national whose mother rejected her for being of the people who killed her soldier husband in World War II. Minda not only accorded her mother in law the respect due her but even cared for her in her days of illness until death. Minda is into a small-scale enterprise and mixes well with fellow Filipinos and Japanese neighbors. She mirrors Filipino resiliency and adaptability.

Lacuna in the OFW Narratives

Manseha worked as an administrator in an Auckland city office. Lila nearly made it as a migrant worker in New Zealand having gone through the rigorous process of applying for a work visa under the New Zealand's skills migrant category. Dina is a domestic service provider in Singapore and, on the side, serves as an active founder-director of an international organization helping migrant Filipino workers with problems in their countries of deployment. Their narratives have the same distant trajectories from their persons and personal lives.

Manseha was all praise for New Zealand's culture of respect for human rights, equality, and fair go – one gets the salary commensurate to one's abilities and contribution to organizational productivity. She hardly missed the   Philippines because she had established a new circle of friends with whom she would prepare and serve Philippine cuisine during get-together. Her narrative was broad angled and panoramic, without any reference to personal details, particularly her family of origin and the remittances sent home. These topics had always been a familiar fare in other OFW stories.

Lila had all the opportunities to settle in New Zealand. Her migrant family application was automatically considered and, eventually, approved by the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS), unlike others that had to be drawn from the routine lottery on the basis of threshold points only. Lila narrated a double story in which the main story was that of her friend who had acquired a work entitlement because of her husband who held a permanent resident visa. Lila's own life story was referred to at the outset of her narrative but was elided altogether when her narration shifted to her friend's migration story thick with plot complications – integration struggle, broken family, husband's infidelity, his death and his ashes withheld by the newfound partner.

Dina was articulate in describing her cultural adaptability and her skills in multi-tasking, Conversely, her zest vanished when she referred to her children who hardly responded to her Facebook messages. Dina's narrative along with those of Lila and Manseha sustain a lacuna that is comprehensible only in intertextual reading. Oteng and Leo are father and son. In the audio recording, Leo routinely coughed and resorted to one-liners when his narrative veered toward the subject of separation from family that came with a seafaring job. He would always leave for money, he emphasized [but how great the cost would be], in truncated statement. Oteng's narrative uttered what was unutterable but resonant in the stories of Leo, Lila, and Dina - separation from family resulted in estrangement.

Conclusion

The foregoing study brought the expression *ibayong dagat* into a discursive space on Filipino migrant workers' experience in their receiving countries. It explored the possibilities of meaning making arising from the deployment of a usual pat expression through an inquiry into its chronotopic significance in the nuanced narratives of 'success' or 'failure' using a temporal-spatial framework. Thus, from a trite trope, the expression is made anew in the surplus meaning evoked from the 15 narratives included in the inquiry.

The study focused on the themes outside the recurrent thematic polarities in the stories of Filipino migrant workers. The results showed that cultural norms played out in OFWs' means of entry and in their responses to the culture of their destination: *para-paraan*, *pakikisama*, and happenstance ability in deciding on a temporary career shift toward professional integration. The study also confirmed the existence of the conflicted selves, untellability, and lacuna in the life stories whose trajectories are wide-angled, panoramic, and distant from what is personal and private.

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The Model of Intervening Cultural Space in the Hybrid Design
Case Study: The Combination of Japan-Indonesia Craft

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Abstract

The development of craft in Indonesia has a huge economic potential due to the availability and diversity of materials as well as export opportunities. The craft design applied is a pattern of inherited forms of hereditary artisans. In order to compete in the global market, the crafts need design innovation. They are bamboo, wood, ceramics, batik and silver crafts. On the other hand, Japan also has a bamboo culture like Indonesia as it is commonly used in worship and daily operational life. Both in Indonesia and Japan, the bamboo culture represents the relationship between humans and nature. The study was conducted with some experiments of creating bamboo craft using the hybridity strategy. It combines the Japanese bamboo craft design with an Indonesian local design to make an innovation. The hybrid craft was created by combining the three groups of syntax and codes. The first syntax is a general pattern of Japanese bamboo woven and Indonesian craft design. The second syntax is a contextual design pattern of Beppu (bamboo craft center in Japan) and Yogyakarta (local handicraft centers of bamboo, wood, ceramics, batik, silver in Indonesia). The third group is the individual code generated from the individual concept of thought from the artists, designers and craft-men. The results is a model of hybrid craft that is syncretic (the cultural origin of constituent elements can still be distinguished) and hybrid (a new culture compound formed by the elements of different cultures combination, which cannot be referred to a certain culture). Ambiguity is the character of a hybrid design.

Keywords: hybrid, intervening, bamboo, craft, ambiguity

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Introduction

As the background of the study, we try to answer the three questions. The first question is why intervening culture space through design. At least there are four reasons. The first reason is because there is a phenomenon of globalization. Because of the advance of transportation, information and communication technologies, we live as if we were in one global village. It is easier to go from one place to another and experiencing other people's culture. It is also easy to interact with other people in different places using various social media on the internet. It causes the rapid changing of information. In the world of art and craft, there is a changing information in terms of material, technique, design strategy, production system and marketing strategy that creates dialogue among people from different culture spaces.

The second reason is caused by the high competition in the art market. The artist is always demanded by the market to bring in novelty in his works. There is a continuous demand for seeking difference and gaining novelty in the work of art. In the creative process of making the work of art, when the modern codes run out, the artist naturally searches for past codes from his own culture or other cultures he knew or experienced, creates a new interpretation of them and combines them with the modern codes; makes them relevant to his modern context and creates a contemporary work of art.

The third reason is there is a need to preserve the world cultural heritage as it forms our culture today in the shared cultural spaces, as part of our shared identity. We need to join the effort to protect our local culture to survive in the middle of global modern culture domination. The culture conservation is needed in the process of reinventing local identity. Identity is a value, therefore it is possible to represent it through design as design is not merely about product result, working process, bunch of techniques and even science or knowledge; Design is to design a design to produce a design. Design is about value.

As the last reason, the advance of information and communication technology enables individuals to be actively involved in constructing meaning. Meaning, including identity is no longer defined by the group of nations, state, institution, ethnic or other local communities. Every individual can share his or her own thinking or opinion, including his very own interpretation and appreciation of the culture and work of art. This is the era of intersubjectivity. This is the era of individual networking. People can communicate, interact and collaborate easily through the internet. There is a persuasive condition to collaborate interdisciplinary in creating the work of art among people from different cultural spaces.

The second question is why bamboo. It deals with the background of bamboo craftsman problems in Indonesia. Indonesia has a potency to develop the bamboo craft based on these four facts: first, the availability and diversity of raw materials are huge. Indonesia has about one hundred and forty species of bamboo to explore. Second, ninety five percent of Indonesia's forest products are non-timber, and most of the non-timber forest products are bamboo. Third, Indonesia's export market has 7 main commodities and bamboo is among the 5th forest product commodities. Forth, based on INBAR, the International Network on Bamboo and Rattan report, bamboo and rattan international trade in 2012 is 66% belongs to the People's Republic of

China, 11% owned by the European Union and only 9% belongs to Indonesia. But it is worth about 21,6 million dollars and it is still potential to be elevated considering the huge raw material supply and the fact that Indonesian bamboo craft has not appeared with its full capacity yet. Many things need to be improved. Let us investigate the bamboo craftsman problems in Indonesia.

We have tried to study the bamboo craft business in Rancabuaya, Jambe, Tangerang, Banten and a bamboo craft center in Brajan Village, Sleman, Yogyakarta. From those areas, we have tried to learn about bamboo craft development issues from materials, skills or techniques, designs, capital, transportation, communications, management, marketing and regeneration of craftsmen (Hidayat, 2015). There are major problems in terms of education, technology and marketing. In terms of education, the bamboo craftsmen do not have formal education in bamboo vocational skill, in the field of bamboo crafts. They apprenticed to senior craftsmen, without any system, depending on individual relations. In terms of technology, the shape and size of the bamboo stripes are not precise. Its surface is rough and often fibrous. There are no written quality standards and less equipment. In terms of marketing, they are relying on local collectors who collect bamboo crafts from the craftsmen village then sell them to the craft stores. They have no opportunity and capital to participate in national/international exhibitions without government or community agency interference. Studying the potency on one side and the problem on the other side, as a designer team, we think there is a chance to give a contribution from the design aspect through the improvement of the bamboo craft design, by combining material, techniques, culture codes and meaning from different bamboo cultural spaces, Indonesia and Japan.
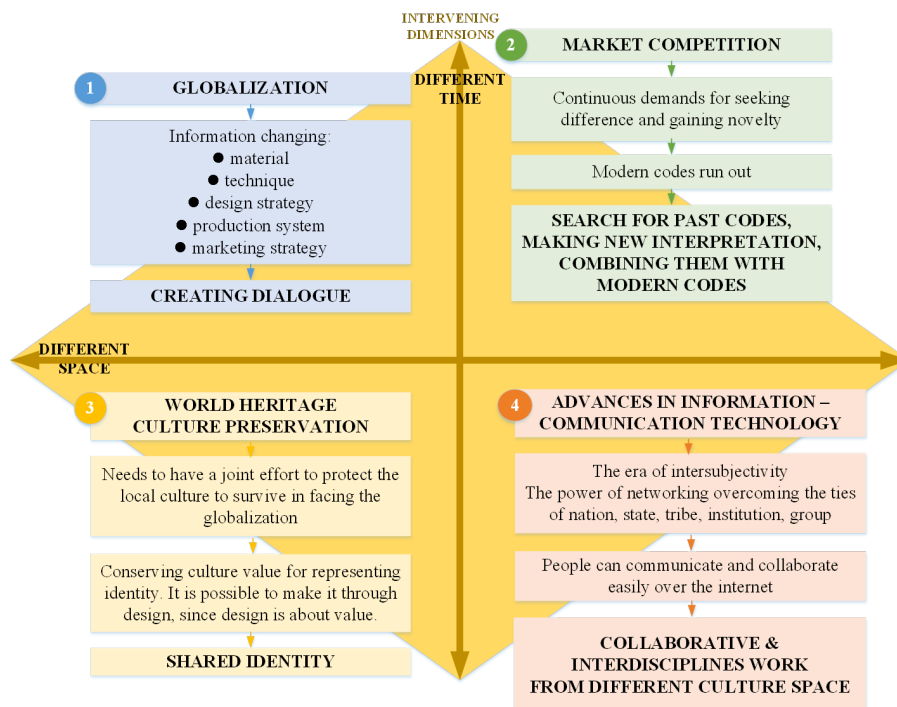
Figure 1: The Scheme of Background Issue of Design Problem
Picture Source: Hidayat, 2017

So, the next question is, why intervening Indonesia and Japan bamboo culture? Japan has an old bamboo culture like in Indonesia, that bamboo commonly used as daily goods in worship and daily operations, as the containers. Bamboo culture in Japan also has similarities with the bamboo culture in Indonesia in terms of being influenced by the value of equilibrium (in relation between man and nature). In Indonesia, it is generated from traditional Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, while in Japan, it is influenced by the Buddhism. Although it has an old cultural history of bamboo and is supported by the belief system, Indonesia is still left behind compared to Japan in terms of education, engineering, marketing and individual craftsman development. Hopefully, the combination of culture (including the design) will enable Indonesia to learn from the success of Japanese bamboo penetration in the international market.

Method
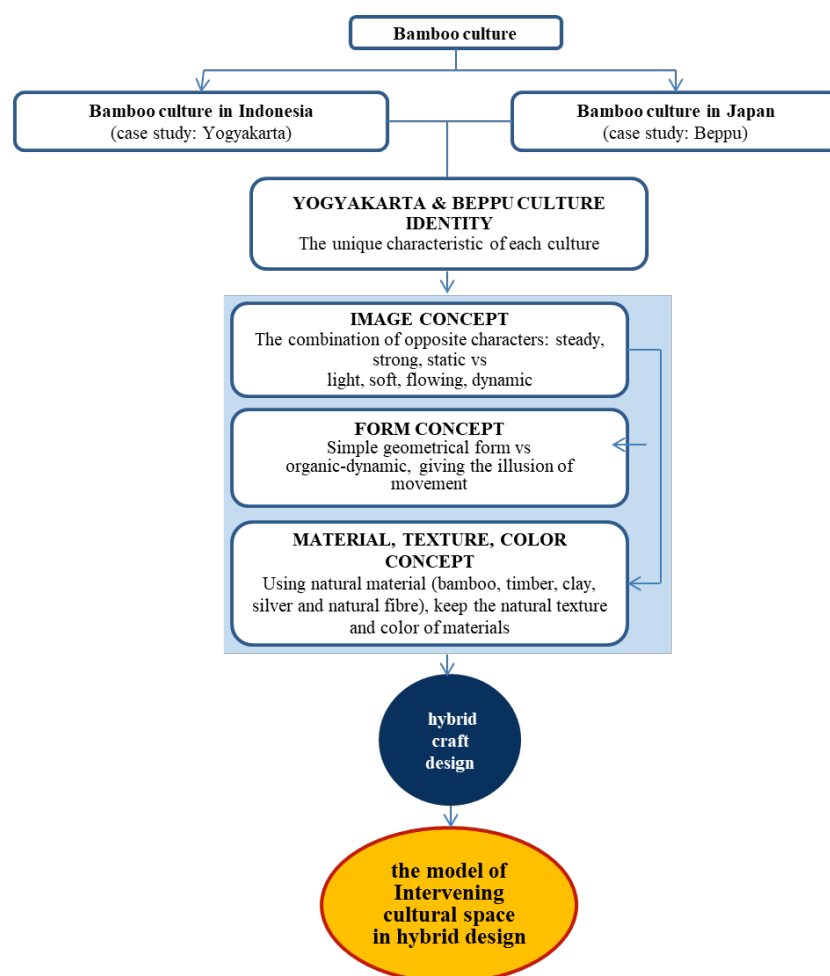
Figure 2: The Research Scheme
Picture Source: Hidayat, 2017

As the method, first we try to learn about the bamboo culture in Indonesia, represented by the bamboo culture of Yogyakarta and in Japan, represented by the bamboo culture of Beppu. In studying Japanese and Indonesian bamboo culture, we took a case study of Yogyakarta and Beppu culture. Yogyakarta is one of the top 5 bamboo handicraft centers in Indonesia besides West Java, Central Java, East Java and Bali, while Beppu is the center of bamboo handicrafts in Japan. We study the

unique characters of each culture that become each landmark. We name it an identity code. After gaining the identity concept of each culture, we generate it into the image concept and specify the image concept into form, material, color and texture concepts which as a whole will embody the image concept. The concept is followed by the sketch study of concept implementation and working drawings. The working drawings will be followed by the object making. From the various designs we made (we are now still in the level of design development), we try to generate the model of intervening cultural space in the hybrid design. Thus, the purpose of this study is to learn how to create a craft design using a hybridity approach that combines cultural spaces to generate novelty and identity representation.

Discussion

The Bamboo Culture in Indonesia (Case Study: The Bamboo Culture in Yogyakarta), Japan (Case Study: The Bamboo Culture in Beppu) and Their Shared Identity

Based on observations of bamboo handicraft center and bamboo communities in Brajan and Dlingo in Yogyakarta and Beppu in Oita, Kyushu, Japan (Beppu is the number one bamboo craft center in Japan), bamboo culture in Indonesia has similarities with Japan. The first equation of bamboo culture of both countries is in terms of bamboo becoming the part of daily life of both societies. Equipment from bamboo is used for ceremonial activities, household operations such as washing, cooking, eating, drinking, resting, playing and artistic activities, such as music art (Hidayat, 2016). The bamboo culture in Indonesia and Japan was originally a culture of bamboo basket (a product to store something or functional product). The second equation is in that both traditional cultures, the use of bamboo is influenced by the system of beliefs and worldviews, that is the syncretic beliefs of Animism, Hinduism and Buddhism in Indonesia and the syncretic beliefs of Shintoism and Buddhism in Japan. Hinduism and Buddhism teach that man is a part of nature, so that for his survival, man must create harmony or balance in relations with God, other people and nature. As a part of nature, human beings must respect, cultivate and maintain the nature. If the nature is destroyed, it will disturb human life. In both traditional cultures, human will pray to a bamboo tree when using it (Animism, Hinduism and Shintoism). Naturalism is the basic idea of their bamboo creation identity.

Naturalism is a belief or a basic idea that humans are part of nature, so as to maintain harmony with nature, they use nature as a reference of the truth of life value. This stream believes in the natural material as the healthiest material for the human body, because when humans were first created by God, human beings ate fresh natural material collected from nature and used objects made of natural materials. The life character of the followers of naturalism follows the character of nature, such as organic, flexible, open to difference and change. When naturalism became the basis of the concept of creation of bamboo craft and art, it inspired the concept of image, material, texture and color.

The Design Concept

The characters that represent the value of naturalism are natural, organic, flowing, continuous and complex. There is no uniformity or monotony in nature. Although the

nature's character is able to accommodate different characters, all are blended in a harmonious or balance composition. The concept of the form that represents the natural, organic, flowing and continuous characters is the organic form. It abstracts the movement of flowing water and bamboo rod when swaying in the wind. The abstraction creates a curving form that represents a dynamic movement. The concept of material, texture and color is the use of natural materials with natural texture and color. The combination of material used is material commonly used by the local craftsmen in Yogyakarta. They are clay (ceramic), wood, silver and batik. The batik used is made on natural fiber fabric with natural dyes from plant extracts and preservatives from natural minerals (alunite and kalinite), such as alum (Hidayat, 2013). The wood used is an easily carved wood and has a moderate durability, enough to be used in an interior environment, such as mahogany and sandalwood.

The design concept is combining the culture codes from Japan, in this case from Beppu, which is the traditional Japanese culture and from Indonesia, in this case from Yogyakarta, which is the traditional Javanese culture. The example of selected traditional Japanese culture codes is the God symbol or an abstraction form of Shinto gods. The example of traditional Javanese culture codes is the structural form of the Hindu temple and the forms generated from the puppets story and traditional Javanese ornaments. The image concept is the combination of opposite form characters. The characters of steady, strong, static (which are implied in the geometrical or structural form and stiff material) are presented together with the characters of light, soft, flowing, dynamic (which are implied through the use of organic form, soft and resilient material).

The Model of Intervening Cultural Space in Hybrid Design

The hybrid design is generated from the individual translations of artists towards general and contextual patterns. The hybrid design is produced from a combination of the three codes. The codes are the general cultural pattern, contextual cultural pattern and individual artist codes. The general pattern codes are the general bamboo webbing pattern in Indonesia and Japanese traditional culture, the local technique of processing bamboo, timber, clay, silver and batik fabric materials. The contextual pattern codes are the pattern of bamboo webbing developed in Beppu, the Batik pattern developed in Java and the silver ornament pattern developed in Kotagede, the center of silver craft in Yogyakarta. The individual code is the specific elements of identity carrier. It is an individual way of cultural interpretation and processing technique. The code belongs to the artist.
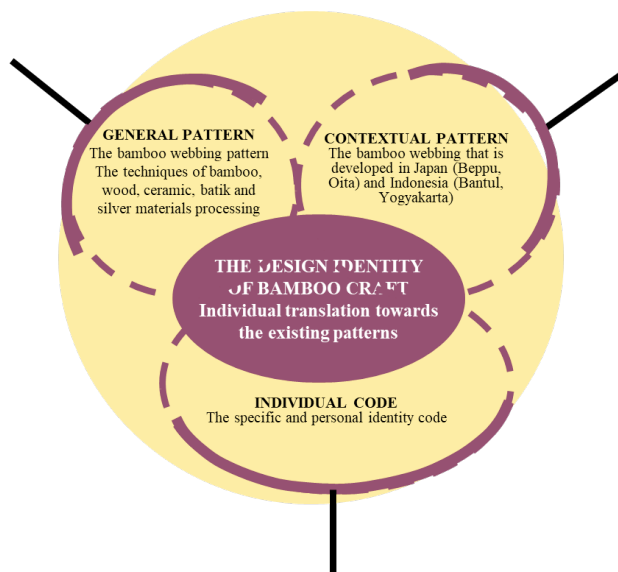
Figure 3: The Hybrid Design Scheme of Bamboo Craft
Picture Source: Adapted from the Model of Hybrid Design (Hidayat, 2010),

Creating a hybrid craft involves the three groups of syntaxes or codes like the scheme above. The maker needs to collect data deals with (1) the general bamboo patterns in Indonesia and Japan, the general processing techniques of bamboo material (2) the more specific or contextual webbing patterns of Yogyakarta and Beppu and (3) the artist's individual translation of naturalism. The examples of general bamboo patterns are yotsume, yatsume, sanbontobi ajiro, mutsume, gozame and asanoha weaves, while the examples of more specific patterns are sashi yotsume, yatara, niju mutsume, mutsume kiku and tessen weaves (Shimazaki, 2015, p. 100-103). The contextual patterns tend to be more complex or intricate.

Figure 4: The General Codes: The Processing Techniques of Bamboo Material
Picture Source: Minami, 2016
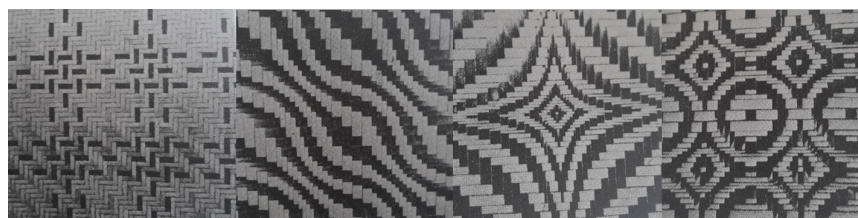
Figure 5: The Contextual Codes: The Webbing Patterns that Have Been Developed in Japan
Picture Source: Shogoro, 1993

Conclusion

Finally, we come up with two points of conclusions. The first conclusion is about the model of hybrid design. The hybrid design is an intervening cultural space. The intervening space is constructed by 3 codes: general cultural pattern codes, contextual cultural pattern codes and individual artist codes. The operational way between design codes is individual translation. Individual translation is done by the artist. The artist has his own way in interpreting the selected general and contextual pattern. As an addition to the compound, the artist will also add his specific character that signed his work of art which represent his identity. At the end, the novelty of the work of art will come up naturally because of the existence of individual code and his way of translation. The second conclusion is a reflection about the meaning of the hybrid design. The hybrid design is the third space, that is the non-categorical area. It is the ambiguous space that has an identity of becoming. The hybrid design has the character of ambiguity as the object represents dual characters of different cultures. In this case study, the object does not belong to Japanese or Indonesian cultures. When the work of art is perceived by different readers in the exhibition, its meaning will be interpreted differently. It does not refer to a certain culture. Its identity will always be in the state of becoming, as its meaning is always in the state of being reinterpreted by different readers.

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Global Identity and Culture Transmission

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Introduction

In the 80s, the Hong Kong entertainment and cultural scene were more liberal compared to present times as they were able to absorb foreign culture despite the gap between eastern and western countries. Hong Kong established a local culture by using foreign culture as reference, which was called a culture moment. Hong Kong tried to retain the Chinese culture, and also learnt from Europe and Japan at the same time, which helped create Hong Kong's unique style. There were intermediaries who acted as important agents and experienced the collaboration of cross-nation culture and they became popular and well known to the community. To investigate such roles of intermediaries, qualitative researches were conducted on relevant editor in music magazines in 80s with in-depth face to face interviews. This essay strives to identify and map adapted songs and their ubiquitous influence among the Cantopop industry in the context of globalization.

This research aims to dissect the roles of cultural intermediaries and examine how they popularized Japanese Pop Music in Hong Kong. However, it also argues that the popularity of Japanese Pop Music in Hong Kong should be attributed to the localizing actions and efforts of the cultural intermediaries themselves. Diving deeper, it suggests that their contributions in discovering, deciding, directing and diffusing such Pop Music has greatly eased its introduction by conforming to local tastes and demands.

In order to determine the role of cultural intermediaries in the spread of Japanese pop music to Hong Kong, case study of magazine publisher will be examined to investigate the functions in such process.

1.1 Sam Jor – The Agent who promoted Japanese Rock Music to Hong Kong

This section will examine the contributions of Sam Jor as an agent. He is the founder of a local music magazine, *Music Week*, and organized many rock music shows in Hong Kong since the late 70s. He organized concerts mainly for foreign performers including Japanese bands and rock stars. Sam is still in the field today, maintaining the Facebook Fan page of *Music Week*, which acts as a channel on social media to share international music with fans. (Jor, personal communication, Nov, 19, 2011)

Sam Jor played various roles in the music industry. He worked as a music critic and host of a radio program in RTHK during the 80s, where his intensive knowledge in local and foreign rock music attracted many fans. As a founder, editor and writer of the magazine *Music Week*, he inspired many other music agents in publishing music magazines. He was a show organizer, who organized many rock band concerts locally and internationally. With all the experience and reputation gained from these roles, he became the director of Amuse Hong Kong, a Japanese entertainment corporation, thus proving the trust between him and Japanese agents. In addition to being an agent, he also represented the company and developed the AMUSE business in Hong Kong.

This section will attempt to explore Sam Jor's contributions. The first section will discuss the impact of Japanese rock bands in Hong Kong. It will also compare Sam Jor with Charles Lam and Pato Leung in their contributions to the development of

Japanese culture in Hong Kong. Moreover, the production of Japanese music and its influence in the Hong Kong pop scene will also be discussed.

1.2 From Radio DJ to Cultural Agent

When Jor was young, he encountered western pop music through radio programs, which included The Beatles, Woodstock. Then he gradually became attracted to foreign music genres and songs. He was a fan of foreign music magazines, which provided him with music knowledge. Although he was raised in a middle class family, he worked hard to finance his purchases for records.

In 1969, when Jor was still a student, he started writing music articles for local newspapers and magazines introducing foreign and local music. One of the magazines he worked for was *Hong Kong Youth Weekly* (香港青年週報), where the chief editor was Shum Kwun-Nam (岑崑南) , a popular movie critic. Jor's early works included music critiques of a popular music band "Deep Purple" in *Youth Weekly*. He was also a Radio DJ in Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK). Many of the radio program audience became his followers, admiring his knowledge and vision on music. Therefore, when he started *Music Week*, some of those music fans became readers of the magazine.

"Norman was one of the readers who was familiar with me when I was still a columnist in *Hong Kong Youth Weekly*," Jor said. (Jor, personal communication, 2011)

Norman was also an avid fan of Jor's radio program. Norman used to take a portable radio and went to the rooftop of his house to listen to the radio whenever Jor was in air. Now Norman has his own restaurant in Areia Preta of Macau. When Sam Jor went to visit him, Jor found that Norman had decorated his restaurant with many posters of rock stars with "Rock & Roll" background music of the 80s. Jor was amazed by the degree of influence that he had on this fan.

Jor then met Mr. Wan Way-Kuen, who was working as an editor in *Hong Kong Youth Weekly* as well. He invited Jor to start up a new music magazine so that they can introduce their favorite music with less editorial constraints. Together they invested approximately HKD 90,000 for the business in 1975. Although they did not have much experience in magazine publishing, they started their own publication, *Music Week*, on 4th April 1975. There were only three people in the team initially, which included Edwin, Hong Ka-Chun and Vivian. All operational tasks including researching, writing, editing, proofreading and layout designing were done by themselves. Unfortunately, the business was not very profitable it hemorrhaged a lot money as a result. Despite the loss, his business partner Mr. Wan Wai-Kuen and Sam stayed, waiting for another chance to start it up again (Jor, 2012). They were successful in the later years before the magazine came to an end and recently *Music Week* is available to be seen again with a price of $15 for two episodes in digital version.

During that period, only few a music programs were dedicated to introducing indie music and rock music Hence, he wrote a letter to RTHK suggesting to develop a music program to introduce foreign music His suggestion was accepted, and his

career started in RTHK as a scriptwriter. Mr. Siu Leong was the presenter of the program who read Jor's scripts to introduce foreign music and indie music. As the budget for producing the program was reduced later, Jor became the presenter of the radio program "In Rock" (樂在其中), introducing his music on air by himself.

Jor's dedication could be shown through how despite budget cuts, he was still willing to continue his work for no pay. He frequently introduced albums purchased by himself (Jor, personal communication, Nov, 19, 2011), because most of them were not yet released in Hong Kong. Over the next three years, Sam continued to manage the business and operation of *Music Week* while being a DJ at the same time. Later on, he shifted his focus to his magazine and music show operation. With the knowledge and reputation gained from different music magazines as well as his strong network within the industry, he began to organize music concerts in Hong Kong for foreign performers. He gained a positive reputation for the amount of effort and dedication he put into his work. Even after he quitted the job as a radio host, his music critiques and articles were well received. As Wong C.C. wrote on his book "*Echo*":

Sam Jor contributed to bring the MTV culture and radio music trend through his magazine "*Music week*" and his program "*Enjoy yourself*" and this is a very important for the rise of foreign music culture here in Hong Kong. (Wong, 2007:45)

Jor was often referred as the "*Father of Rock*" in Hong Kong by the media. During his career in the music industry, he introduced a lot of Japanese heavy metal bands to Hong Kong. According to Jor, the 70s was a good timing for Japanese rock bands to enter the Hong Kong market (*Music week*, 2013). He was the first agent to introduce BOWOW's music to Hong Kong in 1975. Jor was also involved in organizing local concerts and shows for Hong Kong local bands such as Ramband. Through this, his reputation as an agent and professional music organizer gradually increased. During this time, Hong Kong rock music fan base also developed and grew. In the 80s, the amount of rock fans in Hong Kong increased significantly when compared with the 70s. It was a good timing for Japanese rock bands to enter the Hong Kong market. Most of the readers of *Music Week* were fans of rock music. Around 10000 copies were often sold per issue, hence when the concerts of Japanese rock stars were promoted in magazines, tickets were often sold out in a short period of time. (Jor, personal communication, 2011)

1.3 Material Practices

"We should treasure the power and influence of mass media, and make good use of it, build up and maintain a good reputation when we are in the field, and we should not lose the confidence from the readers" (Jor, personal communication, Nov, 19, 2011). During the author's interview with Sam Jor, he stated that his mission was reflected throughout important contributions he made with his various roles, especially with the involvement in mass media industry as a radio DJ and co-founder of a local music magazine.

Multiple role as a Major Rock Show Organizer

Jor organized many concerts for Hong Kong rock bands in the early stage of his career as an agent, including "Ramband" and "We". These concerts also gave the local bands an opportunity to collaborate with famous foreign rock bands such as "Girl" from Britain, Bon Jovi, Deph Nephan, and the rock band "JAPAN" from England whose music attracted many fans from Hong Kong and overseas. Also, at concerts such as "Live from the Underground" held at Ko Shan Stadium, Jor invited many English bands to perform. Various music styles such as post punk, heavy metal, gothic and electronic were also introduced through the concerts.

As Jor became more and more experienced as a concert organizer, his network within the entertainment field and show business grew. He imported important western music records to the Hong Kong market. In addition, he organized groundbreaking music concerts, which mainly featured rock and electronic music, such as The Police, Culture Club, Depeche Mode, Japan, and OMD. Jor also arranged exclusive interviews for "*Music Week*". For instance, in issue 25, there was an article titled - "Exclusive news-The band Tubes –Mick Jagger's favorite new band". This was the first time that a magazine has covered for this band (*Music Week*, 1975 : 4)

Jor built up good connections with the Japanese agents by meeting rock bands in Japan. He also invited Takanaka Masayoshi（高中正義）and Chyi Chin (齊秦) to perform together with Santana in Taipei in 1986. Other concerts which Jor had organized included Oda Kazumasa（小田和正）, Loudness and Pink Cloud. Being able to organize a concert together with these artists who were all from different agencies demonstrated his vast connections with various Japanese agents.

Jor introduced the music of Yellow Magic Orchestra (YMO) to Hong Kong during the mid 80s through *Music Week*. Subsequently, he organized a performance in Hong Kong for Matsutake Hideki (松武秀樹), who was one of the members of YMO. This is a typical method employed by Jor to introduce new artists to Hong Kong. This was done through the use of various media channels, music articles in his magazine, and finally importing some albums to satisfy the market's demand. Once a large fan base was developed, Jor could then organize a live performance for the artist or band in Hong Kong and Asia. Nevertheless, Jor stressed that his choice of music should be independent from profit considerations, and good music should be selected with his musical instinct, knowledge and experience: "The more music you explore, the better instinct you will develop for yourself. You can tell whether it is good music or not, and select only the really good ones to be shared with the others."

The first issue of *Music Week* was released in April 1975. Its main theme was "Rock and Roll will never die" and it was sold at the price of fifty cents per copy. In these early issues, Jor mainly focused on western music and both he and his writers introduced music bands that were unpopular or virtually unknown to Hong Kong at that time. (Wan, 1978). However, as one of his partners was more familiar with Japanese music, this partner devoted a weekly section of the magazine to introduce and analyze different Japanese music to readers (the editor, 2013). Some of the information was extracted from Japanese magazines, while the writers of *Music Week* was also able to obtain first hand information as they had connections with Japanese friends in the field. "The sales volume of *Music Week* was not very high at the

beginning," said Sam Jor. "Only a few thousand copies were sold weekly in the beginning, however, it increased to more than twenty thousand in the mid 80's." (Jor, personal communication, Nov, 19, 2011).

Music Week focused on the foreign music scene but covered Japanese news every week in a different column. For example in issue 26, there were reports about "Tour of Carpenters and Suze Quatro in Japan", "Limited edited photo of Saijo Hideiki game", "The new group from Hong Kong-Shells Brother and Sister Band in Japan" and "Entertainment flash of Japan". (Wan,1975 : 1-8)

By establishing a music magazine and introducing foreign songs in radio programs, Jor successfully brought a new music style to Hong Kong: Japanese music. This also inspired other people to develop their own music magazines. Jor had introduced a new trend to society, which was a remarkable milestone in the music field.

1.4 Contribution

Besides *Music Week*, magazines such as *Youth Weekly* (現代青年人周報), *New time Magazine* (新時代), *100 Marks Magazine* (100分) and *Sisters* (姊妹) were also popular entertainment magazines for young people in the 80s. Much of the contents in those magazines were adapted from the Japanese magazines, like *Star* (明星) and *Natural* (平凡).

Although many Hong Kong fans were unable to speak or read Japanese, they were still fond of Japanese music and rock bands. Jor believed that language is not a barrier, and good quality music would always attract people. With this vision and belief, *Music Week* was more than just a printed magazine that delivered music news to readers. It also served as a platform for music sharing among fans and the editors. During that period, due to lack of modern telecommunication devices, readers of *Music Week* would come to the editor's office to meet the team, chat and explore music from all around the world, with some of them becoming friends due to this contact.

The scope of Sam Jor's content contribution in *Music Week* was more international when compared with the magazines available at the time. "There were no one doing this (music magazine with much editorial freedom and less concern on profit-making) in the market, so we did it by ourselves, that was our initiative and starting point for *Music Week*." said Sam. Some albums which were not officially released yet which were introduced on the magazine were purchased and imported by Sam Jor. Furthermore, Jor and his friends played an integral role in providing inside stories behind the scene. There were very few translated articles in the magazine, as Sam Jor and his team conducted most of the interviews themselves. His partner speaks Japanese, allowing them to serve as a reporter and writer without the need of a translator. Moreover, Gerry, another writer in *Music Week*, married a Japanese wife due to his interest in Japanese culture.

These writers often used a travelogue style to introduce Japanese songs and showed interesting inside stories from visiting record companies. They did so in an attempt to raise the level of public interest and acceptance towards Japanese music. Besides,

Jor's close relationship with artists and their agents often gave him first hand information about new songs or trends of the scene. For example, he befriended Paul McCartney, and went to see McCartney's concert in Tokyo while also meeting BOWOW's Yamamoto there. They were not experienced reporters and did not prepare in advance for their article's writing style and content.

One of the unique characteristics of Japanese rock bands was their similarity with western style rock bands. Moreover, the Japanese emphasized on band image, while integrating elements of western rock. Therefore, such "repackaged" bands, which were catered to Asian taste, was suitable to be introduced in Hong Kong. "Popularity of Japanese rock music in Hong Kong was not very much related to economic growth." Sam Jor said. He also commented that although fewer people attended rock concerts than pop music concerts, rock concerts had a much more loyal fan base. Jor stated "There are always some people who are interested in alternative choices of music. If people really like something, you would save money and spend on it." (Jor, personal communication, Nov, 19, 2011).

Jor never misses a chance to discover the best Japanese rock music in the 80s. Once he went to the Artist Theatre to watch the Japanese top rock group "Creation" in Roppongi. He went to the back stage and met Kazuro Takeda. Jor didn't know any Japanese at all but he still had the chance to do an interview with Mr. Takeda for a column of *Music Week*. Then famous Singer Mr. Danny Summer told Jor that he loved the music of Creation was impressed by Jor's recommendation. After that, Danny and Mr. Takeda became friends and invited him as a guest to his concert in 2007.

Many of the record companies at the time would put up advertisements in *Music Week*, due to its ability to reach its intended target audience. Many of *Music Week*'s readers were music lovers and were willing to spend money on music shows and foreign music albums. However, certain imported records still did not sell well in Hong Kong despite the good contents. Jor would sometimes identify these "hidden gems", and then introduce them in *Music Week*, and their popularity and sales would then be boosted. One of such cases involved the UK rock band JAPAN, whose members included David Sylvain, Mick Karn, Steve Jansen, Richard Barbieri and Rob Dean. Jor became acquainted with their UK agent, and arranged a live performance for them in Hong Kong, which turned out to be a big success although the band was not popular in Hong Kong before Jor's introduction.

In the eighties and nineties, many Japanese companies were very eager to export Japanese culture to other countries. Jor kept exploring opportunities to introduce Japanese rock music in the entertainment field, but it was not easy for him. Since Japanese people's work attitude was very careful, they would research and investigate every proposal carefully before investing in the project. They would choose their collaborators very carefully by thoroughly researching their backgrounds. This included company loyalty, credibility and reputation of a person before making a decision on joint projects and investment.

Amuse has been one of the Japan's largest entertainment groups in Hong Kong and according to the Amuse website, the company started its Hong Kong branch in 1991. At that time, Amuse Japan had signed popular artists like Southern All Stars, BOW-

WOW, and Bakufu-Slump (爆風Slump), with an ambitious plan to develop their business further in the Asia-Pacific region. Although Hong Kong was just a small market compared with Mainland China and other large cities in South East Asia, Amuse Japan believed it was the best choice to open their branch in Hong Kong. After extensive research and meetings with Jor, the management of Amuse understood him as a capable agent who was the right person to act as the president of their overseas branch.

Jor was appointed by Amuse Japan as the Director of Amuse Hong Kong. At the time, Jor did not intend to apply for this position. "I was travelling to Japan with Beyond (the Hong Kong rock band) to visit the Vice President of Amuse Japan at his house. Then, all of the sudden, I was announced as the president of Amuse.", said Sam Jor during the interview. He understand that he is not a businessman, but he created the chance for Beyond to perform in Japan and introduced them to Amuse. They would cooperate with him even without formal contracts, as Jor was a professional and experienced organizer of many concerts in Hong Kong. With this trust, Jor became the first agent to introduce Bakufu-Slump（爆風Slump）to Hong Kong, Singapore and Bangkok. He organized concerts for them, as part of his efforts to help Amuse to explore overseas markets such as Hong Kong.

For Japanese entertainment agencies, the contracts with artists were similar to those in Hong Kong. Salaries were offered to artists on a monthly basis. The agency would be responsible for management, job arrangements and promotions for their artists. Sometimes accommodation and living allowances would also be offered.

1.5 Reasons of Success

Jor was a paramount figure in the introduction of foreign rock and roll music from Europe. He was praised as the "father of rock and roll", and introduced music with "personality jocks" style as described in Tony Bennett's book *"Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, institutions"*:

> "While it was still possible to segregate juke boxes, record stores, dance halls and night clubs, it was no longer possible to segregate the airwaves. In growing numbers, while as well as black listeners chose to tune their radio dials to the archetypically fast-talking 'personality jocks', as the R & B DJs were called." (Bennett, 1993: 235).

Jor represented an important agent that introduced Japanese R & B band and music to Hong Kong fans. Japan rock music was attractive with an enticing melody. The stunning appearance of the performers catered to the interests of young people. The music was very popular among fans although most of them did not understand the contents. Some of the lyrics were in English and with some familiar Chinese characters and English translations. Altogether, this allowed the adapted music to become a different genre from other pop songs.

Magazine publishers created a network of information of Japanese idols, culture and music. This had opened a door for Hong Kong citizens to discover Japanese music and culture. However, printed media were limited to information transporting. Their influences were varied by the leve of interest that the public had towards their

magazines. Moreover, songs cannot be directly delivered through printed medias. The need of more direct promotion of Japanese is seen. In terms of the selection, transformation and promotion of Japanese songs, DJs and music producers, which would be introduced in the next chapter, would show their influence and impact on the phenomenon of Japanese music importation. All in all, although all three intermediaries all pursued this pathway with different goals in mind, they were still successful in introducing Japanese culture to Hong Kong.

2. The New Era of Music Trend in the 80s

The above stated factors were crucial in importing Japanese music in the 80s. In fact, the author argues that the above stated factors were interdependent. These factors did not stand alone. For example, if Cultural Intermediaries had sufficient discovery towards Japanese music yet did not choose the right timing to promote them, the importation of Japanese music wouldn't be as successful in the 80s. Although there were environmental factors which determined the success of importation, it is truly the human factors that will react to these environmental conditions by taking appropriate actions, thus making the importation of culture a success and unique. The recipients of their music selection also plays a role as a cultural consumer. For instance, they play an active role in providing feedback to these Cultural Intermediaries which might influence music selection and choice.

The thesis is successful in till limitations such as having access to more data and interviews from Japanese Artists. Increasing the scope of research subjects such as recipients of Japanese music can allow the author to obtain more perspectives to compare with Cultural Intermediaries. Moreover, the old patterns of expertise and institutional authority will be challenged in the new century and further research could be obtained.

In addition, Japanese music has recently spread to a much wider scope, such as Mainland China and other South East countries. Looking forward to the 21st century, Japanese music is no longer as phenomenal as it was in the 80s. However, its influence could still be seen in Hong Kong's society. It has been overshadowed by the recent rise in K-pop where it has been able to garner public interests by promoting a new genre of music with dancing singers and electronic music. Ultimately, Japanese Culture has assimilated to such an extent in Hong Kong that it is considered as an irreplaceable facet of Hong Kong culture.

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The Hall of Mirrors:
Reflections on Cultural Belonging

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Culture is not only a defining element of a society but also a natural attribute of a human being. Culture in fact is human nature. While it manifests itself in a kaleidoscopic array of various elements, what makes it universal and therefore accessible is that common humanity which bonds the seemingly unconnected elements. Today people routinely travel to foreign lands for tourism, study, business, research, and family visits. It provides valuable learning opportunities, as well as cultural infusions of new thoughts and new experiences from outside the borders. The world is becoming smaller and smaller and more and more accessible through various types of media. International and intercultural communication has become a commonplace activity for everyone. However, there is a big difference in consuming foreign culture through media and actually living the experience. In a way, we are all sculpting our cultural and intercultural identity as we live those experiences balancing cultural identity.

While in the past scholars saw affiliation with a cultural group as something more or less obvious and stable, today cultural identity is more often seen as an intercultural belonging, which is fluid and ever changing. Cultural identity today may be often seen as a cultural dialogue, "trialogue" or even "multilogue". According to Vivian Hsueh-Hua Chen, "Intercultural dialogue produces a contested space where cultural identity is constantly redefined and negotiated." Does it mean that cultural identity doesn't really exist any more and has become intercultural identity all together?

According to Askegaard, cultural identity is formed by four different elements, that he calls "mirrors". They are past, which is retrospective mirror, future – prospective mirror, interactive mirror and a coalescing one. (Askegaard 1991:12)

The retrospective "mirror" reflects the base of the culture in the past. It is a spatial and temporal anchor that holds culture in place. In contrast, prospective "mirror" reflects the future and suggests change. The interactive "mirror" includes human reflection, refers to a group of people versus another group of people, in other words, it locates culture in its environment. Language is one of those organizing systems people use to express themselves as a cultural group. The fourth coalescent "mirror" reflects internal human relations to the culture.

In my opinion, this fourth coalescent mirror is a key to fostering intercultural quality of one's character and one's life. It refers to our common humanity that makes us all human beings. Contemplative pedagogy can play an important role in intercultural education. Cultural competence can be added as the fifth language competence along with reading, writing, hearing and speaking. Today's language teacher needs to be able to bridge cultures of the target language and to also take into consideration the existence of the "mini globe" of students in the classroom. There is no GPS to navigate this practically kaleidoscopic reality. It demands new views and innovative approaches in order to deliver what a citizen of the world needs. Today's teacher has to be not only culturally sensitive but also possess a multicultural awareness.

Contemplation fosters additional ways of knowing that complement the existing methods of the traditional 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."

Contemplative pedagogy uses methods designed to quiet and shift the habitual chatter of the mind and to cultivate a capacity for deepened awareness, concentration, and insight.

Getting students physically and emotionally involved in the learning process gives them better spatial and temporal awareness as well as awareness of each other. Sensory engagement offers students the therapeutic effects of cultural experience as well as better understanding of the subject.

Research confirms that contemplative forms of inquiry can offset the constant distractions of our multi-tasking, multi-media cultural environment. Thus, creative teaching and learning methods that integrate the ancient practice of contemplation innovatively meet the particular needs of today's students and teachers. While one can never become a "native speaker", one certainly can be a "carrier of culture" able to offer the distilled cultural information needed to succeed in the global environment. This information is often in its purest form, stripped from various cultural and social restrictions imposed by the birthplace. Therefore the learned or acquired- language teacher becomes not only a carrier of that one particular culture but also a carrier of multi-cultures. This intercultural rather than multicultural belonging, which is already a reality of our time, is a reflection of our common human experience.

I argue that cultural belonging is navigated by individually recognized common humanity. Living in a space of multiple borderlands allows one to sculpt their own cultural belonging and identity. Not simply co-existence, but also, co-presence and actually, co-experience play an important role.

The realities of today's multicultural language learning classroom in Canadian university setting demands a new approach from learners, teachers and education administrators. It needs to reflect tremendous, practically kaleidoscopic, changes in order to better prepare, guide and equip new language speakers. Today's language learners need to be able to not only be fluent in language but also be fluid in the culture associated with it, both in and outside its country. Panoramic cultural awareness will enable them to not only survive but also thrive and flourish there.

Cultural competence can be added as the fifth language competence along with reading, writing, hearing and speaking. Language teachers today must be able to bridge different cultures within their classroom. They have to be not only culturally but also multi-culturally sensitive and capable. Acquired or learned language teachers are playing an important role. They not only provide linguistic abilities so seldom attainable to the perfection (in fact, even by the native speakers) but also to empower the students with the most magic and universal tool – culture. Cultural flexibility is an important quality for the language instructor to possess. It creates a productive atmosphere in a multicultural language-learning classroom and offers another "key to the twenty-first century".

Today's classroom is a kaleidoscope of cultural borderlands. Reflecting each other, being reflections of each other, often changing and challenging each other and yet all being part of the same picture frame. Contemplative pedagogical approaches contribute to better understanding between cultures, social groups and individuals and promote a more creative and tolerant thinking.

"I think of myself not as a unified cultural being but as a communion of different cultural beings. Due to the fact that I spent time in different cultural environments, I have developed several cultural identities that diverge and converge according to the need of the moment." (Sparrow, 2000, p. 190)

While "othering" denies a shared sense of common humanity, contemplative cultural practices provide the setting, environment and narrative for a shared experience, where distrust of the "Other" is dissolved as interaction takes place. By de-centering the subject they offer a new and viable alternative to binary representation and overcomes the traditional dichotomy between self and others while re-thinking the whole idea of difference. They allow us to fully develop our "human-beingness", which is the development of mind, body, intelligence, sensitivity, aesthetic appreciation and spirituality.

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Comparison between Japanese Tipping Customs, Kokorodzuke, and Western Tipping Customs: Japanese Cultural Uniqueness Making Foreign Tourists Confused

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Abstract
Our research topic is a discovery of Japanese cultures uniqueness making international travelers get confused and disappointed from tipping customs' differences between Japan and western countries. Most people think that there is no tipping custom in Japan, and this is not wrong in most situations. Therefore, many international tourists can enjoy Japan staying without worrying about the tipping problem. However, there has been some specific situations that require people to tip. Staying in Japanese traditional style luxury hotels is one of the most significant situations that people should customarily tip. This is the Japanese untold tipping custom called *kokorodzuke*. Surprisingly, there is no clear definition of *kokorodzuke*. Therefore, we conducted text mining on Yahoo *chiebukuro* (Yahoo Answers). As a result, we found that many Japanese people also got confused and disappointed by this custom when they were going to stay in Japanese traditional style hotels called *ryokans*. From this result, we thought that international tourists must get confused and disappointed about *kokorodzuke* as well as the Japanese people, and that some of them might have uncomfortable experiences because of the ignorance of this custom during their staying. We confirmed that from text mining results by wrod2vec. In the paper, we show the text mining results. If it derived from Japanese traditional untold cultures, Japanese people engaging in doing business with international tourists should improve the current status to remove the barrier.

Keywords: *kokorodzuke*, tipping customs, Kyoto *ryokan*, text mining, *tripadvisor*, Yahoo Answers, LDA, word2vec

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Introduction

Since IOC (International Olympic Committee) chose Tokyo as the Olympic Games venue, Japanese government has strived for attracting more international tourists to Japan for foreign currency. Many facilities, sites, services, and so on are have become international-friendly, and this improvement attracts more international tourists. Then, the Japanese government's endeavor seems to have been archiving a quite success. However, there would be many problems that should be improved in future.

We focus on Japanese hotel tipping customs called *kokorozduke,* as one of the problems. First, we shall locate the existence of the problem; whether some international tourists get confused and disappointed with the Japanese hotel tipping customs or not. The analysis method is a topic extraction by text mining. Secondly, we clarify Japanese persons' common sense of *kokorodzuke* by text mining. As a result, we found that even Japanese people are likely to get confused and disappointed when they stay at Japanese style hotels called *ryokans.* From this result, we thought that international tourists must get confused and disappointed about *kokorodzuke* as well as the Japanese people, and we can guess that some of them might have uncomfortable experiences because they have no idea on this custom during their staying. We confirmed the existence of the problem from text mining results by wrod2vec. In the paper, we show the text mining results.

Our Research Method and Data

In this section, we will describe our research method and data we used. The data we used in the analysis are data from *tripadvisor* and Yahoo Answers (Yahoo *chiebukuro*). *tripadvisor*® is the world's largest travel site, enabling travelers to unleash the full potential of every trip. The sites operate in 48 markets worldwide (cited from https://www.tripadvisor.com/PressCenter-c6-About_Us.html). The *tripadvisor* offers advices from millions of travelers and a wide variety of travel choices and planning features with seamless links to booking tools that check hundreds of websites to find the best hotel prices, so that the *tripadvisor* can hold the largest travel community in the world. We shall collect the international travelers' comments from *tripadvisor* which are written in English. On the other hand, when we would like to survey the Japanese common sense, Yahoo Answers is one of the best web sites. Yahoo Answers is a community-driven question-and-answer (Q&A) site that allows users to both submit questions to be answered and answer questions asked by other users (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yahoo!_Answers). The Q&A sentences are written in Japanese.

Let us explain our research approach. First, we would like to collect international tourists' comments about trips in Kyoto which is the most popular location in Japan. We selected *tripadvisor* as the web site. When we conducted topic extraction on the data, we found that many international tourists get confused with Japanese tipping system *kokorodzuke.* Then we were interested in *the kokorodzuke.* Because we have no idea on *kokorodzuke,* first we started survey on the Japanese common sense on *kokorodzuke,* using Yahoo Answers. From the results, we found that many Japanese have no clear idea on *kokorodzuke.* Therefore, we inferred that it is quite natural for international persons not to understand the complicated customs. Then we again analyzed the *tripadvisor* data so that we can collect the international tourists'

complains on *kokorodzuke.*

On *tripadvisor*, we collected text data with the retrieval keyword "Kyoto, Japan" (See Table 1). The total number of collected reviews is 29,030. The data period is from May 23rd, 2004 to October 25th, 2016. We conducted a topic extraction on the 2016 data. The number of the reviews in 2016 is <u>7,685</u>, the number of words is <u>720,996</u>, and the period is <u>January 1st to October 25th</u>. We used TreeTagger[1] as the morphological analysis tool for segmentation of the English messages. As a word unit, we use a noun-noun bigram such as "style+room".

Table 1: Collected data's details for topic extraction

	TripAdvisor	Yahoo Answers (*chiebukuro*)
Keywords	*Kyoto, Ryokan*	*kokorodzuke*
The Number of Reviews/Q&As	7,685	1,929
The Number of Words	720,996	174,271
Period	01/01(2016)-10/25 (2016)	05/28 (2004) - 09/07 (2016)
Language	English	Japanese
Tool	TreeTagger	MeCab
Word Unit	noun-noun bigram	noun-noun bigram

We constructed, from the text data, the topic extraction using the LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation) model. The LDA model is a widely-used multi-topic document model based on Baysian intefrence method (D. M. Blei, A. Y. Ng, and M. I. Jordan., 2003). The Markov chain Monte Carlo methods (MCMC) algorithm we used on the LDA model was Gibbs sampling (D.M. et al., 2003). The Gibbs sampling is widely used. The algorithm is visually explained in (Y. Shirota, T. Hashimoto, and B. Chakraborty., 2016). As the programme of the LDA with the Gibbs sampling, we used the R packaged offered by "The Comprehensive R Archive Network abbreviated as CRAN titled "lda: Collapsed Gibbs sampling methods for topic models" developed by Jonathan Chang[2]. In LDA model, we have to dcide in advance the number of topics. In this work, we decided the number to be seven after some experimentation, because with the seven topics, the topics clearly appreared. The results are shown in Table 2. There most frequently appearing words per topic are described. The contents of the extracted topics are described in the next section.

In the same way, we collected text data with the retrieval keyword *kokorodzuke* on Yahoo Answers (See Table 1). The retrieval keyword is "*kokoroduke*" in Japanese. As the messages are written in Japanese, we used MeCab[3] as the morphological analyzer. As a word unit, we use a noun-noun bigram such as "ホテル+チップ" which means "hotel tipping" in English. The number of Q&As about *kokoroduke* we extracted is 1929, the number of Japanese characters is 174,271, and the period is from May 28th, 2004 to September 7th, 2016. Then we conducted topic extraction. Then we found that five was appropriate as the number of topics. The results are shown in Table 3.

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[1] http://www.cis.uni-muenchen.de/~schmid/tools/TreeTagger/
[2] CRAN web page: http://cran.r-project.org/
[3] http://taku910.github.io/mecab/

In addition to the LDA model, we also used the word2vec for the analysis (Mikolov et al. 2013). Word2vec, based on the two-layer neural network, makes the word vectors which correspond to principal components so that they can represent words in the vector space. In advance, we make a vector representation model from the input text file. The output of word2vec is the vector representation model (vector space) in which each word is represented as a vector. Let us show you an example in Figure 1. There, the word "Japanese" is expressed as a vector with six element values from V1 to V6.

```
> word2vec_model[["Japanese"]]
A VectorSpaceModel object of  1  words and  100  vectors
        V1          V2          V3          V4          V5          V6
 0.009571 -0.221544  0.340363  0.147666 -0.384261 -0.048622
```

Figure 1: A vector representation example of the word "Japanese"

Using the vector representation model, we can calculate the similarity level between two words. Given a word, we can extract the similar word list to the word. Then we can get the subset of the vector space of the extracted similar word list. For the subset vector space, we shall conduct visualization using t-SNE (t-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding) as shown in Figure 2. The t-SNE conducts dimensionality reduction that is particularly well suited for the visualization of high-dimensional datasets (Maaten 2014). In the paper, the number of dimensions are reduced from 100 to two. The two axes are corresponding to the two principal component directions that t-SNE extracted. In the following of the paper, we shall use the same framing of the t-SNE without axis names.
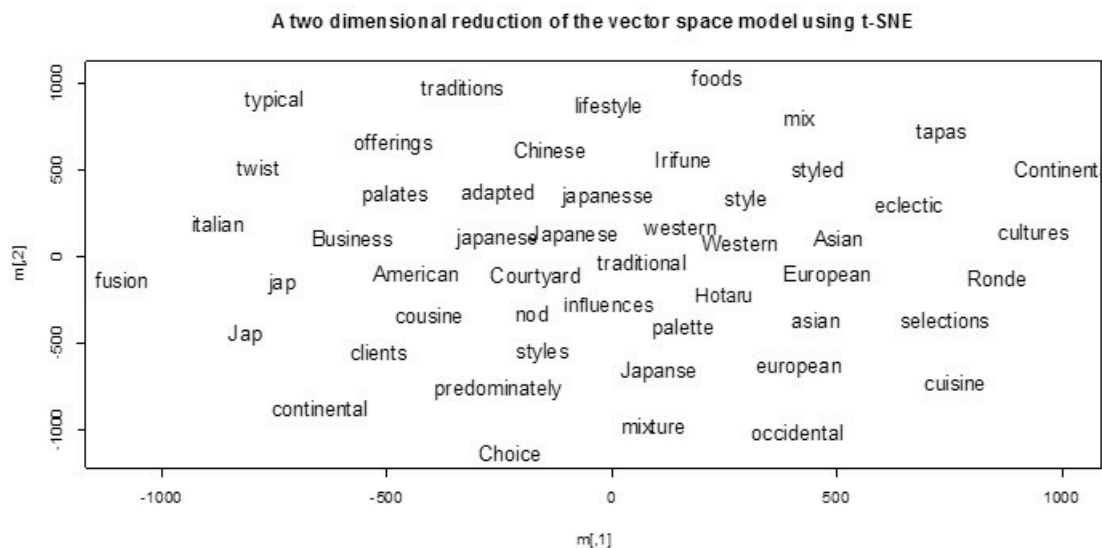
Figure 2: A two dimensional reduction of the vector space model using t-SNE

The Result of Topic Extraction

In the section, we shall describe the results of the topic extraction. The first purpose of the text mining from *tripadvisor* is that we should understand the current status of the

international tourists. We set the number of topics seven and extracted the topics. Let us explain the topic extraction results (See Table 2). We interpret the topic titles as following: (1) sightseeing, (2) transportation, (3) popular things, (4) room preference, (5) train station, (6) bamboo, monkey park (*Arashiyama*), and (7) Kyoto station.

Table 2. Extracted topics and its most frequently appeared words

#	1	#	2	#	3
Golden+Pavilion	78	train+station	179	ice+cream	71
entrance+fee	75	Kyoto+station	138	*blossom+season	31
souvenir+shop	50	Kyoto+Station	76	guest+house	29
temple+ground	45	bus+stop	75	Chao+Chao	27
Yasaka+Shrine	41	subway+station	66	tour+bus	26
Golden+Temple	39	bus+station	49	tea+house	22
Kiyomizu-dera+Temple	34	breakfast+buffet	43	Golden+Pavillion	22
Buddhist+temple	31	tourist+attraction	42	*Gion+area	18
Maruyama+Park	31	convenience+store	42	dining+experience	18
blossom+season	30	minute+walk	41	tea+ceremony	17
#	4	#	5	#	6
style+room	69	train+station	264	bamboo+forest	397
*tatami+mat	44	Kyoto+station	189	bamboo+grove	148
Hotel+Mume	42	Kyoto+Station	116	monkey+park	66
ryokan+experience	42	subway+station	105	ice+cream	49
*kaiseki+dinner	36	minute+walk	88	Bamboo+Forest	43
capsule+hotel	36	hotel+room	72	bamboo+tree	41
taxi+driver	31	Kyoto+train	71	day+trip	39
dining+room	29	bus+stop	64	train+station	36
garden+view	28	smoking+room	63	train+ride	35
boutique+hotel	28	breakfast+buffet	53	Bamboo+forest	26

#	7
Kyoto+station	153
Kyoto+Station	129
train+station	61
minute+walk	47
Kyoto+Tower	39
subway+station	29
air+conditioner	25
bus+stop	24
taxi+ride	22
convenience+store	21

Gion area: a popular area in Kyoto, Japan
tatami: a type of rice straw made mat used as a flooring material in traditional Japanese-style rooms
kaiseki: a traditional multi-course Japanese dinner
*capsule hotel: a type of hotel developed in Japan that features a large number of extremely small "rooms" (capsules) intended to provide cheap, basic overnight accommodation for guests who do not require the services offered by more conventional hotels.

The topic (1) includes many popular spot names in Kyoto. Although we have no idea of the topic (6), we found that the topic corresponds to the *Arashiyama* area and that the bamboo forests and the monkey park got popular. In these results, we were interested in the fourth topic "room preference" in which they talked about *ryokan*s and the Japanese style rooms. The topic mainly talks on the advantages of *ryokan*s which are made of Japanese style housing (wooden dwells), *tatami* mats, *kaiseki* dinner, garden views and so forth. There is no explicit complain about *kokorozuke*. We, however, found two complaints in the original review sentences as follows:

● Furthermore, their billing practices, itemizing every single tea, bottle of water, snack or cup of tea and, to top it off, charging an outrageous 15% service charge on everything including the already expensive room rates is just infuriating. I wish I would have read another *tripadvisor* review mentioning the same thing before I booked that hotel.

● My problem with the inn was the lack of English speaking staff and understanding and added extras on the bill. We knew that there was an added 15% service charge to the bill along with a 5% tax. We were surprised that the inn had adopted a western tradition of service charge as that is unheard of everywhere else in Japan. We expected better service and English.

There we found that a few persons complain on *kokorozuke*. We think that the complaints stem from their ignorance of the *kokorozuke* system owing to lack of the explanation of *kokorozuke* system by *ryokan* staffs. As described in the above two cases, when the guests do not pay *kokorozuke*, then the *ryokan* would take that as additional service charge without explaining that. The Japanese tour business persons should tell the *kokorozuke*. However, it may be quite difficult for us to explain that because it is related to the Japanese mindfulness. To translate *kokorozuke* definitely or clearly, we will first have to know the Japanese people's common sense on *kokorozuke*. Therefore, we analyzed *kokorodzuke* from the Yahoo Answers Q&As. In this topic extraction, we set the number of topics to be five after some experimentation. We interpret the topics in the following ways (See Table 3):

(1) accommodation charge including service charge,
(2) *onsen ryokan*,
(3) tip occasion,
(4) *kokorozuke* amount, and
(5) manners on service charge.

From the topic (1), it is clear that most Japanese people think that they do not have to tip because accommodation charges already include service charges. There we found the Japanese words that mean "no need" or "included charge". The topic (2) talks about *kokorozuke* at *onsen ryokans* which are Japanese style hotels with nice hot spring bathing facilities.

Table 3. Topic extraction results on *kokorodzuke* on Yahoo Answers

	1		2		3		4		5
service charge	410	thousand dollar	59	thousand dollar	39	meal in room	85	a thousand JPY	276
basic	101	two people	42	100,000	14	1,000JPY*	76	service charge	106
employee	61	onsen ryokan	41	best man	13	*pochibukuro*	64	pochibukuro	75
included charge	46	service charge	34	birthday	12	showing room	62	3,000	56
accomodation charge	46	meal in the room	32	questioner	12	2,000JPY*	57	about yen	54
hotel charge	42	morning	25	hair salon	12	3,000JPY*	51	showing room	50
charge-service	39	30,000JPY	20	hotel charge	11	5,000JPY*	51	ten thousand yen	48
accomodation	35	need *kokorodzuke*	17	year ago	11	service charge	37	luxury *ryokan*	41
general	33	personal	17	host	11	about yen	34	~ 3	40
service charge	33	japan tip	17	*nishimura-ya*	11	yen~	34	yen~	33
no need tip	29	onsen inn	16	person in charge	10	questioner	29	receipt	33
personal	29	living cost	16	staying for 2 or more days	10	roughly yen	28	meal in room	32
showing room	27	staing in *ryokan*	14	hair make	10	driver	26	with room	32
room charge	27	a few years	14	tour company	9	luxury *ryokan*	24	basic	31
eed tip	25	non-regulated	13	bed make	9	basic	23	accomodation charge	29
no need *kokorodzuke*	25	need tip	12	how many people	8	tour company	22	employee	27
what special	24	questioner	12	we	8	check out	21	in room	25
luxury *ryokan*	23	theater side	12	times	8	general	21	3,000	24
bellboy	22	inn side	11	bride side	8	onsen ryokan	19	roughly yen	21
ryokan survice	21	dinner time	11	the Spanish	8	charge of room	19	hotel charge	17
								*1,000JPY as tip equalls one 10 dollar bill	

onsen: a Japanese hot spring and the bathing facilities and inns frequently situated around them

nishimura-ya: a famous Japanese style hotel (*ryokan*) with hot springs located in Hyogo prefecture

pochibukuro: a small envelope used for giving gratuities

The topic (3) is informative as it is talking about some special occasions in which *kokorozuke* is needed. In this topic, there are some words that could relate to wedding ceremonies such as a best man, a hair salon, a host, and so on. From these, in a Japanese common sense, kokorrozuke is needed first at *onsen ryokan*s and secondly at wedding parties. Although we did not first expect comments concerning *kokorodzuke* in wedding ceremonies, however, it becomes clear that *kokorodzuke* in wedding ceremonies is a common rule for many Japanese. From the text mining results, it becomes difficult to insist that there is no tipping system in *ryokan*s.

The topic (4) is some various opinions on an amount of *kokorodzuke*. Although the amount depends on each case, the standard level when you stay at *ryokan*s is discussed mainly there. From the comments, we can know that many people feel that 1,000 JPY (about 10 dollars) is enough. However, 2,000 JPY, 3,000 JPY, and 5.000 JPY are also described as frequently answers. The reason why there is no 4,000 JPY may be that many Japanese think the figure four 4 is an abominable figure. Therefore, we Japanese are likely to avoid the four related figures such as 4000.

The topic (5) discusses manners on service charges. The *pochibukuro* is a small envelop used for giving gratuities. The excellent manner says that the tip money should be handed over, being wrapped in the envelope. We think that the *pochibukuro* expresses Japanese mindfulness, thoughtfulness, and care for the hotel staff members. In Japan for New Year's older people give an allowance to younger people and in general the New Year's allowance is what people give to those below them (Takanori Shintani, Andrew P. Bourdelais, 2009). Then, the *pochibukuro* is used. For a wedding, there are different special ceremonial envelopes, not *pochibukuro*, for giving money

as gifts to the bride groom. The envelope is in form of ceremonial folded paper and colored paper strings. For a funeral, there are another special sympathy envelopes with black strings. The Japanese take care when handing money. The manners must have concerned others in society.

In conclusion, from these many comments on Yahoo Answers, we found that many Japanese must have got confused and disappointed with the tip problem at *ryokan*s. The most frequently asked questions were an appropriate tip amount. In addition, we found that there is no widely shared common rule about the amount.

The Result of word2vec

In the section, we shall describe the results by word2vec and t-SNE. Let us explain the input data of the word2vec. They are the text data from *tripadvisor* with the retrieval keyword "Kyoto, *ryokan*". The total number of collected reviews is 29,030. The data period is from May 23rd, 2004 to October 25th, 2016. The word2vec makes the vector model from the text data. Then on the vector model, we shall get similar words to the word "service charge." This is because we think that "service charge" is a similar word of *kokorodzuke*. Some concepts concerning *kokorodzuke* would appear around "service charge."

Figure 3 shows words similar to the word "service charge." There is no *kokoroduke* around the word "service charge", which means the reviewers must have no idea of the tipping system name. However, we found the two interesting results.

(1) Wi-Fi Free

As shown in Figure 3, we can see "Wi-Fi" in the neighborhood of "free" of "FREE". These words are frequently used with Wi-Fi, internet, PCs, and so on. Reading the original reviews, we found that Wi-Fi, internet, or PCs were offered with free charge in almost all *ryokans*. They are co-occurrence words.

(2) Tacit service charge

There are some emotional words such as abysmal, downer, poor, ridiculous and lousy. These words express negative emotions. Reading the original reviews, we found that the writers used these words when they were talking about *ryokans*' service, food, accommodation, and the service charge. One unexpected interesting finding is that some (or even many) *ryokans* take a 15%~18% service charge in addition to the accommodation fees. The problem is that the charge is conducted without guests' permissions. From their reviews, they complain that *ryokans* did not tell their guests about the service charge, in advance. And when guests left *ryokans* and looked at their receipts, they found that 15%~18% service charge was automatically charged together with the accommodation fees. If the international tourists were explained the additional service charge, they must have rejected the charge. Then, the *ryokan* staffs could not persuade them. There are two reasons why they could not persuade that. The first one is that the staffs in many cases would not have good command of English, so that they can explain the meaning of additional charge. In addition, we do not think that the *ryokan* staffs get used to debating; they would not be able to explain the charge logically. The second reason is that the international tourists would not

accept the additional charge, because they take it as a unilateral change after contracting once. The ryokan staffs would have expected their tacit approval of the additional charge. However, they would not accepted that and get cross when they saw the receipts.

A two dimensional reduction of the vector space model using t-SNE

Figure 3: The similar words to "service charge" in the vector model

The word2vec results exposed the fact that there were *ryokans that* charged the additional 15%~18% amount as a service charge. In other words, in Japanese *ryokans* there is surely a tipping custom, although they say their *ryokan* has no tipping custom. Then, how should the *ryokan* staffs explain *kokorodzuke?* That is our next theme.

Three Types of Tipping Situations in Japan and Problems of *Kokorodzuke*

In this section, we will analyze handing *kokorodzuke* situations and consider problems on *kokorodzuke*. From the topic extraction results, we think that handing tipping situations can be divided into the following three cases:

(Case 1) Standard level *ryokan*s without extra services. In the Japanese standards, accommodation expenses in many *ryokan*s include service charges. If they do not pay some money, there would be no problem.

(Case 2) Standard level *ryokan*s with extra services. Even though there is no tipping custom in Japan, there are some situations that people should tip to show their gratitude when they receive extra services. For example, the services are changing a room, asking special assists to *ryokan*s for physically challenged people, and so on.

(Case 3) High-rated *ryokan*s. At high-rated *ryokan*s like five star hotels, customarily the *kokorodzuke* system remains. Contrary to the former two cases, in this case a guest usually hands over to a *nakai* when the *nakai* goes to the guest room to prepare a Japanese-style afternoon tea set. Usually, the amount would be from 10 to 30 US dollars and the tip would be handed over in a small envelope, *pochibukuro*, in many cases, a *nakai* politely refuses *kokorodzuke* at least once because ostensibly and officially the guests do not have to hand over *kokorodzuke*. Because receiving the

kokorozuke may be illegal, the *nakai* refuses being given the *kokorozuke*. However, the refusal does not mean "no thank you" and it implies a tacit approval "yes." For international tourists, it is difficult to understand the connotation.

The implication of the gratuities called *kokorozuke* means greetings and expectations so that they can be given still higher level services from the *nakai* during their stays. *Kokorozuke* illustrates Japanese traditional untold cultural features. In western countries, people give service providers some coins or bills directly, and service providers usually receive tips. Moreover, service providers may demand some money as a tip when they offer extra services. In addition, as above mentioned, there is a Japanese tradition of *pochibukuro*. The *pochibukuro* would express Japanese mindfulness

Another difficult point for foreigners may be when they should give *kokorozuke*. The *ryokan* guests should give a tip to a *nakai* at the very beginning of their stay, because *kokorozuke* means the expectations. However, in western countries, people tip only when they are given services. If the services are not enough well, they will not tip. The custom is widely known around the world. Therefore, the service providers work as much as they can to obtain more tips. On the other hand, *kokorodzuke* seems like a prepaid tip. *Kokorozuke* usually implies a demand of good service to a *nakai*. The *kokorozuke* custom is quite different from a tip in western countries and complicated psychological interactions with a *nakai* would be needed. *Kokorozduke* is originally written "心付け" in Japanese, and "心" means "heart." People, especially guests staying *ryokans* would like to stay more comfortably during their staying. During their staying*, ryokan* staffs are working for them as their own butlers and maids to make their *ryokan* experiences wonderful. Therefore, the guests tip a *nakai* with their hearts to express a greeting, expectations, and gratitude, in advance.

Kokorozuke is not stated but when you stay at an upper level *ryokan*, *kokorozuke* may be required. If the tourists will not hand in that, it might result in customers' dissatisfaction. The *ryokan* staffs have to understand the current situation and consider an improvement approach. We think that the *ryokan* should not take the additional charges once they contract no service charge.

Conclusion

In the paper, we describe differences between Japanese tipping customs and Western tipping customs. Using text mining techniques, we analyzed reviews of international tourists on Kyoto *ryokan*s. We used the website *tripadvisor* reviews which are written in English. As a result, we found that the international tourists in Kyoto *ryokan*s were confused and disappointed on the tipping system in *ryokan*s. To solve the troubles of the international tourists, we surveyed the current common sense of Japanese concerning the *ryokan* tipping system. For the analysis, we collected the data from the Q&A comments by Japanese persons on Yahoo *Chiebukuro (Answers)*. However, we could not find the clear definition of *kokorozuke,* which means many Japanese also get confused and disappointed on the *kokoroduke*. Then we conducted again topic extraction on the international visitors' comments on tripadvisors and visualized the similar words to the word "service charge" by using word2vec. The word2vec results exposed the fact that there were *ryokans that* charged the additional 15%~18% amount as a service charge. In other words, in Japanese *ryokans* there is surely a tipping custom, although they say their *ryokan* has no tipping custom.

Then, we analysed the comments, so that we could categorize the tipping situations. The important thing is that the custom *kokoroduke* is supposed to be conducted only in a high class *ryokan*. Therefore, the tourists will have to ask in advance whether *kokorozuke* is needed or not at the *ryokan* when the *ryokan* may be a high class one. However, we think that the procedure is irksome for the guests. Instead of that, the *ryokan* should offer a clear charge system and definition for international tourists.

The website of foreigners' reviews such as *tripadvisor* offers much information concerning international visitors complains. We will continue to find such kinds of complaints on the web via text mining for the improvement.

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