

CULTURAL STUDIES '19
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Özgür Öztürk DAKAM YAYINLARI

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CULTURAL STUDIES**

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THE ART MUSEUM AND THE CULTURE INDUSTRY

TAISTO MAKELA

Having been established in early 19th century Europe, the art museum is a relatively recent type of cultural institution. Instead of evolving into a cultural relic, however, the art museum has evolved into an increasingly desirable urban status symbol around the world. The ongoing art museum building boom is not the result of a 'love of art' but of serving powerful socio-economic forces and ideological agendas. To survive in a highly competitive cultural entertainment market, art museums necessarily have adopted mass entertainment models to attract general audiences.

The art museum is now part and parcel of the culture industry whether we like it or not. Much of the current success has been driven by the adoption of corporate management models and agendas. Within the context of market forces, for example, it makes economic sense to get a whole trophy building for less than the cost of a single painting. This is especially advantageous for museums with mediocre collections.

Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao has spawned a host of imitators wanting to repeat the success of inserting a cultural success story into a post-industrial urban condition. Let us refer to this as the Bilbao Syndrome. Many cities around the world have been enticed to get on this cultural treadmill, running faster and faster just to stay in the same place. The Guggenheim Foundation itself has a global strategy for corporate cultural colonization.

In a culture where consumption is achievement, art provides an attractive investment option. Corporate and private capital constructs memorials to themselves through investments in museums and other cultural institutions. As such, these generic art collections reflect a conservative timidity and aversion to critical contemporary movements. Museum administrators' interest in customer relations, blockbuster shows, and various light entertainments also take priority. The result is that conceptual, performance, body art, and other practices are generally excluded from the privileged cultural space of the art museum. Think of this as image laundering for corporations and individuals globally.

This paper will address a number of critical questions including: What social and cultural values do museums continue to hold for society? How have the traditional notions of art museums as venues for cultivating taste adapted to the pressures of mass culture? What emerging relationships might be identified amongst museums, art, and corporate and individual influence? More specifically, what is the relationship between the museum and the art, the container and the contained?

RECOLLECTION OF ISTANBUL THROUGH BIENNIAL: FROM MEDIATING HISTORY TO CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL MEMORY

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Abstract

Istanbul Biennial was first initiated in 1987 under the umbrella of Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation(IKSV). During its course, It has become one of the most prestigious biennials in the world for artists and curators to participate. A number of star-curators have been appointed such as Rene Block(1992), Charles Esche (2005), Hou Hanrou (2007), and Carolyn Christov Bakargiev (2015) and 16th Istanbul Biennial (2019) will be curated by Nicholas Bourriaud who is one of the most influential writers and curators of contemporary art. The image and the history of the city have been vital parts of exhibitions during those years, this was, in the first editions of The Biennial, was the result of lack of exhibition spaces as Beral Madra (2003) asserts who was the curator of the first two Istanbul Biennial. In following editions, this curatorial strategy has been used by succeeding curators in each instance. In this paper, however, I am arguing that the strategy of usage of a city as a site for an exhibition has changed expressly. This change can be observed from to 1st Istanbul Biennial (1987) to 9th Istanbul Biennial and finally to 14th Istanbul Biennial(2015). In this regard, I would like to suggest that while the Istanbul Biennials were focused on the historicity of the Istanbul through focusing on the what is known as the historic island and artworks responding to this history, examples such as 9th Istanbul Biennial directed the spectators towards to flows of the city through expanding the exhibition map into districts such as Beyoğlu. This standpoint was further carried by Bakargiev in 2015, through the usage of spaces such as Trotsky House in Prince Island and expansion to Anatolian side. In this regard, I am arguing that in recent years, a shift has occurred and curators of Istanbul Biennial has decided to look at the cultural memories, flows of experiences and architectonics of the city which are lost under the grand narratives of historicity. Therefore, these exhibitions offer critical reflections on the cultural memories of the city which are very much alive and continue to shape the perception of past, present and the future of the city.

Keywords: Istanbul Biennial, cultural memory, city, history, curatorial

Introduction

In recent years, curators have begun to use urban textures in large-scale exhibitions such as biennials and triennials around the world which have been proliferating since the 1990s. It can be argued that Documenta 9 was one of the earliest and strongest examples of this curatorial strategy. Jan Hoet who was the

curator of Documenta 9 (1992) states “My exhibition is an offer and a challenge; it is an invitation and an argument that can be experienced through individual encounters with art. The ninth documenta is a documenta of places; its topography is the framework that supports it all. But it also a documenta of artists for they alone create the spaces within the framework” (Documenta.de, n.d.). This strategy has made the spatiality of exhibitionary form even stronger. Thus, a question emerges from this condition of usage of the city as an exhibition space in large-scale exhibitions: what is the role cultural memories of cities in such exhibitions and how it can be put in dialogue with the overall discourse of exhibitions.

Since the 1990s, the usage of city has been very important for three large-scale exhibitions: Manifesta, Documenta and Istanbul. In this paper, however, I am arguing that Istanbul Biennial has been at the center of this curatorial strategy since its foundation in 1987. Thus, the investigation of Istanbul Biennial can provide a space for discussing the significance of cultural memories of cities for current curatorial practices. Furthermore, it can be an example of how the history of contemporary art can be written through the cultural memories of cities. Istanbul Biennial is not significant alone due to the fact that it is one of the well-established biennials which should be excluded from the boom in the 1990s but also because of the visibility of urban textures of the city. Most importantly, the image of the city has been always a vital part of the exhibition discourses. The clearest example of this approach can be seen in 9th Istanbul Biennial which was entitled Istanbul.

I would like to first begin with outlining this strategy of usage of city's cultural memories as a curatorial strategy and how it is tied to cinematic ways of thinking or the montage and highlight the importance of what I call Icon(i)city as a condition of contemporary art. Secondly, I will briefly lay out the foundations of Istanbul Biennial and look at 1st, 2nd and 14th Istanbul Biennial with occasional reflections on biennials between those. Therefore, I aim to highlight how the curatorial strategy has shifted from being a mediator of history to transfiguration of cultural memories of cities.

The City as an Exhibition Venue

But architecture in the city is not only a spectacle shaped by the representational order of planners and architects; it involves public as well. Composed city scenes are designed to be looked at and spectators amazement and memory evoked by their figural images. A spectators, we travel through the city observing its architecture and constructed spaces, shifting contemporary scenes and reflections from the past until they thicken into a personalized vision. Our memory of the city is especially scenic and theatrical: we travel back in time through images that recall bits and pieces of an earlier city, we project these earlier representations forward into recomposed and unified stagings. (Boyer, 1994: p. 32)

In recent years, curators of large-scale exhibitions have begun to use multiple venues scattered around the inhabited cities. This strategy was carried further with examples such as documenta 11 and documenta 14 which were both divided between different cities. It can be argued that this statement of Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev who was of the 14th Istanbul Biennial: SALTWATER: A Theory of Thought

Forms (2015) illustrates this standpoint very clearly:

The journey to reach the artwork is part of the work, which thus comprises the act of 'arriving'. To arrive at this return of the repressed, you pass through the front gate on a little street and enter a little garden filled with scent of fennel, wild broccoli, figs, flowers and grasses, and then through the ruins of old brick house, itself overgrown with vines, bushes and weeds Perhaps in an attempt to shed the uncomfortable yet exhilarating sensation of having intruded into the private space itself overgrown with vines, bushes and weeds Perhaps in an attempt to shed the uncomfortable yet exhilarating sensation of having intruded into the private space of a person who 'made' history, we may walk down a winding path towards the sea, in search of a peaceful moment. Our feet tread on tiles that were walked upon by Trotsky and his family, guards and assistants, and we feel the momentary cancellation of the gap between myth and fiction, on the one hand, and daily life and reality, on the other (Bakargiev, 2015, pp. XLIII-LXIII)

Bakargiev's emphasis on 'arriving' emerges as a key concept in recent large-scale exhibitions. There is no doubt that this strategy is new but the result of the artist's centuries-long desire to make art alive within the society and the flux of daily life. However, it can be argued that this strategy has started to become visible in the 1970s and 80s even strongly. Jans Leering's exhibition *The Street: Forms of Living Together* at the Van Abbemuseum in 1972 and Lucy Lippard's *Furthermore*, in terms of given emphasis on the city, Lucy Lippard's show 557,087 (the population of Seattle which the exhibition inhabited) can be given as an example (O'Neill, 2012). On a smaller scale, exhibitions called *APART* between 1982-1984, organized by Russian artists Nikita Alekseev and Vadim Zakharov or Jan Hoet's exhibition *Chambres d'Amis* which took place at Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst, Ghent in 1986 can be examples of this approach (Bishop, 2017). However, I would like to propose this is a new condition which is stronger and more dominant than previous examples from earlier decades and it can be argued that it will be more prominent in the upcoming years. For this reason, it can be claimed that this is a new condition of contemporary of the world what I coin as *Icon(i)city*. Therefore, I claim that the image of the city and cultural memories have become an important part of the curatorial discourse and opened new avenues for interpretation of contemporary art and thus structuring contemporary art history. In this typology of exhibitions, Peter Osborne (2008) argues the meaning of individual artworks play little important for the discourse of the exhibitions and the relationships between artworks and places are becoming more important and meanings arise from these conjunctions which are formed by the curators. Furthermore, Osborne(2008) claims that in this curatorial strategy, the curator almost functions as a film director who creates creative juxtapositions of successive frames. However, they achieve this in different levels and methods. Therefore, the result emerges as one of the current problematics of Humanities. In this regard, it can be argued that there are two types of exhibitonary practices while one of them is closer to historicity whereas the second one actualizes itself through the realm of memory. But before going into that, the connection between film and space or architecture should be made clear.

The relationship between cinema and architecture-space was acknowledged in

the 20th century by film theorists and architects. In this regard, Sergei Eisenstein who was one of the earliest film theorists who pointed the similarity between these two highly distinctive mediums. Eisenstein states: “the film spectator moves across an imaginary path, traversing multiple sites and times in the course of a filmic projection, as distant moments and far-apart places become connected on the screen. Film inherits the possibility of such an imaginative mental voyage from the architectural montage.” (Eisenstein, 1969). This correlation was later investigated by Giuliana Bruno who enlarged this expanded this investigation further towards museum and city. In this regard, Bruno argues that likewise museums, moving image was also born out of the will to document and collect the imaginaries of different parts of the world. According to Bruno, They both were the result of the eagerness to create a dimension for memory and recollection. Furthermore, she states the relationship between moving image and architecture as follows:

Architecture is neither static structure nor simply just built. Like all tangible artifact, it is actually constructed-imagined-as it is manipulated, “handled” by user’s hand. And like a film, architecture is built as it is constantly negotiated by e(motions), traversed by the histories both of its inhabitants and its transient dwellers. Seen in this way, architecture reveals urban ties: the product of transactions, it bears the traces of urban (e)motion and its fictional scriptings. A relation is established between places and events that forms and transforms the narrative of a city: the city itself becomes imagined as narrative sites are transformed by the sequence of movements of its traveler dwellers. (Bruno, 2002: p. 64)

According to Bruno, the creation of movement or flux that is created by either by the film spectator or the dwellers of the city is the aspect that brings cinema and architecture together. In other words, it is the creation of juxtaposition of individual space units. Therefore, likewise Eisenstein’s argumentation, they both create a mental montage rather a material montage. At this point, I would like to turn to Istanbul Biennial, particularly to first two Istanbul Biennial and 14th Istanbul Biennial as examples in order to demonstrate how the focus of the Biennial has shifted from historical narratives to textures of memory that belongs to the city and its dwellers.

From Mediating History to Reflection on Memory of the Istanbul

Istanbul Biennial was initiated in 1987 under the umbrella of the Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation (IKSV). At that point, It had become the fifth biennial after Venice Biennial (1895), Sao Paolo (1951), Sydney (1973) and Havana (1986). Therefore, it was not part of the boom of large-scale exhibitions in the 1990s but rather it was the last turn before this boom.

The first two biennials were curated by Beral Madra and for the main exhibitions, well-established artists such as Jean Michael Alberola, Marcus Lüpertz, Francois Morellet, Michelangelo Pistoletto and Gilberto Zorio artists were invited to take part at the exhibitions. Furthermore, likewise, Venice Biennial, special exhibitions which were dedicated to artists from a country such as Poland, Yugoslavia Switzerland and Austria were organized. The Second Biennial was again coordinated by Beral Madra and this time, Sol Lewitt, Sarkis, Daniel Buren, Richard Long, Daniel Buren, Richard

Long and Jannis Kounellis was commissioned to create new works for locations within what is recognized as the historic island of Istanbul. While 1st Istanbul Biennial's was titled under the concept of Contemporary Art in Historic Buildings, 2nd Istanbul Biennial was titled Contemporary Art in Traditional Spaces. (Yardımcı, 2005) The subsequent biennials were as follows:

3rd International Istanbul Biennial: Production of Cultural Difference (17 October – 30 November 1992) Director: Vasif Kortun

4th International Istanbul Biennial: ORIENT/ATION—The Vision of Art in a Paradoxical World (10 November – 10 December 1995), Director: Rene Block

5th International Istanbul Biennial: On Life, Beauty, Translations and other Difficulties (5 October – 9 November 1997) Director: Curator: Rosa Martínez

6th International Istanbul Biennial: The Passion and the Wave (17 September – 30 October 1999), Curator: Paolo Colombo

7th International Istanbul Biennial: Egofugal—Fugue from Ego for the Next Emergence (22 September – 17 November 2001), Curator: Yuko Hasegawa

8th International Istanbul Biennial: Poetic Justice (20 September – 16 November 2003)

9th International Istanbul Biennial: İstanbul (16 September – 30 October 2005) Curators: Charles Esche & Vasif Kortun

10th International Istanbul Biennial: Not Only Possible, But Also Necessary: Optimism in the Age of Global War (8 September – 4 November 2007) Curator: Hou Hanru

11th International Istanbul Biennial What Keeps Mankind Alive? (12 September–8 November 2009), Curator: What, How & for Whom curatorial collective (Ivet Ćurlin, Ana Dević, Nataša Ilić, Sabina Sabolović)

12th Istanbul Biennial Untitled (17 September–13 November 2011) Curators: Adriano Pedrosa & Jens Hoffmann

13th Istanbul Biennial: Mom, am I barbarian? (14 September–20 October 2013) Curators: Fulya Erdemci

14th Istanbul Biennial SALTWATER: A Theory of Thought Forms (5 September–1 November 2015), Drafted by: Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev

15th Istanbul Biennial: a good neighbour (16 September–12 November 2017) Curators: Elmgreen & Dragset

From this list, the change of perception of the city and the shift from history to memory can be detected. It is no doubt that first biennials functioned as a tool for promoting the city's visibility in the arena of world tourism. Therefore, the historic places of Istanbul were highlighted in the first two biennials. Furthermore, it can be argued The Biennial was seen as an emblem of modernization or Europeanization of Turkey. This standpoint can be found within the exhibition catalogues. At the very first pages of first two Istanbul Biennial, we find Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's notorious phrase: " If a nation is not able to paint, sculpt or fail to do things that science requires, we must confess that this nation has no place in the sphere of progress". Therefore, it can be argued that the people who organized these exhibitions had one important aspect in their mind: historical progress. Is n't this the notion progress that Walter Benjamin objected to in his theses on history? This standpoint can be found in Aydın Gün's opening text at the catalogue of 2nd Istanbul Biennial:

'In one every long phase of our history, one of the most impenetrable shadows that fell upon our people was the injunction against the representation of the human form. We have to face up to this past as we do to ourselves, for it would it otherwise be possible to find the truth, to be creative or modern?' (Gün, 1989: p.15). In correlation to this claim, there was a unique curatorial strategy international artists were invited to exhibit their works in Byzantine Church and create works for this site whereas Turkish artists were allocated to Ottoman locations. However, we realize that this strategy was altered in the 2nd Biennial. This time, the position of Turkish and international artists were replaced, yet the historical perspective remains intact. Sezer Tansuğ's text on Ömer Uluç's works which were placed at Saint Irene Church can be given as one of the most clear examples of this approach:

Below the apse semi-sphere St.Irene, the walls between the Windows are allocated to Ömer Uluç. With this exhibition, Ömer Uluç is attempting to develop the multicanvas method made up the modular canvas units which had been applied to utilize the spaces in the Sinan Bath in 1987. The paintings of Ömer Uluç, placed in the main apse of the Byzantine Monument, gain a distinctive colour through the representation of the ritualistic stances which express the original forms. The paintings are inspired by the humanistic historical interpretation of the 12th century historian Mihail Psellus, on the true life stories of emperors. Under the simple Byzantine cross which belongs to the iconoclast period.(Tansuğ,1989: p.70)

It can be argued that the Byzantine history of the city was particularly important for the organizers of those exhibitions. From the 2nd Istanbul Biennial, Ayşe Erkmen's work To Ceremony to Past (1989) which echoes Liutprand's(Archbishop of Cremona) description of Byzantine Palace of 9th Century, Anne and Patrick Poirer's work The Passed, the culture cannot be owned by only the international tourism which glosses the Byzantine style of triptych and Metin Deniz's installation near Obelisk at Sultanahmet district can be further examples. But most importantly, this emphasis on history can be detected on the locations used for the first two Istanbul Biennial which were: Hagine Eirene Museum, Hagia Sophia Bath(Mimar Sinan Hamamm),Military Museum, Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum and Istanbul Painting and Sculpture at the 1st Biennial and in the 2nd Istanbul Biennial locations such as Press Museum, Sülaymaniye Cultural Cente, National Palaces, Ataturk Culture Center and Yıldız Univesiy were made part of the exhibition(In this regard, Beral Madra(curator of first two Biennial) claims that there was a particular reason why historical locations were selected and that is the lack of exhibition spaces and museums(Madra, 2003). Thus, it is clear that with historical locations and artworks that respond to them aim to form a historical discourse within the exhibition discourse. At this point, I would like to claim that in correlation to Osborne's and Bruno's claims, those exhibitions structured a exhibitonary discourse of history which place little emphasis on individual artworks but rather formed a constellation or a cinematic space. I would like to argue that they offer distinctive modes of cinematics or simply moving image. In this regard, it can be argued that those exhibitions function in a similar way to Etienne Jules Marey's early experiments of the moving image. Marey's was exposing the movement in a single plate and thus the outcome was visibility of movement's traces. It can be

argued that, however, Marey's imagery pushes the viewer to look from one certain direction to another and proposes an end and a beginning. Therefore, Marey's images function in a similar way to grand historical narratives which constructs a linear perception where there is no turns and exits from the realm of progress. This is the main difference between the first two biennials and last editions, particularly Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev's 14th Biennial which carried the strategy of usage of the city as an exhibition space further. Therefore, I want to claim that it offers a different perception of cinematics which is closer to Muybridge's studies of early moving image and memory rather than history. Although 14th Istanbul Biennial was a new step towards forming a curatorial discourse regarding the usage of city, 9th Biennial which was curated by Vasif Kortun and Charles Esche in 2005 should be also acknowledged and it signifies a turn within Istanbul Biennial. Therefore, it can be argued that 14th Biennial inherited certain aspects of its predecessor. For Kortun and Esche, the image of the city and how its functions were vital, even so, they entitled their exhibitions: Istanbul. Most importantly, they have expanded the borders of the city as an exhibition venue. In this regard, this curatorial statement by the curators make this positioning very clear:

It is important in this process to understand that an Istanbulism without humility becomes very problematic not only given the city's own past as the centre of a conquering empire but also because of the transformation of the city produces a range of new inequalities that are often hidden in a process of celebrating dynamic change. To counter this tendency, the biennial positions Istanbul as a real, lived place and not a label in the race of competing marketable cities. This biennial is not a tool for selling the city to global capitalism but an agency for presenting it to its citizens and others with eyes awry (Kortun and Esche, 2005: p. 24)

The most important aspect in this text can be seen the given emphasis on "lived space" which distinguish exhibitions such as 9th and 14th Biennial from its predecessors. In this regard, Kortun and Esche expanded the exhibition space to Galata and Beyoğlu area which had been neglected by previous Biennials. This is particularly important because of the fact that these areas are actually the locations which city breathes and produces the flow daily life whereas historic island is largely dominated by tourism and related domains. Most importantly, this expansion signifies eagerness to look at neglected memories of the city. At Galata and Beyoğlu, Esche and Kortun does not solely focus on historic places in the strict sense but also turned toward locations which generate traces of memory. In other words, it reflects on the memoirs which live between the lines of narrators of history. In this regard, Galata and Beyoğlu are particularly important because of the fact that these areas were largely inhabited by Levantine populations(Levantine population had gained right to govern these areas under a municipality which was consisted of Galata, Pera, Taksim, Kurtuluş, Pangaltı, Kasımpaşa and Tophane. This municipality was called 6th District and its member were selected from its habitants. For example, people such as Antoine Alleon, Avram Kamondo, Septime Franchini and Charles Hanson were among the members of this District governance (Gül, 2015: 59). Thus, by looking at this area, exhibitions bring back textures of memory which has been lost. For example in 14th Istanbul Biennial, Zenovitch Apartment which was built by

a Serbian Architect for Zenovitch family in Beyoğlu was one of the exhibition venues and Heather Philipson's work un/fit for feeling 2015 was located there. It is one of the many examples from 14th Istanbul Biennial which aims to bring back cultural memory of the city rather institutionalised chunks of information. Furthermore, another example of how 14th Biennial was engaged with the history of the city can be Aslı Cavuşoğlu's work Red (2015) which echoes the tragedies which were endured by both Armenian and Turkish populations through investigating the color of red and its core material which is found in Armenia. Michael Rakowitz's work The Flesh is yours, Bones are Mine (2015) which calls back the repressed memoirs of Armenian architects who contributed to the imagery of Beyoğlu and Galata areas. He achieves this through in a subtle way by juxtaposing this memoir with a phrase used by parents regarding school education, the education system which denies the contribution of Jewish and Christian minorities. Therefore, it can be argued that contrary to first two Istanbul Biennials, 14th Biennials aims to construct a space for memory through the artworks selected which create a special dialogue in order to recall traces of past shared by the society but not by palaces, sultans and kings. Most importantly, Bakargiev's exhibition achieves this through not highlighting documentary works but artworks which generates affectivity and multi-directionality towards other past occurrences. In this regard, Bakargiev's exhibition function as Nora's lieu de memoire, a space of memory. I would like to argue that Nora's distinction of memory and history correlates to the difference between the first two biennial and 14th Istanbul Biennial as well:

Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer [...] History, because it is an intellectual and secular production, calls for analysis and criticism. Memory installs remembrance within the sacred; history, always prosaic, releases it again. Memory is blind to all but the group it binds-which is to say, as Maurice Halbwachs has said, that there are as many memories as there are groups, that memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual. History, on the other hand, belongs to everyone and to no one, hence its claim to universal authority (Nora, 1989,7-8)

I would like to argue that the difference between first biennials and later biennials such as 9th and 14th Biennials fit into this difference outlined by Nora. This is even evident in the ways in which those exhibitions structured in spatial terms. It is no doubt that first biennials aim to construct a total image and able visitors to see everything. On contrary to this, 14th Biennial was not interested in actualizing a full image. There are two reasons for this: 1- the limits of the exhibition is vast and it is almost impossible to see everything; 2- There are sites and artworks which were deliberately made impossible to visit. Casa Garibaldi in Beyoğlu which was one of the sites of the exhibition was closed due to the safety issues whereas

Pierre Huyghe's *Abyssal Pain*(2015) was placed under the water and was not completed during the exhibition duration. Therefore, one can argue that Bakargiev aimed to construct a ruptured totality and reject to form linearity or a single route within the exhibition discourse but rather chose to actualize many routes and possibilities with glossing array of memories that belong to the city. In other words, Bakargiev's exhibition was collecting traces of past which can be put in dialogue with other occurrences as well. This standpoint, I would like to argue that is closer to Muybridge's cinematics. He was exposing movement of his subjects on multiple plates. The result was recognizing the autonomy of individual moments but yet constructing a total image. But the main difference from Marey's studies was the fact that these works do not force the viewer to look from a certain direction to another. Marey's study aims to produce a narrative through the successive movements and moments as history does whereas Muybridge's study enables a visitor to look at separate moments as well. In other words, Marey's work can be only read as moments of A+B+C+D while Muybridge's enable us to look A+C, B+D and etc as memory does. It can be argued that this difference correlates to the story of Istanbul Biennial and how the shift from history to memory or difference between Marey and Muybridge's ways of capturing movement.

Conclusion

The boom of large-scale exhibitions which turns cities into exhibition venues are not important for the contemporary art world alone but also inhabitant cities as well. This is because these events have become important acts of recollections for the city and its dwellers as well. In this paper, I tried to demonstrate this feature of such large-scale exhibitions. However, it is clear that although these exhibitions turn cities into exhibition spaces, they achieve this through different methods and at a different level which conclude in different outcomes.

Osborne(2008) argued that exhibitions which use multiple-venues are connected to cinematic ways of thinking and the relationships between artworks are more important than meanings produced by individual artworks. However, I argued that there is no single cinematic construction of exhibitions but rather two regarding the usage of the city. In this regard, early film practitioners's Marey's and Muybridge's works provides a platform for discussing these two exhibition typology. It can be argued that this is because of the ways in which those exhibitons were produced, Marey's work can be correlated to perception of linear history whereas Muybridge's is closer to how memory functions. This is because of the fact that Marey's work completely reject to autonomy of individual moments but Muybridge's work opens a space for juxtaposition of distant moments as well. Therefore, I would argue that first biennials functioned as Marey's cinematics and later ones such as 9th and 14th Biennials followed Muybridge's cinematics. This situation also has something to do with the very idea of past and how we remember them. There are those who thinks that the past is a sphere which function in a similar way to computers. That is to say, an information is located somewhere and one is able to access to this information which remains stable. There are those who thinks that past is not something still but rather dynamic and constantly evolving through present occurences as well. I would like to argue that first biennials falls into the former and exhibitions such as 14th Istanbul Biennial falls into the latter. As Richard Sennet(2002) argued that the

cities has changed throughout history because of the the perception of our bodies has altered, it can be argued that this shift from history to memory has occurred due to fact that different ways of looking to the city by the curators of those exhibitions.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVE ECONOMY: THE RENEWAL OF LOCAL CONSCIOUSNESS VIA THE CONTEMPORARY PERFORMING ARTS PROCESSES IN ORDER TO SUPPORT THE PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNITY IN CULTURAL TOURISM MANAGEMENT: THE STUDY AREA; WATTACHISIRI, T.SAMOPHLUE, A. BAN LAD, PHETCHABURI

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Abstract

The Development of Creative Economy: the Renewal of Local Consciousness via the Contemporary Performing Arts Processes in order to Support the Participation of Community in Cultural Tourism Management : the Study Area; Watthachisiri, T.Samophlue, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi is a research, emphasize on the functional process with the community from data searching and workshop in contemporary performing arts, for potential development to create a performing arts for children and youths who interested to join the project with the student from Faculty of Arts, conduce to the process of the contemporary performing arts production, and presents to public.

The research result found that knowledge of contemporary performing arts can develop cultural capital and human capital for sustainable happiness; leads to the development of creative economy by obviously cooperate between community and academic.

Keywords: Community, Contemporary Performing Arts, Cultural Tourism

Introduction

The creative economy concept has emerged as a means of focusing attention on the role of creativity as a force in contemporary economic life, stating that economic and cultural development are not separate but can be a part of a larger process of development. It also is based on a new way of working and the output value depends on the uniqueness of the product or on how easily it can be copied

and sold to large numbers of people.

For the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the creative economy is an evolving concept based on creative assets potentially generating economic growth and development;

1. It can foster income generation, job creation and export earnings while promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development.
2. It embraces economic, cultural and social aspects interacting with technology, intellectual property and tourism objectives.
3. It is a set of knowledge-based economic activities with a development dimension and crosscutting linkages at macro and micro levels to the overall economy.
4. It is a feasible development option for innovation, multidisciplinary policy responses and inter-ministerial action.
5. At the heart of the creative economy are the creative industries.

According to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is the mainspring of humanity cultural diversity and its maintenance a guarantee for continuing creativity. It is defined as follows:

Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

Therefore, the Intangible Cultural Heritage is an important factor as cultural and social capital for creative economy development. It connects to economic capital and natural resources, leads to the development of human capital.

The Development of Creative Economy: the Renewal of Local Consciousness via the Contemporary Performing Arts Processes in order to Support the Participation of Community in Cultural Tourism Management : the Study Area; Wathchaisiri, T.Samophlue, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi is a research, emphasize on the functional process with the community from data searching and workshop in contemporary performing arts, for potential development to create a performing arts for children and youths who interested to join the project with the student from Faculty of Arts, conduce to the process of the contemporary performing arts production, and presents to public. For the workshop in contemporary performing arts, the researcher invited the artists, who has both specialist in theory - based and practice – based, and has been appreciated as qualified artists in nation and international

level. The workshop and the creation of the performing arts focus how to give the opportunity for children and youths who join the project to design for styles, forms and elements of performing arts, for renewal the local consciousness and their identities that represent via the contemporary performing arts.

Conceptual Framework

The Development of Creative Economy: the Renewal of Local Consciousness via the Contemporary Performing Arts Processes in order to Support the Participation of Community in Cultural Tourism Management : the Study Area; Watthachisiri, T.Samoplue, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi has objective plan as;

Research Issues	Methodologies	Activities	Expected Benefits	Duration
1. The value and the importance of the Petch River at Watthachaisiri for the community.	1. Qualitative research 2. Operation research	1. Data collection and research analysis 2. Filed data collection and research analysis	1. Value adding for cultural capital	10 th May – 15 th July, 2016.
2. The participation of the community in cultural management through the processes of the contemporary performing arts.	1. Creative research	1. The workshop processes in the contemporary performing arts 2. The creation of contemporary performing arts project	1. The development Of human capital for permanency 2. The creation of contemporary performing arts integrates through the knowledge in performance study with children and youth in the community.	15 th July, 2016 – 31 st March, 2017.
3. The support model for community participation in cultural tourism management through the processes of the contemporary performing arts.	1. Creative research	1. Data analysis and the model of tourism cultural management	1. The support model for community participation in cultural tourism management through the processes of the contemporary performing arts	1 st April – 31 st May, 2017.

Table 1. Objective Plan

For the renewal of local consciousness via the contemporary performing arts processes in order to support the participation of community in cultural tourism management allocated in 3 periods as follow;

1. Data collection and research analysis.



Figure 1. Data collection and research analysis.

2. The workshop processes and the creation project in the contemporary performing arts.



Figure 2. The workshop processes and the creation project in the contemporary performing arts.

3. Data analysis and the model of tourism cultural management.



Figure 3. Data analysis and the model of tourism cultural management.

Output and Evaluation

Duration	Output	Evaluation	
		Quantitative	Qualitative
1 – 6 Months	The research operation; “The Development of Creative Economy: the Renewal of Local Consciousness via the Contemporary Performing Arts Processes in order to Support the Participation of Community in Cultural Tourism Management : the Study Area; Watthachisiri, T.Samophlue, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi.”	1. The creative of the contemporary performing arts “Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)” by children and youth in the community with students from the Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University. 2. The report of creative research (6 months)	1. The use of knowledge in performing arts for cultural capital development 2. The development of Human capital to sustainable happiness 3. The development of creative economy by the co-operation between local community and University.
7 – 12 Months	The report of “The Development of Creative Economy: the Renewal of Local Consciousness via the Contemporary Performing Arts Processes in order to Support the Participation of Community in Cultural Tourism Management : the Study Area; Watthachisiri, T.Samophlue, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi”	1. The model of the cultural tourism management through the creative of the contemporary performing arts “Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)” 2. The full report of creative research (1 Year)	1. The use of knowledge in performing arts for cultural capital development 2. The development of Human capital to sustainable happiness 3. The development of creative economy by the co-operation between local community and academics.

Table 2. Output and Evaluation

The research result found that knowledge of contemporary performing arts can develop cultural capital and human capital for sustainable happiness; leads to the development of creative economy by obviously cooperate between community and academic.

Outcome and Impact

Outcome	Evaluation			
	Quantitative	Qualitative	Duration	Budget
1. The support for local community participation in cultural tourism management via the processes of the contemporary performing arts “Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)”	1. Workshop for contemporary performing arts for development of cultural and Human capital 2. The local community (T.Samophlue/ A. Ban Lad) could integrated the knowledge of the contemporary performing Arts afterward.	1. The knowledge in contemporary performing arts for tourism cultural management to the development of creative economy	1 Year	448,000 (Thai -Bath)

Table 3. Outcome and Impact

The researcher found that this research has been successful participated with government sector, Ban Lat Agricultural Cooperatives Ltd. and people in community, it also could assist to renewal of local consciousness in children and youths whom join the research to have pride in their identities, and lead to the creation of characteristic contemporary performing arts, which could adjust with the each space, time and aim. Even more, it leads to the proactive tourism management by cooperation between cultural tourism and agriculture tourism together.

The Result and Conclusion

The conclusion of this research can make conclusion in research issues as follow;

1. The value and the importance of the Petch River at Watthachaisiri for the community, by using data collection and research analysis, which is expected to add value for cultural capital.

The result found that the local community in the study area; Watthachisiri, T.Samophlue, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi, Thailand, which is assembled by villager, government officer, retired government officer, local vender and trader have been renewal of local consciousness and add more value for their local community.

2. The participation of the community in cultural management through the processes of the contemporary performing arts, by using the creative research methodology, which is expected to the human capital development.

From the processes of the workshop in creative research to the contemporary performing arts project "Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)", which is the co - operation between local community (children and youth) and academics (student from Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University), found that the creating the performing arts project as a teamwork assist the participants to develop their skill and potential for long life learning, renewal of consciousness for local appreciation. It leads to human capital development via the processes of contemporary performing arts.

3. The support model for community participation in cultural tourism management through the processes of the contemporary performing arts, by using the creative research methodology, which is expected to the model of the cultural tourism management through the creative of the contemporary performing arts.

The researcher found that the creative of the contemporary performing arts "Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)", which is focus on the participation from the data collection, research analysis, playwright, elements of the performance, design, audition and rehearsal.

From data collection and analysis of the research, due to, the study area has local identity in agriculture and folk performance in Thai traditional drum, therefore, the creative of the contemporary performing arts "Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)" develops from those background to present the way of their life. It performed in the grand opening ceremony of agriculture market, Ban – Lad Agricultural cooperative,LTD. on 30th May,2017, at agriculture market, A. Ban Lad, Phetchaburi.

The contemporary performing arts "Ruang-Lao-Cank-Sai-Nam (The story from the river)" is a consequence which integrated the identities of area study. It also supports and utilize with agriculture and culture tourism management, follow the objective of the research.

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TRANSFORMATION AND SPATIAL VARIATION READING THROUGH MAPS: SISLI/BOMONTI–FERIKOY MINORITIES AND THEIR INFLUENCES

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Abstract

The concept of multiculturalism is a phenomenon that affects society in a social, economic and spatial manner. In order to sustain their lives, people reflect their living conditions, traditions, lifestyles, ideas and themselves in the locations they choose. Particularly in multicultural areas, each individual transfers his own culture from its essence to a part of social life and thus a diversity in society occurs. When looking at specific individuals, each individual's own traditions are preserved, and these individuals form a whole as a mosaic. The result is a new identity that is a complementary combination of old and new cultures.

Istanbul is the most important city in Turkey from the point of view of multiculturalism. Throughout history, Istanbul has been the capital of great empires such as the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman in the Republican period. Even though it lost the character of the capital, it is still the most important city in Turkey. Minority groups add diversity to the places where they live with their culture and identities. They also reflect their culture in spatial terms by building structures such as schools and places of worship. Consequently, variety and diversity are ensured as a spatial fiction. There are many schools, churches, chapels and cemeteries belonging to minorities in the Bomonti and Feriköy districts of Istanbul. The existence of these structures is evidence of multiculturalism in the history of this region.

In Turkey, minorities are occasionally exposed to certain applications and

restrictions. The events that led to these changes started with the conquest of Istanbul and then continued with the changes that were made during the war of liberation and were reinforced by the events of 1955. In the face of these problems, minorities were sometimes forced to leave the areas where they lived, sometimes against their will.

The purpose of this study is to investigate and determine the spatial changes on maps that occurred due to the abandonment of the areas where they lived in the vicinity of Bomonti-Ferikoy. As a result of the research into minorities creating places in accordance with their cultures, it was determined that changes occurred in the region when they left their habitat. Changes were noted in the housing typology, island-parcels and green spaces in the area.

Key Words: Bomonti, minorities, culture, identity

Introduction

*“Architecture is the projection of culture on the ground.”
(French Architecture Act)*

The concept of multiculturalism is a phenomenon that affects society in social, economic and spatial terms. “Despite the relatively new concept of multiculturalism, multiculturalism is not a new situation. It shows that various cultures also co-exist side-by-side. At no time in history, were cultures completely unrelated to each other and completely enclosed. The history of humanity is the process of constant interaction and exchange; it is the history of a process in which separate groups come into contact with each other, collide, borrow from each other, change each other and change within themselves. In this process, friendship, enmity or hybrid situations have emerged among societies. If we look at the historical and global level, multiculturalism is a form of general existence of human societies.”(Çelik, 2008 pp.321) In environments where multiculturalism is experienced, people transfer their essence to become a part of social life and thus create diversity within society. “Culture at single person level: acquired, it depends on the subject, the individual characteristics, at the nation level, bearing the stamp of historicity, transferred from generation to generation, interpersonal, appears as a common asset. At this point, culture is the main factor that constitutes the identity.”(Çelik, 2008 pp.320) In the case of the individual, each individual’s own traditions are preserved, and these individuals form a whole as a piece of the mosaic. The result is a new culture and a new identity, the complementary subject of culture. Istanbul is the most important city reflecting multiculturalism in Turkey, has been the capital of three great empires and has unique geographical features. Istanbul has been fed with various cultures thanks to the different empires it has hosted over the centuries. Although Istanbul lost its capital status during the Republican period, it is still the most important city in many aspects of Turkey. Thanks to this diversity, the city’s streets display an outstanding range of culture. In the late 19th century, the impact of different cultures in Istanbul became especially noticeable. The 11th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica describes Istanbul’s population as follows: “The city’s population offers an astonishing mosaic view of different races, various nationalities, different languages, disguises that can be easily separated from each other, and

beliefs in conflict. This undoubtedly makes the city's view of the human landscape unique, but makes a pure social cohesion and the development of a common social life impossible."(Van Millingen, 1910 pp.8) Although there have been decreases in different periods, the diversity of Istanbul's population and the spatial structure formed by this diversity are felt in different corners of the city even though their impact has decreased a great deal.

Events Affecting Minority Populations

Although there were significant reductions in the urban population after the conquest (Dirimtekin, 1972 pp.3-9) when viewed under the heading of multiculturalism, the 19th-century Tanzimat period constitutes an important turning point for Istanbul minority groups. The French-Ottoman and Anglo-Ottoman trade agreements signed in 1835 and 1836 and the Ottoman Empire, which deepened social and commercial relations with the Western world, abolished the restrictions imposed on minorities with the edict of Tanzimat and made them advantages.(Cem, 1989) Istanbul became a point of attraction, especially for the minority groups dealing with trade. In the period from the declaration of the Tanzimat edict until the time of World War I, the population of minority groups in Istanbul increased considerably. "The distribution of the Ottoman subjects living in Istanbul in the 1885 census according to the nations was as follows: Muslim 44.06%, Orthodox Greek 17.48%, Armenian 17.12%, Jewish 5.08%, Catholic 1.17%, Bulgarian 0.50%, Latin 0.12% and Protestant 0.09%. The remaining 14.74% of the population were foreigners."(Shaw, 1976 pp.51-84). In regions where minority groups live intensively, "The population distribution of Pera, Galata and Tophane neighborhoods was as follows: 47% foreign, 32% Ottoman non-Muslim and only 21% Muslim."(Çelik, 2017 pp.47)

With the increase of the population of minority groups living in Istanbul when the 19th century Tanzimat edict was announced, they created diversity in culture and became an asset for Istanbul. However, after the First World War, events that caused continues reductions for the minority population began. With the Treaty of Lausanne, the Greeks living in Anatolia were subjected to forced migration. Migration, known as population exchange, led to a marked reduction in the minority population after the Tanzimat Edict. The Wealth Tax applied in the 1940s as a result of nationalization efforts and minorities being subject to compulsory military service meant that minorities - especially the Greek minorities - had to move away from Istanbul.

After the emergence of the Cyprus problem in 1955, the lives of Greeks in Turkey were again affected . On September 6-7, 1955 there were attacks against the Greeks. Workplaces and houses belonging to minorities were attacked and plundered. The events of September 6-7 had a great impact on the minority population, which continued to emigrate from our country. With the impact of the previous Cyprus event, the Residence, Trade and Seyrisefain Agreement was cancelled by Turkey in 1964. As a result, all Greek-born Greeks were deported. Thus, one more contribution was made to the reduction of the minority population.

	1826-28	1848	1878	1882-83	1885	1913-14	1919	1922	1927	1965
Müslüman	180.000	376.000	203.148	384.910	425.365	560.434	449.114	373.124	447.851	
Rum		111.000	96.044	152.741	188.012	205.762	364.459	158.219		35.097
Ermeni		110.000	97.782	149.590	152.399	84.093	159.153	78.919		29.479
Musevi		32.000	19.223	44.361	44.435	52.126	46.521	40.018		18.000
Katolik	180.000	13.500	4.610	6.442					177.671	
Bulgar			2.521	4.377			4.331			
Protestan			511	819	144.056	7.563		51.006		
Lâtin			396	1.082						
Yabancı + Bilinmeyen- ler.			122.202	129.243			150.155		65.335	
TOPLAM	360.000		546.437	873.565	954.262	909.978		710.286		

Table 1. Chart of Population Movements of Minorities in Istanbul (Kaprol,1992 pp 12)

“In the 1980s, visa abolition of the requirement of Greek nationals who want to come to Turkey, in 1964, deported thousands of the recognition of the possibility of returning to the Greeks in Istanbul and experienced positive developments such as the removal of the blockade on the property of these persons but all of them, the presence in Turkey of the Greek homeland could not prevent the decline with each passing day.”(Ertan,2007)

Minority Population and Characteristics in Istanbul

In the 19th century, with the Tanzimat Edict, the increasing populations of minority groups formed their own neighborhoods. Thus, the regions where minorities and the Muslim population lived were separated from each other physically and spatially. “The neighborhoods of Istanbul were divided according to the nations. The Muslims who formed the largest group lived in the center of the peninsula; The Armenians, Greeks and Jews were mostly settled on the shores. On the shores of the Marmara Sea, there were generally Greek and Armenian neighborhoods, while the Golden Horn was surrounded by Greek and Jewish neighborhoods.”(Çelik, 2017 pp.2) “Non-Muslim settlements in certain parts of the city, as a tradition has continued for a while and has created visible effects on the physical environment.”(Kaprol, 1992 pp.8) The survival of different cultures in these settlements brought spatial differentiation. The city usually had a physically organic structure shaped around religious buildings (churches, synagogues, mosques).

One of the most important elements of urban culture is the different identities belonging to each culture. The urban areas formed by individuals with different cultures and identities become the interaction areas of different cultures. “Identity is shaped and changed under the influence of different structural dynamics. One of the important elements of these dynamics is the space. People communicate and relate to each other on the shared space. Through the common space, daily communication and encounters are established, class practices, cultural habits and norms are maintained or negotiated with each other.” (Amin, 2002) As minority groups add diversity with their culture and identity, they also reflect their culture in spatial terms by constructing structures such as schools and places of worship. As a result, variety and diversity are provided as spatial fiction.

Minority Population and Spatial Reflections in the Feriköy-Bomonti Region

When the Feriköy-Bomonti region first became a settlement, it was established as a region where minorities lived. In addition to the dense minority population in the region, there were few Muslims. In the formation of the names of the Bomonti and Feriköy districts, the minority population living in the region made contributions. The Bomonti district was named after the Swiss Bomonti brothers who established a brewery in the region. The Feriköy district was named after Madam Feri. Her husband, who lived in the period of Sultan Abdülmecit and Abdülaziz, had vast lands in the region donated to him by the Sultan. When he died, the region was named after him. "Non-Muslims living in separate neighborhoods with Turkish society, formerly, Fener, Balat, Hasköy on the shores of the Golden Horn; they were also sitting Ortaköy, Kuzguncuk, Galata on the shores of the Bosphorus. In time, because Christians came to narrow Galata, they built houses in the hills of Pera. The follow-up of the embassies caused the development of Pera (Beyoğlu)." (Kaprol, 1992 pp.9) "Pera, which was built on the hill north of Galatas, was intensified by Grande Rue de Pera (Cadde-i Kebir), the main artery of the city. Tepebaşı and the further north Tatavla were the outer neighborhoods of Pera, where non-Muslims were generally sitting." (Çelik, 2017 pp.49)

As a result of the fact that Galata was surrounded by a dense urban population, it is clear that development spread from the Golden Horn. "The growth on the north side of the Golden Horn took place in three directions: from Taksim to Şişli; From Tophane to Dolmabahçe by following the coast and from Dolmabahçe over Beşiktaş's backs to Teşvikiye and Nişantaşı." (Çelik, 2017 pp.50)

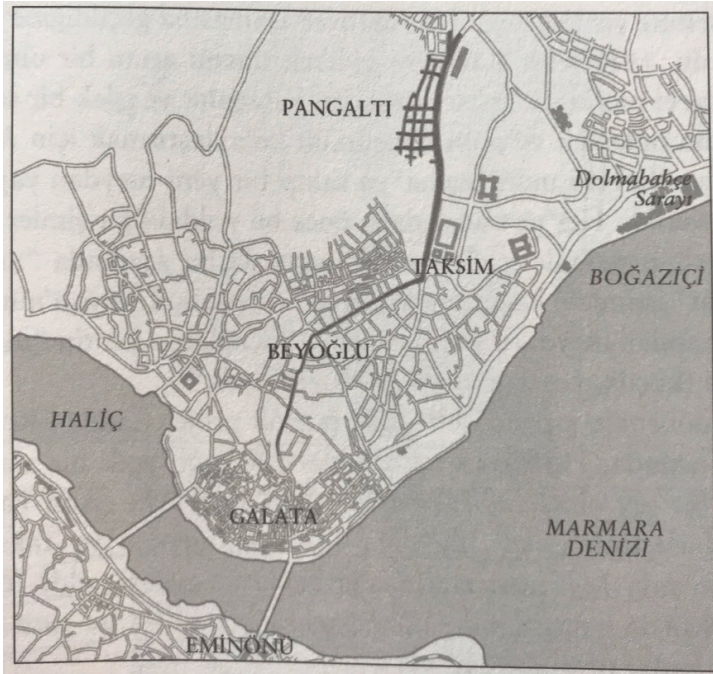


Figure 1. The New Neighborhood Established in Pangaltı Connecting Şişli to Taksim (Çelik, 2017 pp.91)

The horsecar lines of Azapkapı-Boğaz and Karaköy -Cadde-i Kebir-Şişli also contributed by providing structural and urban development in the direction of Şişli, Another important event in the development of Şişli was the relocation of the graveyard in the district to Feriköy. "...The residential area in Beyoğlu started to cover the cemetery areas around the end of the 19th century as a residential area. With the transfer of the cemeteries belonging to the non-Muslim minority from Taksim to Feriköy, Feriköy and Kurtuluş (Tatavla) region, Pangaltı, Nişantaşı and Şişli have entered the residential area. In this area, multi-story building was observed in the late 19th century. The region, which was built in parallel with the westernization that developed as an extension of Beyoğlu, had the shaping effects of the multi-story residential life at the beginning of the 20th century."(Kaprol, 1992 pp.2)

"Class, ethnic and religious difference, and urban culture which holds the sub-cultural values of different social and professional groups together as a mosaic, is the product of modern city understanding and operation. Consequently, the values that prevail in today's urban societies look at different ideas and life concepts as a cultural richness."(Tatlıdil,1992 pp.32) Urban space is a combination of urban culture, through spaces that reflect their own culture. Thus, a new whole area arising from the differences will be added to the geography of the city.

When the region was first established, minority groups settled here profusely and established a settlement according to their own culture. They built many schools and churches in the region and intensified their settlements around these structures. Some of the important structures belonging to minorities in the region are as follows: Apostol Greek Orthodox Church, Surp Vartanyas Armenian Church, Living Water Church, French Latin Church, Aya Lefter Greek Cemetery Church, Private Feriköy Armenian Kindergarten-Primary School-Secondary School, Private Saint Michel French High School, Private Bomonti Armenian Catholic Primary School and Private Karagözyan Armenian Primary School. There are also Greek and Armenian cemeteries in the vicinity.



Figure 2. School and Church Buildings for Minorities in Bomonti-Feriköy Region (Map:IBB 2019)

"The identity of the built environment, the social and cultural identity of the society mutually affect each other. The built environment in a city is an important part of urban identity; on the other hand, it gives clues about the social and cultural life in that city. For example, the structural diversity of the built environment is the expression of the richness of social and cultural life in the city. The common / collective identity consists of social structures established by the social life being settled on a space".(Neill, W. J. V., 1997) As a result of these developments in Istanbul, there are differences between the physical appearance of the places where minorities settled in the city and those of the historical peninsula, which is the old settlement area of Istanbul. When the region was opened as a new settlement area, the urban texture seen in Europe was taken as an example. Areas are organized with right-angled parcels in Europe. The roads that cut each other at right angles were made according to the technology and transportation conditions of the period.

They left many examples of civil architecture with historical value in the area. However, as a result of the emigration of minorities for various reasons, some properties were taken over by Muslims and others were left to their fate. Some of these examples of civil architecture are being demolished due to the increase in the population of the region and new buildings are being constructed.

In 1992, a study by Timur Kaprol documented examples of civil architecture made by minorities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1992, while 115 buildings with these characteristics were still standing, some have now been demolished and replaced with new higher buildings. "The rapid cultural and spatial change under the influence of our country has increased its influence over the streets, which are the most effective element of the city space and the city images they have created in recent years. (Ulu A.,Karakoç İ., 2004 pp.66)

These documented buildings gave the region a unique new appearance and are important architectural examples of where minorities transferred their culture to Istanbul. "After the 19th century European electoral and Neo-classical styles, the effects of Art-Nouveau style were influenced by non-Muslim houses in the region and impressive examples were built." (Kaprol, 1992 pp.2) "Starting from the first quarter of the 18th century, the differentiation, which lasted throughout the 19th century, led to the change of the visual design patterns, from the architectural detail and decoration, to a different quality in the formation of the region of Feriköy and Kurtuluş (Tatavla), as in the entire urban fabric." (Kaprol, 1992 pp.9)

Structural and Spatial Review

When the Feriköy-Bomonti region was opened to the first settlement, there was a dense minority population. This minority population shaped the environment according to their culture and built many buildings. In Timur Kaprol's 1992 work, 115 buildings were identified at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. A specific area was determined for this study and the current status of the buildings in this area was checked. The study area was chosen as Bilezikçi Street, Baysungur Street, Şahap Street, Kurtuluş Street, Seymen Street, Eşref Efendi Street, Bozkurt Street, Kuğulubağ Street and Baruthane Street. In this study area, there are 73 buildings related to our subject. 14 of these buildings have been demolished and higher buildings built in place, or combined with parcels on

the side new buildings have been built. New floors were added to 19 buildings and street silhouettes were changed and the originality of the buildings deteriorated.

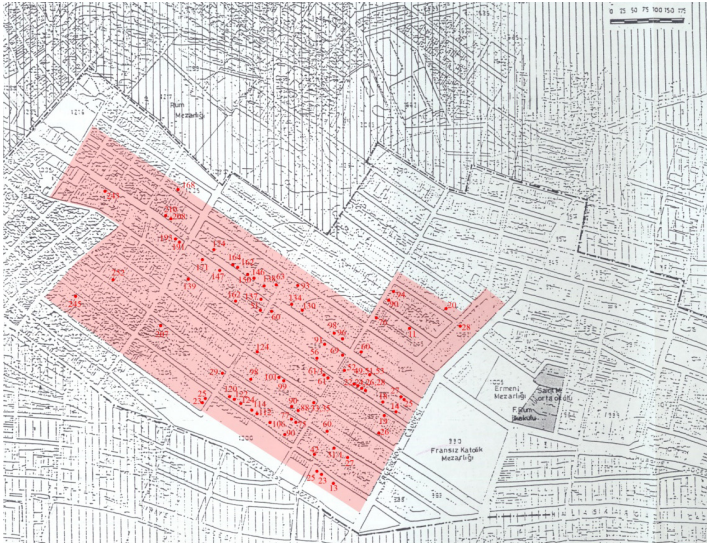


Figure 3. Research Area and Building Settlements in the Region (Map: Taken from Timur Kaprol's thesis in 1992)

Some of the buildings were demolished as a result of increasing population and concentration in the area, and more high-rise buildings were built. While some of the new buildings remain in the old building parcel size, residual buildings in the surrounding parcels were destroyed and new buildings were constructed by combining the plot parcels. Here are some of the buildings that are examples of these changes: (The photographs of the buildings in 1992 were taken from the Timur Kaprol)



Figure 4.5.6. 88 Bilezikçi Street: Multi-story Masonry Building with Multi-story Exhedra (1992) - Today's Building (2019)



Figure 7.8.9. 245 Eşref Efendi Street: Multi-story Masonry Building with Single story Exhedra (1992) - Today's Building (2019)



Figure 10.11.12. 90 Baruthane Avenue: Multi-story Masonry Building with Balcony on Single story Exhedra (1992) - Today's Building (Combined with Side Parcel) (2019)

In addition to the demolition of old buildings and the construction of new buildings on the same parcel or by adding them to the side parcels, the construction of larger buildings as well as the addition of new floors on old buildings also occurred. Thus, the integrity of the facade has deteriorated.



Figure 13.14.15. 147 Kurtuluş Street Multi-story Masonry Building with Balcony on Single story Exhedra (1992) -Today's Building (2019)



Figure 16.17.18. 22, 24, 26, 28 Turkbeyi Street: Multi-story Masonry Buildings with Balcony on Single story Exhedra (1992) - Today's Building (2019)

In addition to demolitions and floor additions there are also unused, neglected and completely abandoned buildings.



Figure 19.20.21. 168 Bozkurt Street: Multi-story Masonry Building with Balcony on Single story Exhedra (1992) - Current Status of the Building (2019)



Figure 22.23.24. 6, 90 Kurtuluş Street: Multi-story Masonry Building with Balcony on Single story Exhedra (1992) - Current Status of the Building (2019)

Conclusion

Even though the areas of Feriköy and Bomonti did not show any development at the beginning of Istanbul's history, they became locations where minorities settled and brought their own practices after the Tanzimat Edict and the development of the Şişli line. The minorities lived in this area in accordance with their own culture and lifestyles and also reflected their culture spatially. As a result of the emigration of minorities who left because of the difficulties they experienced over time, many beautiful architectural structures they built were either left in the hands of Muslims or abandoned to their fate. Many buildings that were left to their own fate were transformed into dwellings but without sufficient maintenance were eventually abandoned. Many of the old buildings have been demolished and new buildings erected, which disrupts the street silhouette and integrity. Floor height increases every day due to new buildings and density in the area is increasing day by day. While the old roads and streets have been preserved, the intensity of the streets has increased and spatial jamming has occurred as a result of increasing the height

of the buildings on these thoroughfares.

Due to this intensity in the Bomonti and Feriköy areas, there are changes in the locations. The old industrial area of Bomonti was not used for residential properties. There were large plots of industrial buildings in the area along with empty land. The area's value increased with the rapid settlement of industry in the 1980s and the large-scale projects that have been made today. Due to this increase in value and the displacement of large-scale industrial enterprises, high-rise, luxury and closed sites are replacing industrial areas in the region. Since the Feriköy region has been used as a residential area since settlement, the change here follows a different path. In Feriköy, low-rise buildings are demolished and more high-rise buildings are constructed, or floors are added to old masonry buildings. Street silhouettes that formed the identity of the area are rapidly destroyed. Due to the decrease of the minority population, some of the buildings are not used and are in danger of destruction.

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CONTEMPORARY YOUTH SUBCULTURES IN IZMIR: POPULAR CULTURE AND DAILY PRACTICES

TÜRE SAHİN

This study aims at understanding the emerging youth cultural identities and social meanings constructed by young individuals who define themselves 'alternative' to 'mainstream' in Izmir, Turkey. The article argues that opening up a debate on youth subcultures that concentrates on the micro cosmos of everyday life practices have the potential to give salient clues about the transformations of that society at large, its cultural values and beliefs, and new ways of relating to things and people. On a theoretical level, the framework of the study revolves around cultural theory, subculture and post-subculture theories. Empirically, the article is based on qualitative research conducted among alternative youth in İzmir, deploying methods such as participant observation, semi structured interviews with youth groups and in-depth interviews with the owners and workers of the places where members of 'alternative' youth hang out. The data gathered from the fieldwork is then categorized and analysed under particular themes. The paper concludes by arguing that subcultures, with their styles, images and music that are consumed in imaginative ways become highly productive and creative spheres of cultural production. Since not much research has been done on youth cultures in Turkey, this particular paper works towards mapping out a general framework towards a better understanding of the everyday practices and meaning worlds of these young people. It is hoped that this, in turn, will serve to pave the way for further research both in Izmir and in Turkey on youth subcultures.

REVISITING PARTIAL COSMOPOLITANISM IN ONDAATJE'S ANIL'S GHOST

APARNA NANDHA

Cosmopolitanism is often simplistically perceived as an amoral political ideology that privileges pluralism. While I do concede to the fact that cosmopolitanism can privilege pluralism in its rudimentary form, it is an ideology that encapsulates a sense of shared morality across nations divided by marked boundaries and norms of citizenship. In the context of countries, that has had a history of colonisation, cosmopolitanism is perceived as an elitist ideology when juxtaposed with nationalism, an ideology imperative to nation-building and advancement. Hence it is a challenge in itself to bring up the topic of cosmopolitanism without the trace of amorality. This paper is an attempt to establish the argument that cosmopolitanism is rooted in moral grounds by a deconstruction of the notion of cosmopolitanism as represented by Anil and Gamini in Ondaatje's *Anil's Ghost*.

Anil arrives in a war-torn Sri Lanka as a forensic anthropologist deputed by the UN to study war crimes. When the narrative begins, Anil is detached—perhaps unaware of the amoral nature of war—from the actual war and is focused on a scientific and linear approach to deducing 'the truth'. She is a professional with a British passport who has come into the scene of an ethno-nationalist separatist war to do her job and return to the country where she holds permanent citizenship. Although ethnically a Sri Lankan, she holds no political ties and hence considers herself as an unconcerned outsider. As the story develops, Anil's detachment crumbles, and she starts questioning as to what is happening around her. The text chronicles her journey into a partial cosmopolitan who speaks up for the victims of war as one among them. On the other hand, is Gamini, a doctor who is rooted in the violent physicality of war. He treats those wounded in war by day and night. In a sense, he works in service of the nation and even refuses to leave the belligerent country. His journey into a 'partial cosmopolitan' is different from that of Anil. This paper is interested in exploring the commonalities and differences in the partial cosmopolitanism of Anil and Gamini. Through an exploratory research paper, I intend to highlight the differences between the partial cosmopolitanism of Anil and Gamini and the role played by positionality/subjectivity in forming a cosmopolitan identity. This study might contribute to the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism and could be constructive in further research.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY: REGIONAL STEREOTYPED ACCENT AND EFL TEACHERS AND STUDENTS' ATTITUDES

ABIR BEN ABDALLAH, NACEREDDINE BENABDALLAH

Innumerable sociolinguistic studies conducted all over the world have been encouraging researchers to examine thoroughly the different regional variations, as well as catalogue the discrepancies existing between speakers in specific geographical areas. The present study investigates Algerian EFL teachers and students' attitudes toward regional accents and the way they could shape people's social identity and harmonize their unity through diversity. It also aims at depicting their perceptions about stereotypical expectations and judgments regarding speakers and listeners' behaviours and actions. Student participants completed questionnaires and teachers were interviewed about stereotyped accents as a linguistic and cultural enrichment or a linguistic insecurity and discrimination.

CONTINUITY, RESISTANCE AND CHANGE IN FORMS OF POPULAR CULTURE: THE SCHOOL OF LIFE AS A FORM OF 'CULTURAL POACHING'

GOKGEN KARANFIL

Through a detailed analysis of Alain de Botton's The School of Life initiative*, this paper rethinks the emancipatory prospect of popular culture. The culture industry/mass culture approach argues that all forms of popular culture are tools for cementing the status-quo, thus preserving continuity. On the other hand, postmodernist views with their emphasis on subjectivity argue for the possibility of resistance and empowerment embedded in cultural products and practices, pointing at the potential of change popular culture embodies. This paper deploys de Certeau's (1984)** concepts of "poaching", "strategies" and "tactics" as analytical tools to critically scrutinise the ways in which popular culture may manifest itself as a subversive intrusion and a juggernaut of change. The authors question if The School of Life initiative, while itself employing the means and methods of the culture industry, may be imbued with the potential to subvert-from-within its manipulative dictations. The study draws on institutional, discursive and textual analysis that revolve around a close study of the Youtube channel, online shop, on campus activities and the institutional structure of The School of Life. The authors conclude by emphasising the horizontal, participatory and rhizomatic nature of digital popular cultural forms as empowering potentials for resistance and change.

**The School of Life is a pseudo-educational organization headquartered in London, initiated by the popular author, philosopher, and entrepreneur Alain de Botton. The organization defines its mission as developing the emotional intelligence of its followers. It has a Youtube channel with 3.6 million followers, an online shop and campuses dispersed around the world.*

***De Certeau, M. (1984) The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.*

ACADEMIC CULTURE: AN INVESTIGATION OF IMPLIED IDENTITY POWER MESSAGES CONVEYED THROUGH VISUALS ON ACADEMIC TEXTBOOK COVERS

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INTRODUCTION

Textbook covers have become more than just a decorative protection for books (Cope and Phillips, 2006; EL-Sakran and Ankit, 2018; Matthews and Moody, 2007). Therefore, textbook publishers, taking into consideration the role book covers play in advertising, and communicating academic disciplines' perceptions of themselves, hire well reputed illustrators who are entrusted with the design of book covers in light of the guidelines publishers provide them with. Kress and Leeuwen (2006) note that sign makers

... choose an aspect or bundle of aspects of the object to be represented as being criteria, at the moment, for representing what they want to represent and then choose the most plausible, the most apt form for its representation (p. 13).

Further to this, Bordo (2010: 56) points out that:

The study of visual rhetoric teaches us that we cannot cast off the illustrations on the book covers as trivial or harmless; an image on a cover is "never just a picture"; they often reflect embedded cultural conventions and ideas of what the artist or photographer believes life should be like (cited in O'Connell, 2010:56).

Similarly, Drew and Sternberger (2005) point out that book covers are there for more than book protection purpose; they propagate for the book and provide information on the academic discipline the book is on. In other words, book covers

entail images of the books' contents. Although this is true (EL-Sakran and Ankit, 2018), there could be other messages communicated in these visuals as well. In this regard, Comi and Eppler (2011) note that visual representations act as carriers and symbols of organizational knowledge. They argue that visual representations "... represent the outcome of a knowledge-intensive process and therefore represent "artifacts of knowing" (para 4). In this context, Bendixen (2007); Cohen (1985); Hatch (1993) and Schein (1985) argue that symbols are not only mere representations of physical forms but are also loaded with meanings and values of those who supply them. Hence, visual representations on academic book covers, it can be argued, are artifacts of knowing (Ewenstein and Whyte, 2007) loaded with higher level meanings representing the academic discipline culture.

OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

Thus, this study investigates implied identity and power messages conveyed through visuals on academic textbook covers. Specifically, it aims at finding answers to the following questions:

1. What are the dominant visual images on academic textbook covers?
2. How do academic disciplines represent themselves on textbook covers?
3. What academic discipline message(s) are being conveyed in the visual representations on academic textbook covers?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Visual representations on book covers are viewed as demonstrations of one's identity. Marra and Angouri (2011) see identity as something that people do and perform. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) adopt a constructionist approach for the analysis of identity which hinges on the following principles: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness. The indexicality principle suggests that there are several means through which identity can be made manifest (Clarke & Kredens, 2018). One of these is the use of visuals to present one's identity or view of self (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 594). In this regard, Li and Ran (2016) note that one's professional self-image, which could be individual or collective, consists of such attributes as professional role, professional competence and professional ethics" (Li and Ran, 2016, p. 48). In addition to these, Watson (2006) lists 'professional knowledge' as another component of professional identity. It entails a demonstration of superior knowledge (Sullivan, 2000).

Along the same lines, Morris, Patel and Wearne (2000) argue that professions require a body of knowledge and competencies. This body is reflected in the visual representations on engineering book covers as illustrated below. In this regard, Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 594) argue that identity can be reflected through "the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (p. 594).

METHODOLOGY

One hundred and twenty (120) book covers, from six different academic disciplines (20 from each), were selected for this inquiry. The academic disciplines covered were: Business, Engineering, Law, Education, Linguistics and Agriculture. All the covers were selected from the list of the best-selling books published stored

on John Wiley's website in 2017.

ANALYSIS

The analysis is built on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) principle of "indexicality and Foucault's (1980) concept "knowledge is power".

FINDINGS

As far as the types of images used on book covers are concerned, it is observed that the images differ according to the academic discipline of the book. That is, the dominant images used on some book covers are icons of some of the field products. For instance, in hard sciences such as engineering, textbook covers exhibit concrete images of the field products (see Figures 1 & 2 below).

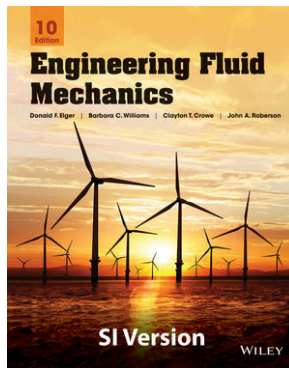


Fig. 1: The cover of a mechanical engineering textbook

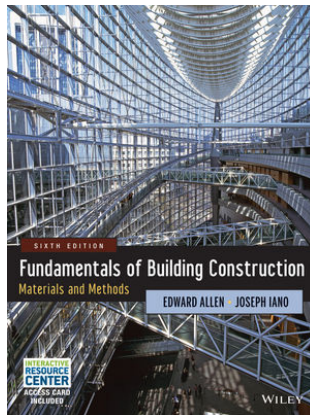


Fig. 2: The cover of a civil engineering textbook

Similarly, in other academic disciplines, especially soft sciences, an image is used, but it could not be tied down to any specific discipline (see Figures 3 & 4).

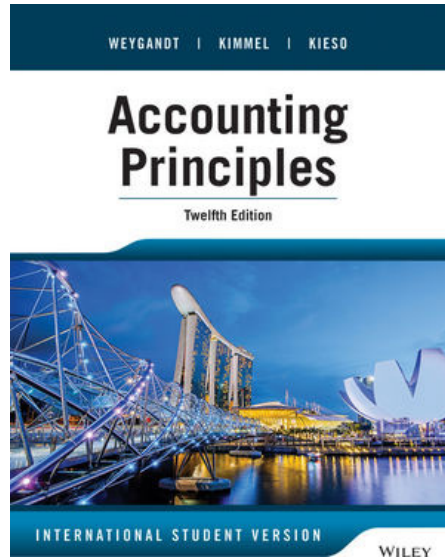


Fig. 3: The cover of an accounting textbook

In the above textbook cover, for example, the image is not a product of the accounting field, and if the book title is removed, the image may direct viewers to the civil engineering field.

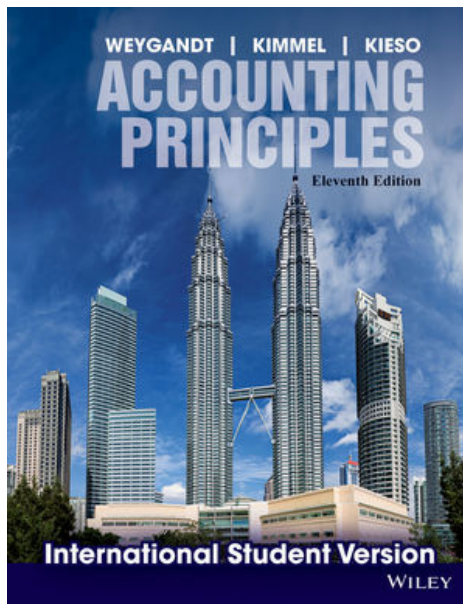


Fig. 4: The cover of an accounting principles textbook

The table below shows the most dominant images per academic field.

Table 1: Dominant visual images on academic textbook covers

Academic Field	Dominant Images
Business	A picture of an athlete, Automatic Telling Machine (ATM), Buildings, Credit Cards, Computer Screen, Shopping Bags, Animals, Flags, Cars, Kitchen Images, Humans, Blank Covers
Engineering	Solar Panels, Artificial Body Parts, Bridges, Steel Structures, Buildings, Flyovers, Human Brain, Computers, Cranes, Satellite, Oil Refineries, Train Stations
Law	Prison Cells, Inmates, Humans, Court Buildings, guns, Justice Scales, Blank Covers
Education	Humans, Buildings, Complex Drawings, Blank Covers
Linguistics	Complex Drawings, Human Brain, Scattered Alphabets, Humans Talking, Blank Covers
Agriculture	Plants (trees, flowers, etc.), insects, animals, agriculture tools, farmers, soil, farms, birds, stables

It is also noted that there were more iconic message elements than symbolic on engineering and agriculture textbook covers compared to the other academic disciplines used for this study. In other words, business, law, education and linguistics textbook covers displayed visuals that stress the conceptual/intellectual over the concrete visual aspects of the respective academic field products as shown in the figures 5, 6, and 7 below.

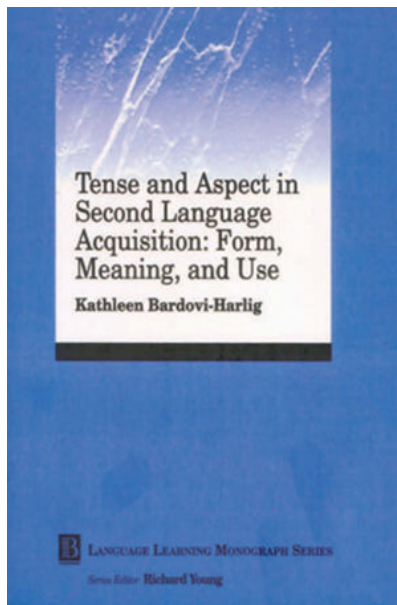


Fig. 5: The cover of an English language grammar textbook

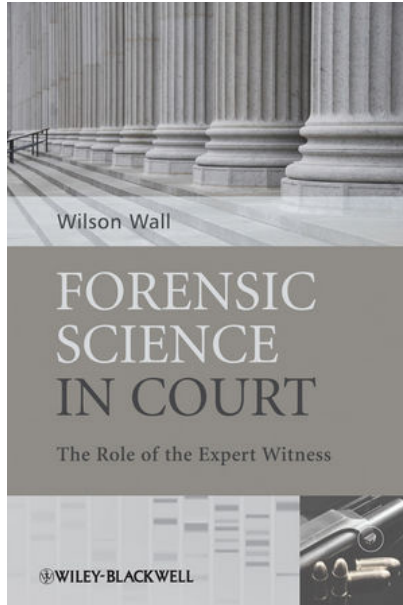


Fig. 6: The cover of a law textbook

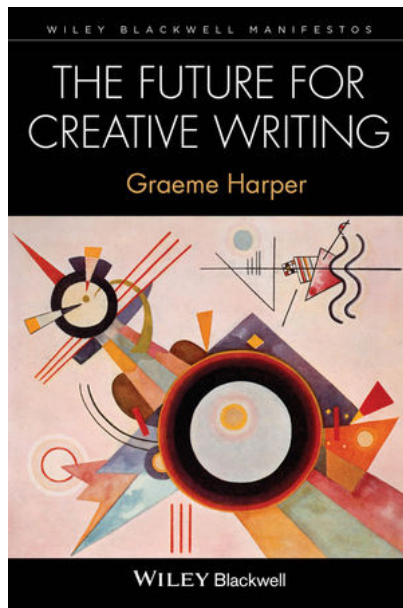


Fig. 7: The cover of an English creative writing textbook

Furthermore, it is also noticed that same representations are used within one single academic discipline. For instance, business and engineering books may use identical images of buildings as shown in Figs. 3 and 4 above.

In the case of multidisciplinary textbooks, textbooks covering collaborative research endeavours between more than one academic discipline, the textbook

displays images representing both disciplines as demonstrated in Fig. 8.



Fig. 8: Example of visual representing collaborative research products

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

From the aforementioned, it seems that the types of visuals used are discipline driven. In other words, sciences with concrete visible products use visuals illustrating these products on their textbook covers to reflect who they are and showcase their products as a sign of their knowledge and power. For example, engineering textbooks mainly use iconic signs of field products, which help make viewers easily identify the academic affiliations from the images and, of course, know their role in the development of the society. This may also be an indication of how measurable these products are. For example, the work of construction is visible, and therefore is represented by showing concrete examples of their products on their textbook covers, which may be a display of Foucault's (1980) concept "knowledge is power". In this regard, Luzón (2018) notes that visuals act as strategic representations of a specific group, to showcase their experiences, activities and achievements, and to document relationships with others (see Fig. 8). In this regard, Powers (2007) argues that "Education within dominant discourses produces social agents who assume that only scientific bodies of knowledge produce value-free truth, which advances western civilization by increasing the efficient management of human life and produces measurable outcomes" (p.29).

Furthermore, Luzón (2018, p. 32) also points out that visuals are presented to support a group's existence and positionality, exhibiting their expertise and knowledge of the field and constructing an identity for themselves as competent. The evidence to support this line of argument is provided in the following two quotes from top engineers affiliated with the IEEE Association:

1. "What EEs have accomplished is amazing by any standard. "Electrical engineers rule the world!" exclaims David Liddle, a partner in U.S. Venture Partners, a venture capital firm in Menlo Park, Calif. "Who's been more important? Who's made more of a difference?" (Wallich, 2004. Para 4).

2. Engineers contribute considerably to the quality of life in society and it is important that they articulate their role clearly and firmly. We hope that a definition of these principles will enhance this contribution, Without Engineers we can't even think about getting so modernized world , where almost every person depends on Technology . Engineers create new innovation stuff just by their different way of thinking from the common man and by their skills, dedication and hardwork, they create something new or improve the products (Essays, UK. (November 2018).

On the contrary, sciences with invisible and intangible products, use blank covers on their academic textbooks, or use the same visuals that other academic disciplines use. These images represent what Serafini (2015, p. 124) refers to as "intertextual". That is, they are used as covers on textbooks from several academic disciplines and, therefore, cannot be linked to one particular discipline or sub-discipline(s) without the presence of the textbook title. Worth noting that textbook covers representing a collective identity may be indicative of the importance of multidisciplinary work and investigations as shown in Fig. 8 above.

To conclude, it could be argued here that textbooks exhibiting blank covers, or ambiguous visual representations, such as the example given in 7 above, could be a sign of thought processes that are difficult to measure and that is hard to reach a consensus on what these processes are. Can this be taken as a sign of a fluid identity and less power? This is left for future research to investigate further.

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POETIC EXPRESSION AND PLATITUDES IN JAPAN'S TRAVEL MEDIA: THE CASE OF ADVERTISING SLOGANS IN THE "CHIKYU-NO-ARUKIKATA" GUIDEBOOK SERIES

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Abstract

Chikyu-No-Arukikata has been Japan's foremost travel guidebook series since its start in 1979. This paper examines how it was quickly and widely accepted by the Japanese public. By analyzing the slogans that appeared on its cover pages from its first days to its renewal around 2002, it is revealed that the series utilized slogans based on stereotypes with double entendres to gain popularity among youth, its main target audience at the time. These slogans can be divided into two types: method-oriented and experience-oriented. In the former type of slogan, the series adopted the stereotypic approaches of a popular counterculture magazine to gain recognition from the younger generation. As for the latter type, the series described destinations with a variety of clichés or platitudes, namely through stereotypes, and they are composed in a poetic style, which can be regarded as a travel stereotype in Japan. With the help of stereotypes, the series was able to open up a market in the FIT travel media that was uncommon in Japan at that time. Therefore, it is reasonable that the series stopped using the stereotype-based slogans after its renewal as it enabled it to get rid of its image as a series for backpacker's budget travel and to advance to an all-around guidebook series for general tourists.

Keyword: poetry, stereotype, travel guidebooks, travel media, Japanese tourism

1. Introduction

Before the tsunami of Chinese outbound tourism covered the globe, Japan had created a specific image of mass tourism: a tourist group flocking to major sights with cameras around their necks as they are led by a tour guide raising a tiny, bright-colored flag. However, Japan's history with overseas free individual/independent tourism/-st or travel/ers (FIT) can be traced to the 1970s—as in the West—and FIT has been so popular that one might even regard it as a standard type of travel in Japan nowadays.

The travel media for FIT followed the same path. Its pioneer, “地球の歩き方ガイドブック (*Chikyu-No-Arukikata Guidebook*; henceforth abbreviated as the CNAG series),” started in 1979, catering to overseas FITs that were then a sheer minority; it is now Japan's most popular travel guidebook series. A job recruitment

company started the series to introduce overseas FIT to the younger generation, mostly college students. The series quickly became popular in Japanese society and successfully expanded to publish titles for more than 100 destinations covering the globe, most have been revised annually.

Although there are numerous previous studies dealing with Japan's overseas FIT, most of them focus on the practices of individual Japanese tourists such as young backpackers. For example, Sudo (2012) analyzed its historical development and conducted a fact-finding survey, and Ohno (2012) made an ethnographic study. On the other hand, travel media for overseas FIT has also been studied, and there are notable studies on the CNAG series, but there is still room for investigation if you consider its presence. For instance, Yamaguchi and Yamaguchi (2009) created a highly informative oral history from the founders of the series. Furthermore, Yamaguchi's (2010) study sketches the historical development of overseas travel by Japanese youth, including an analysis of the series. However, it is obvious that the process through which the series was accepted so quickly and widely by the Japanese public has not been sufficiently examined.

A representative director of the publishing company Diamond-Big Co. Ltd. said in an interview that three factors contributed to the success of the guidebook (Rikkyo University Graduate School of Business Administration, 2009). First, the series rode the crest of the outbound tourism boom, especially around the period of Japan's "Bubble Economy." Second, it increased the number of titles aggressively, including some unpopular destinations that other guidebook series hardly dealt with. Third, there was no rival with the same quality until the mid-1990s when the series had already established itself as the leading travel media. Although these factors are certainly important, what seems to be lacking here is a consideration of the strategic aspects that enabled the series to draw public attention and secure a firm position among travel media.

Analyzing the slogans on the cover pages of the series, this paper examines its success in terms of stereotypes and makes it clear how they functioned, as well as why they went out of use around the start of the millennium. A common understanding of stereotypes is that they are an oversimplified, incorrect image, preventing healthy communication. However, in cross-cultural communication studies we see that a fixed and generalized feature of stereotypes is that they play a significant role in simplifying and systematizing one's knowledge in the face of a deluge of information. The same is true of tourism where the destination must be illustrated in a straightforward and attractive manner to meet the demands of tourists. The slogans written on the series' cover pages are also full of destination stereotypes that were (and continue to be) prevalent in Japan. However, a closer look will reveal that the series uses not only destination stereotypes in poetic expression, which may well be seen as stereotypical, but also a stereotypical counterculture style that was familiar to the younger generation.

Although a large number of studies have been done on travel guidebooks, they are primarily concerned with books written in English. For example, a study by Peel and Sorensen, which developed an understanding of travel guidebooks, describes itself as "the first comprehensive examination" (Peel and Sorensen, 2016). However, its scope is mostly limited to the English-speaking world. Analyzing the most popular Japanese travel guidebook series, this paper aims to contribute

a more general understanding of travel media in an era that witnessed an increase in globalization.

2. Overview of Japan's Outbound Tourism and the Chikyu-No-Arukikata Guidebook Series

While there existed a number of Japanese outbound tourists after the end of World War II, international travel only started *de facto* in 1964 when Japan's government liberalized the system of foreign exchange and exit controls. Thereafter, its outbound tourism increased steadily with several booms—as well as a few years of stagnation—until the 2000s.

Owing to the recent, rapid growth of global tourism, Japan has also been hosting foreign tourists on an unprecedented scale. However, after the liberalization of overseas travel, outbound tourism surpassed inbound tourism and it continues to do so. Japanese government made this possible when it directed its main tourism policy toward outbound rather than inbound tourism until the beginning of the 2000s. One of the policies for outbound tourism was the “Ten Million Plan” that the government used to promote overseas travel in 1986 to restrain the trade balance surplus. The plan aimed to increase the annual number of Japanese overseas travelers to 10 million in 1991. In the end, the government was able to achieve that target a year earlier.

In fact, it was between the mid-1980s and the start of the millennium that Japan's outbound tourism expanded most rapidly. This period of approximately 15 years is known as the “bubble economy” and the consequent “Lost Decade.” Despite the entrance of the Gulf War and a recession in the '90s, the number of outbound tourists tripled, jumping from 4,948,000 to 17,819,000 in that period. The burst of the economic bubble was disastrous, but not enough to discourage the Japanese from going abroad. Since the start of the new millennium, there has been a considerable fluctuation in the number of tourists, and the same rapid development has not been observed, although it has been growing slightly on the whole—a record-high number of Japanese travelers went abroad in 2018 (JTB Tourism Research & Consulting Co., 2019).

One can point out that overseas travel has taken root in Japanese society not only regarding the number of tourists but also in the style of travel. As for the kind of travel arrangements made, the statistics reported by Japan's largest travel agency, JTB, says that the percentage of individually arranged travel has risen from 15% in 1987 to 59% in 2017 and 85%–59% for the percentage of package tours (JTB Tourism Marketing Co., 2018). On the other hand, it is not easy to find a distinct change in destination preferences among Japanese citizens. Since the '80s, JTB's statistics have consistently shown that Western countries and Hawaii are dream destinations for Japanese people (*ibid.*).

Japan's printed media for outbound tourism has more or less followed the same development as tourism itself. During the bubble economy and the Lost Decade, the publication of travel guidebooks increased significantly, and it has shown fluctuations since the change of the millennium (Iwata, 2010).

There are several characteristics of Japan's printed media (*ibid.*). Most are published as a series, which have titles edited according to the country (in most cases). That is, titles dealing with more than one country are in the minority.

Although a handful of large publishers produce a large number of guidebook series, the majority is small and medium enterprises that tend to issue short-lived series.

Before the *Chikyu-No-Arukikata* guidebook series emerged in Japanese society at the end of the 1970s, the travel guidebook market was geared exclusively toward package tourism. Now the series is the longest lasting, most comprehensive, and most popular travel guidebook series in Japan. The number of titles now amounts to 119, and they are revised almost annually. One of the directors of Diamond-Big Co. Ltd, the publishing company of the series, stated proudly in an interview, “the series covers most of the globe except for some difficult places to cover because of the lack of security during research, etc.” (Nikkei Style, 2014).

The series began in 1979 with two titles for Europe and the USA/Canada/Mexico, followed by one for India in 1981. Since Japan’s “Meiji Restoration” (the ongoing process of Japan’s modernization/westernization—self-colonization in other words), Europe and the USA, often lumped together as “欧米 (Europe–America),” has been the series’ most significant title other than Japan. In an interview, one of founders of the series stressed how much he was influenced by the “American-born subculture” (Yamaguchi and Yamaguchi:25). On the other hand, India was one of the favorite destinations of the then globalized counterculture, i.e., the hippie culture in the West and Japan. Another founder went around the Eurasian continent by land in an Afghan coat in his student days. Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that the series was founded on a Japanese mixture of Occidentalism and Orientalism.

The ideology of the counterculture can also be found in the series’ name “*Chikyu-No-Arukikata*,” which means “how to walk on the globe” in Japanese. The name sought an association with “an image of backpacker travel that is the prototype of ‘free travel’” (Yamaguchi and Yamaguchi, 2009:75), standing in sharp contrast to private transport like buses of packaged group tours. In fact, the word “globe trotter” has been written on the cover pages from the earliest editions up to now.

Several young men who had set out to experience a budget travel abroad, which was quite unusual at the time, began the CNAG series. They were employees in the Diamond-Big Co. Ltd., a subsidiary company of Diamond Inc., one of the major publishers of business issues. They were enthusiastic at the idea of opening up free travel to the younger generation, and as part of a job-hunting support program, they began to promote FIT to college students and prepared booklets with travel information so that young adults could experience foreign cultures before they were forced to become a “salaryman” or “office lady.” Building off the feedback from travelers, the booklet developed into a travel guidebook series with a taste for subculture in 1979, modeled after Arthur Frommer’s *Europe on 5 Dollars a Day*.

Although the CNAG series started to provide information about free budget travel, it did not stick to its original policies. As overseas travel took root in the period of the bubble economy and the Lost Decade, more readers wanted guidebooks to help them find shopping malls or fancy restaurants rather than budget locations. Since the start of the booklet, it was a tradition of the series to make full use of the feedback from travelers, but this policy was gradually modified to rely on more objective and neutral information. Moreover, the composition of the travel guidebook market for overseas travel changed largely at the end of the 1990s when other publishing companies introduced travel guidebook series for FIT.

One of the executives of the Diamond-Big Co. Ltd. described this particular time as the “warring states period” (Diamond Online, 2012). Eventually, this environmental change made the series opt for an overall renewal around 2002. It changed the title order, regional divisions, cover page designs, maps, indexes, and more to shed its image as a backpackers’ bible and convert to an all-around guidebook.

A director of the series claims that there was no change in the “fundamental concept that travelers create the series” or “those with great affection for destination edit the series” (Nikkei Style, 2014), insisting that it is those people who are actually working in different subcontractor companies under the direction of Diamond-Big’s editorial office. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that its main target audience changed from young budget travelers to more common tourists, whether young or old, individual or package. Indeed, some titles are commonly purchased by businesspersons on a trip (Diamond Online, 2012), who stand in a position quite opposite to the young budget travelers who used to be the largest group of consumers. It is interesting to note that the series has followed a similar shift to the Lonely Planet travel survival kit series.

It is said that the series holds a share of approximately 50% of the travel guidebook market (Rikkyo University Graduate School of Business Administration, 2009: 1). At the time of this writing, the Diamond-Big Co. Ltd. issues 15 other travel guidebook series apart from the CNAG, and the total number of titles is more than 300.

3. Advertising Slogans of the CNAG Series

The CNAG series had put advertising slogans on cover pages until its renewal around 2002. Each title had its own slogans written by editors of the titles, and most of the titles changed the form and content of the slogans gradually.

As mentioned above, the founders were fans of American counterculture in the 1960–70s. Consequently, Japanese magazines with a taste for subculture were their favorites. They notably followed the style of the *Takarajima* (宝島) magazine, e.g., its book size and paper quality. Another common imitation was found in the speaking style of *kimi* (キミ), a second person pronoun written in *katakana* (one of two Japanese syllabaries used for something special). The first edition of the title for India/Nepal begins with the one-page prose titled “Preface or Epilogue” in which *boku* (ボク) urges *kimi* to hit the road toward India (Diamond Student Tomo no Kai, 1981:2). *Kimi* and *boku* are common personal pronouns in Japanese, but when they are written in *katakana*, they acquire a special connotation and create a youthful appearance. The page is followed by a passage from “Sutta Nipāta” about journey. The titles of this early stage were full of this trend toward youthfulness, and phrases of suggestion or proposal such as “Let’s go to...” were favored. We may well consider that it came from the zeitgeist of the counterculture. Another influence is the advertising slogan on the CNAG series’ cover pages. It was modeled after a long, unique sentence in an informal tone on the *Takarajima* magazine created by Jinichi Uekusa (植草甚一), a popular subculture critic in the 1960s–70s (Yamaguchi and Yamaguchi, 2009: 100).

The slogans can be broadly divided into two types, namely method-oriented and experience-oriented, and quite a few titles show a shift from the former to the latter. In a method-oriented slogan, the emphasis is placed on a travel method that

the CNAG series recommends with factual and relevant data, especially regarding travel cost per day. The long slogan in the first edition of "CNAG for Europe" reads, "A thorough guidebook for travelers who embark on a journey through Europe, by rail, without hotel reservation, on a budget of less than 3,000 yen a day and for longer than one month" (ibid.:102). Concrete figures and averages were able to teach the Japanese public what kind of traveler the series was targeting (ibid.:102-103), and their objective was, in short, to open up a market and earn recognition.

In contrast to a method-oriented slogan, an experience-oriented slogan focuses on the experience that the series supposes travelers can get during travel. As is often the case with tourism, destinations are praised with clichés and platitudes. Although the length is the same as in method-oriented slogans, they are composed of free verse poetry made up of several lines without punctuation marks, which is not always easy to comprehend syntactically. The traditional Japanese form of a 7-5 mora composition, such as *Tanka* and *Haiku*, are not used. For example, the slogans in the 1987 first edition of the CNAG for Germany admire the country with several symbols that stand for land in Japanese in a free verse poetic style (translated into a sentence): "Let's go to the forest of Germany in quest for fairy tales. Look, the castle of Sleeping Beauty and the house of Little Red Riding Hood are hiding over the trees" (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 1987). "Fairy tales," "castle," and "forest" are some of the most common images of Germany. Even though the German reunification was included in the slogans in the fifth and sixth editions, the keynote had continued to be centered on fairy tales. "Road" from the famous *Romantische Straße* (romantic road) and a "timber-framed house" were part of the seventh edition slogans.

The CNAG for Turkey provides a good example of the shift from method-oriented to experience-oriented slogans. Table 1 lists the slogans from several titles of the CNAG for Turkey (translated from a free verse poetic style to prose).

TABLE 1: LIST OF THE SLOGANS OF THE CNAG FOR TURKEY

The 2nd edition (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 1988)

A thorough guide for the solo traveler on a budget of less than 2,500 yen, on a whim to visit that town or this village in Turkey, a country with two faces of Asia and Europe.

The 5th edition (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 1992)

*A glass is filled with hot chai in a corner of a bazaar. Let's go to Turkey where eternity makes history, even when a smoke of water pipe trails.*The 9th edition (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 1996)

The 9th edition (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 1996)

The stream of Bosphorus is slow motion. Coming and going boats tie Europe and Asia. Istanbul is the place where Western and Eastern civilizations mingle, an immutable space since ancient times.

The 12th edition (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 2000)

Would you like to be swayed by a breeze blowing over the strait, biting on kebabs from a food stall in this town where somehow exoticism and nostalgia mingle?

This list indicates the shift from method-oriented to experience-oriented slogans. The second edition's slogan contains a cliché and platitude that says, "Turkey is the place of encounter between Europe and Asia," but its main message is rather atypical of the method-oriented slogans that included travel cost. Soon after the second edition, the main messages shifted toward poetic expression to describe the country picturesquely. These positive images were sprinkled with various cultural elements such as chai, bazaars, water pipes, the Bosphorus strait, and kebabs. Furthermore, these words are blended with more abstract phrases relating to eternity, archaic elements, slowness, encounter/mixture of civilizations, exoticism, and nostalgia. The archaicness or premodernness is frequently stressed in travel guidebooks for Asian or Middle East destinations with famous heritages and ancient civilizations. The representation of Turkey is a good example of a pastiche of Saidian Orientalism, produced in the context of tourism. Of course, there is no aspect of sexism or racism, but to depict a locality as a world without modern development with nostalgia reminds us of "imperialist nostalgia" (Rosaldo, 1989) or "capitalist nostalgia" (Iwabuchi, 2001). **4. Discussion**

4. Discussion

As seen in the previous section, the slogans of the CNAG series are divided into two types: method-oriented and experience-oriented. To explain this distinction, a study of advertising may be useful. According to an analysis by Puto and Wells (1984), there are two categories of advertising, namely informational advertising and transformational advertising. While the former "present[s] factual, relevant information about the brand," the latter "make[s] the experience of using the product richer, warmer, more exciting, and/or more enjoyable, than that obtained solely from an objective description of the advertised brand" (Puto and Wells, 1984). This dichotomy can be applied to the case of CNAG's slogans. On the one hand, the information carried by a method-oriented slogan contains factual and relevant data about the travel style that the series promotes. On the other hand, an experience-oriented slogan poetically describes what travelers will be able to feel, see, eat, do, etc. To sum up, the difference is in whether the slogan focuses on how to travel or what to do when traveling.

The case of the title for Turkey is an example of the change from method-oriented to experience-oriented slogans. However, the former never completely faded from the series as a whole. The titles for larger regions such as Europe kept these types of slogans until the twenty-third edition even though it no longer referred to a specific travel cost per day (Chikyu No Arukikata Henshushitsu, 2001). This may have occurred because a method-oriented slogan appeals to those tourists who travel around a large region, i.e., backpackers, overseas students, and expats.

The generalized images with clichés or platitudes in the slogans can be paraphrased as stereotypes. As formulated in cross-cultural communication studies, "stereotype" as an academic term serves as a cognitive device to change unknown, unfamiliar, or complex information into more simple and plain knowledge so that we can handle an enormous amount of information without being at a loss as to how to understand (Ashmore and del Boca, 1981). Therefore, stereotypes must not be odd or rare, but common and familiar. Studies on stereotype are usually concerned with cultural groups, i.e., ethnicity or gender, however its main role

as “simplification of the plethora of information provided by our environment” (Thomas, 2008: 78) can be applied to all kinds of existences that humans can perceive. It cannot be overemphasized that the CNAG series exploits stereotypes in its experience-oriented slogans to attract readers to certain destinations. However, we should not overlook the fact that there exists a double usage of stereotypes. Apart from admiring destinations with stereotypical expressions, the series also took advantage of stereotypical features of the method-oriented slogan. The series modeled itself after a then popular *Takarajima* magazine, as stated above. Its slogan was written by a popular writer, and the series imitated that long sentence with an informal tone. It is no wonder that the series adopted both the ordinary and popular style among the younger generation to gain recognition in Japanese society where FIT was unfamiliar. The series used this as a tool to create its identity and explain the kind of travel it wanted to introduce. In other words, it took advantage of a fixed and generalized approach with stereotypes to tempt young people into an unknown space: free, independent travel.

The same applies to experience-oriented slogans. Even after method-oriented slogans disappeared from the cover pages, the tone of the slogans maintained a connection to counterculture. Besides, we must not forget that an experience-oriented slogan is patterned after free verse poetry. As is often the case with literature, there has been a rich relationship between poetry and travel in Japan. School textbooks in Japan usually introduce at least several travel-related poems such as the *tanka* (短歌) from Japan’s oldest anthology “*Man’yōshū* (万葉集),” compiled between the 7th and 8th centuries, or the *haiku* (俳句) from “*Oku no Hosomichi* (奥の細道),” a travel diary with a poetry collection by B. Matsuo. Accordingly, the combination of poetry and travel is familiar to the average Japanese citizen. It follows from what has been said that the slogans in the series were made up of stereotypical content in a stereotyped form. Before the series, obtainable guidebooks were created exclusively for package tourism, and the market of FIT was so tiny that the series, as a pioneer, needed to open up the market by teaching Japanese citizens what FIT meant. Stereotypes were highly effective in this missionary work. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the slogans disappeared after the 2002 renewal when the series clearly expressed that its target was no longer limited to young FITs and instead open to the general public.

5. Conclusion

Focusing on the slogans written on the cover pages of the *Chikyu-No-Arukikata* Guidebook series, this article discussed the process of how the series was quickly and widely accepted by the Japanese public. The main purpose has been to make clear how the slogans functioned and why they went out of use at the beginning of the millennium.

The analysis reveals that the series utilized stereotypical slogans with a binary function. In their early stages, the slogans were mostly method-oriented. However, they shifted toward experience-oriented slogans as a whole. In the former type of slogan, the series adopted the stereotypical approach of a popular counterculture magazine to gain recognition from its main target: the younger generation. As for the latter, the series described destinations with different clichés or platitudes in a poetic style, in a stereotypical way, in other words.

It is practical that the series took advantage of stereotypes because it needed to open up a travel media market for FIT, an unfamiliar concept in Japan at that time. Therefore, it is reasonable that the series stopped using slogans with stereotypes after the renewal that enabled it to shed its image as a backpacker's budget travel guidebook and to advance to an all-around guidebook series for general tourists.

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GENDER AND MODERNITY IN BAHRAINI TELEVISION: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CALM AND STORMS AND WISHES OF LIFE

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Abstract

In the patriarchal social setup of Arabian Peninsula Bahrain represents a long struggle of women's rights movements. Though the past two decades have witnessed many signs of change in Bahraini society, at work or domestic spaces, yet the feminist mission of attaining gender equality is deemed as unaccomplished. Television series, whose consumption averages highest among women in Bahraini society, have been an important cultural form in Bahrain where women's roles are constructed and reproduced, and where particular statuses and appearances are assigned for them -- often in relation to dominant and masculine male. Bahraini women have often been subsumed under the monolithic category of "Arab" or "Gulf" women by the researchers, ignoring the sectarian or class differential that underscores women's rights movements. For this purpose, two television series, divided by time duration of around one and a half decade -- *Calm and Storms* (2004) and *Wishes of Life* (2017) -- offer a useful point of departure to measure the transformation in women's status as well as identifying the factors complicating this transformation. This study shows how the notion of modernity in television serves as a middle ground where disparate identities of ruling regime and masses are negotiated, and women's body and sexuality in television representation remains the significant site for this negotiation.

Keywords: Arab woman, Bahraini television, Gender equality, Modernity, Patriarchy, Islam

Introduction

Since the past, even before Islam, the Arabian community was and still dominated by men. Bahrain is an Islamic country which is ruled by a Muslim king and follow the Islamic legalization. The majority of the Bahraini nation is following Islam and it become part of their tradition and culture. As an Arab and Muslim community, males are more free and have more power over female. Many female never questioned the rules of community and even if they do they often don't announce it because it is a taboo. Some Bahraini female heroes in Bahrain had

the courage to question and fight and their base becomes larger everyday. The patriarchal society suppressed women and consider her as a passive individual in many important and major aspects like politics, economy, and health. Many scholars argue if the power and domination of men in Muslim-majority countries are emanated from the religion (Islam) or the culture and community. Those articles investigate the reason behind the discrimination against women especially in Muslim-majority countries where documented a high discrimination. Their results are in most of these countries discrimination is practiced because of the culture and tradition, not because of Islam. In a newly developed country like Bahrain, society is exposed to modernity and many modern notions started to surface in the society. The society began to accept new concepts and lifestyles. One of these notions is women rights. In 2001, Supreme Council for Women was established and headed by Sheikha Sabeeka bint Ibrahim Al-Khalifa, Bahraini women started to see her self in many positions they have never anticipated to obtain. Women have more power to express them selves than before. Despite that, changing a traditional and conservative society like the Bahraini society it is difficult. The discrimination is still existed and even through media the discrimination against women in the arabian peninsula is explicit. There are numerous scenes depict discrimination against women and women suppression.

In this paper, two Bahraini series are analyzed by Van Dijk Critical Discourse analysis framework. The first series is *Calm and Storms* (2004) and the second is *Wishes of Life* (2017). It investigates the modern woman portrayal in the series and the transformation of modern woman role.

The purpose of the study

This study was designed to:

- Analyze the representation of gender roles in Bahraini television drama.
- Detect the transformation of gender portrayal in Bahraini series based on the progress of the social life of Bahraini women.
- Understand the influence of modernity in the portrayal of women in Bahraini television series.

Methodology

This study is a qualitative research. Van Dijk Critical Discourse Analysis framework was conducted in the light of modernity concept.

Limitation

The study was applied on a small scale. In this study, Critical Discourse Analysis Approach had been used on only two series to analyze gender role. For this reason, it was limited to some subjects and ignored other problems in the series. These other problems are not related to the gender issue.

A Historical Brief of Bahrain and Today's situation

The Arabs tribes began to move and settle in Bahrain in 1200 BC (Aljamri, 2002). The modern Bahrain phase started with the establishment of Manama Municipality in 1919 (Aljamri, 2002). In this phase, the British Chancellor Charles Belgrave came as the Governor's advisor and he established the modern institutions of Bahrain

like the Foundation for Finance and Police department. He stayed in Bahrain for 30 years from 1926 to 1956 (Aljamri, 2002). Also, during this period, the practice of pearl diving reached to an end. But the oil industry and the education awareness began (Aljamri, 2002). In addition, for the first time in Bahrain's diverse society began to move with no sectarian (Aljamri, 2002).

In 1938, Shia merchants and Sunni merchants had an honorable role. They united to lead the first national movement which aimed to get national elected legislative unions and organizations (Aljamri, 2002). They also asked for written law. As a result, Charles Belgrave attacked the movement and held a show trial and exiled three of the leaders of the National Movement (Aljamri, 2002).

In 1971, under the ruling of Sheikh Isa Bin Salman Al Khalifa, Bahrain becomes independent from the British colonialism and became recognized by all countries for its sovereignty and Arabism. Sheikh Isa started immediately to work on developing many aspects of the country and had some markable achievements. In 1999, King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa ruling phase began. His phase is remarkable for many major political and social achievements especially for women. First, in the political aspects, he issued The National Action Charter which represented an important stage in the development of the country in all areas (The Ministry of Education, 2016, p.70).

In the second chapter titled The Regime state that the regime of Bahrain is constitutional monarchy and the country's religion is Islam and the Islamic law is a major source of legislation (The National Action Charter, 2001, pp.20-21). Furthermore, he established the constitutional court and conduct elections for parliamentary and municipal councils on a regular basis (The Ministry of Education, 2016, p.70). At the social level, the Kingdom of Bahrain has taken vital steps in the field of empowering women, developing their capacities, qualifying them to participate in all aspects. "Citizens - men and women - have the right to participate in public affairs and to enjoy political rights in the country starting with the right to vote and to be nominated according to the provisions of the law" (The National Action Charter, 2001, p.21). In 2002, King Hamad fulfilled his dream by transforming Bahrain from principality to a kingdom and his title has changed from prince to king.

The Progress of Women in Bahrain

The journey of women freedom started in 1928 when the first government elementary school for girls *El Hedaya El Khalifa* School was established in the Kingdom of Bahrain (Supreme Council for Women, 2015, p.14). In 1926, Latifa Zayani and Maryam Zayani are the first Bahraini teachers in the Kingdom of Bahrain and the GCC countries. Later in the year 1937, Bahraini women were given the opportunity to study abroad, while Manama Secondary School was established as the first secondary school for girls in the Kingdom of Bahrain in 1950 (Supreme Council for Women, 2015, p.14). Although girls were able to study in school, their participation in the early 20th century has been insignificant. Many parents were against girls education and prefer to make her do chores and get her to marry an older man. At that time, many girls got married at an early age of 9 or 10 years old.

In the early 1970s, Bahraini women participated in a referendum to prove the Arabism of Bahrain through 8 women from Children and Mothers Welfare Society and Bahrain Young Ladies Association (Alwatan News, 2018), but women had no

right to participate in the National Council elections in the 1970s (Al Ayoubi, 2019).

The role of women had increased significantly with the accession of King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa in 1999. His belief in Bahraini women as an integral part of Bahraini society and in her unlimited capabilities has given women their rights in all fields without exception. The king declared in the constitution that there is no discrimination against women because women and men are human and they have the same rights. As results, Four women entered the Consultative Council for the first time in the first formation of the Consultative Council in the year 2000 (Alwatan News, 2018). The Supreme Council for Women was established on 22 August 2001 by Emiri Decree (SCW, 2015, p.14) Bahraini women have engaged in the National Action Charter Committee, out of 46 personalities six women participated. On February 24, 2001, the King issued Decree No. 6 of 2001 of establishing the Committee for the Implementation of the National Action Charter, which out of 16 members included only two women (Alwatan News, 2018). In 2002, the right of women to vote and to stand in the House and Municipal Council was established (Alwatan News, 2018). In 2002, women got the right to vote and run for parliament and municipal council (Alwatan News, 2018). In March 2018, the Bahraini Parliament repeal Article 353 of the Penal Code No. 15 of 1976, which absolve the person who rapes if he marries his victim (Rabie, 2017, p.7; Alhurra News, 2018).

Women Contribution and Image in Media

The first newspaper in Bahrain called *Bahrain* was founded by the writer Abdullah Al-Zayed in 1939 and his daughter Moza Abdullah Al-Zayed edited some articles in the newspaper. (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, p.8; SCW, 2013, p.5). But, Bahraini women formally joined the press field in the 1950s. At that time, women were compelled to use nicknames or the first two letters of their names instead of their real names because of the social traditions and the social situation for women. Despite that, it did not stop women like Shelah Shaheen Khalfan, her sister Badriya Shaheen Khalfan and Moza Abdullah Al-Zayed from expressing themselves and their views and get involved in journalism (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, pp.15; SCW, 2013, p.5). In 1970, Sabeeka Abdulla Al-Zayed was one of the first graduates from the literature faculty, journalism department in Cairo, and she worked as one of the editors of the *Hona Bahrain* magazine (SCW, 2013, p.5). In the 1970s, Sheikha Tifla bint Mohammed Al Khalifa surfaced as a columnist for *Akhbar Al Khaleej* under her prominent column titled *Meaning of Speech*, and it is still published on a daily basis. She consider as the first female columnist in Bahrain and the first who address women's issues (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, p.16).

Bahrain Radio was established in 1955 and it broadcasts local radio programs across the GCC area (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, p.8). However, the Bahraini female voice wasn't present until 1967 when Ms. Aisha Abdullatif Al-Sarkal officially started work in *Bahrain Radio* to be the first Bahraini female works in radio (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, p.16).

In 1975, *Bahrain TV* was established and it was the first color television, the first to broadcast English news, and the first to show commercials in the Gulf region (SCW, 2013, p.11). Dr. Bahia Jawad Al-Jishi is considered one of the first women who got engaged with radio and television channels. She worked as a presenter, reader of news, and supervisor of women and children programs in Bahrain and abroad.

She read the news in the Syrian radio during her university studies and worked as a presenter in the arab section of the *British Broadcasting Corporation* (SCW, 2013, p.9). In 1988, Dr. Hala Ahmed Al-Omran is the first female television director and then the first woman to serve as Assistant Undersecretary for Radio and Television. After that, she became the first president of Bahrain Broadcasting and Television Authority (SCW, 2013, p.11). In the term of television drama series, Masoumah Al Mutawah was the first Bahraini female contributed in presenting a story, dialogue and script in *Remains and Ashes* series in 2004 (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, p.16). The history of media in Bahrain also marks the designation of Shaikha Mai Bint Mohammed Al Khalifa as the first female Minister of Culture and Information. In 2012, Samira Bin-Rajab manages the Ministry of Information Affairs and the first official speaker of the government (Bumutia and Hashemi, 2013, p.8).

Modernity

Modernity emerged in the west in the mid of 19th century. It initiated with ideological, economic, social and political revolutions against the domination of church (Whimster and Lash, 2014). Many scholars from the third world countries argue that modernity representation in the west is different than what it represents in the third world countries. In fact the process of modernity and the history of modernity of every country is different and the west modernity measurements are not a scale for other countries. In this paper, modernity theory will be discussed and comprehend theoretically - ideologically - far from the historical background in the view of Bahrain as it is a third world country.

Max Weber refers to Modernity as a replacement of tradition with modernity (Whimster and Lash, 2014). It means the replacement of many cultural aspects and traditional values, habits, and practices with new modern ones. the change of the traditional view to environment, knowledge, self-awareness, relations, habits, and values with new modern views. Max Weber argued in his book about rationalization as a part of modernity process where people become more rational about their choices and life. He proposed that the process of rationalization include calculability, methodical behavior and reflexively, and doing this process with time humans might forget their creativity and the ideology which led them to rationalism and modernity (Whimster and Lash, 2014). While traditionalism sees the world as having a basic order and that is the way things ought to be (Whimster and Lash, 2014). people think more about every single aspect of their life and nothing for granted. As result, many people in the third world country started to think about their culture and tradition and which part of these two is considered obstacle toward modernity and social developments and how these both would affect the progress of the country in general and in all other fields like politic, economic, health and the future. In the third world county like Bahrain, people are not ready to replace their whole tradition with a new one, but they would develop ideas, replace illogical beliefs or add and combine new ideas with old one to get better results. people are understanding the tradition rationally and they modify the irrational parts of tradition, while keeping the rational ones. In this paper, modernity is a replacement, change or modification of irrational traditions with rational ideologies that develop the community.

Analysis

Problem of study

Many studies were conducted about women in muslim majority countries or countries that are ruled by the Islamic legalization. Most of these studies study women in extreme discriminative conditions. While few studies aimed to investigate women in Bahrain where women have more freedom among many islamic countries. Until this very day, women in Bahrain are discriminated by men which their power is considered as a higher authority legalized by culture and tradition. Despite that, it is impossible to ignore the accomplishments of women in the last few decades. Women got many of their rights in many aspects. Since the emergence of Bahrain TV, women got engaged in television as a representer, actress, director, producer ...etc. However, television is one of the most influential media on the Bahraini society, especially in Ramadan, the time of showing all the new series and people spend most of their time watching it ritually. Bahraini women repeatedly depicted in the pattern of powerless and sad characters. She often appear in a negative image even if she had power. With all previous accomplishments, did her depiction in new dramas became different? does modernity influence the portrayal of Bahraini women in the television drama? does the modern woman in the past different than the modern woman now?

Methodology

This article aims to study the social problem and the social power in the story of Bahraini drama. Van Dijk Critical Discourse analysis framework is conducted in order to answer the research questions. Two Bahraini series were chosen based on the time of release and popularity in Bahrain. The first series name is *Calm and Storms* which was released in 2004. In that period was the first initiations of women awareness of their rights through the new legalizations and the establishment of Superior Council of Women in Bahrain. The same time when the ideology of the traditional image of women began to transform. The second one is *Wishes of Life* which is released in 2017. it is released 18 years after King Hamad became the ruler of Bahrain and allowed women to obtain many of their rights. There is around 13 years between the release of both series in purpose to serve the goals of this study which are the detection of women representation transformation in the Bahraini Drama and how modernity influence women and traditionalism. Both series are analyzed separately, according to the release date. First *Calm and Storms* and then *Wishes of Life*.

About the series

Calm and Storms it is a Bahraini series which was released on 15th of October 2004. It was classified as one of the best Gulf series by the Gulf Theater and Television Society. *Wishes of Life* it is a Bahraini Kuwaiti series and it was released on 27th of December 2017. Both series were filmed in Kingdom of Bahrain.

Plot Summary

In *Calm and Storms* series, discuss many social problems in the Bahraini community. the Story is about two families Abu Bader Family and Abu Nasser Family. Abu Bader is a rich powerful man in Bahrain who owns a big company and

he is married to his cousin Um Bader. He had two children Haneen and Bader, but he killed his son accidentally while he was driving drunk he hit him with the car. Then he accused his cousin Ahmed Who is the brother of Um Bader and the lover of Abu Bader's sister Aisha. Because of that incident, he rejected Ahmed and Aisha's marriage, expel Ahmed out of the family, and he prevents every family member from communicating with him. The whole chain of dramatic incidents left both women Aisha and Um Bader with heartbroken over Bader death and expelling Ahmed for ten years. For those ten years, Aisha also rejected every man proposed to her. However, in a moment of anger, Abu Bader kills Um Bader accidentally. This accident breaks his heart but it did not weaken him.

The second family, Abu Nasser family is a poor family with no power or high profile social status. Abu Nasser has three kids, Huda, Nasser, and Siham. Huda is the best friend of Haneen and she is in love with a man called Mahmood. When Mahmood ends the relationship with her, under the justification of not having a stable job to marry her, she marries from another man called Khalid who is the son of the owner of the company she is working in. Although Khalid is treating her respectfully and with love, she spends her life in deep depression because she got married someone she doesn't love while she is still in love with Mahmood. In the end, she passes away while she is delivering her daughter.

Haneen meets Nasser through internet chat rooms which were popular at that time and she falls in love with him. She asks him to propose for her from her father. Her Father rejects Nasser's marriage proposal because Nasser's family social status is not appropriate to marry his girl and become relatives. As result, Haneen runs away with Nasser to another country and they get married. Her Father becomes paralyzed. At the same period, he regrets his abuse and oppression toward people around him and gives a general power of attorney on the company for his cousin Ahmed. When Haneen came back to home again he disowned her.

Siham is a high school student who wants to get money in any way possible to obtain everything she wishes for. She works as a night girl with two other school mates which is highly unacceptable in the conservative Bahraini society. Their path ends the time a new girl joins the group and she informs the police about them. In these situations police call the parents to take their children from the police station. At the moment her father meets her, he expresses how much ashamed of her actions and that she lost the most valuable thing the person can have, alluding to the family honor. She explains the reason for taking this path is only for money to buy things, but her father couldn't handle the whole situation and he passed away. She become depressed and sees her dead father everywhere.

The following selected scenes of the series were performed with the Arabic Bahraini dialect. The performers spoke informal Arabic language and used colloquial words. The language was modified and translated to English without losing the context of the sentence. But the Critical Discourse Analysis derive from the original dialogue.

Scene 1, Episode 2 minute 22:14

On the previous night, Huda and Abu Nasser were waiting for Siham for fear that Nasser would arrive home before Siham does. Indeed Nasser arrives home and Siham enters after him. Nasser gets angry because Siham is a girl who returned home late and he beats her.

Next day, While Huda is doing chores, she sees Siham affected by the incident.

Huda: Siham, you should know that everyone in the house, holds to account you because they love you and fear for you. Do not blame your brother for what he did, it is your actions that brought us to this situation. It is unreasonable for a girl in your age wants to lead her family the way she wishes for ... She returns whenever she wants to return home and go out whenever she wants to. Any person must hold himself/herself to accountable prior to blaming others. Siham, is my word true or false? let God guides you, let God guides you.

Huda continues the housework and Siham mimics Huda's words expressing not accepting her advice.

Scene 2, Episode 16 minute 6:00

Abu Bader rejected Nasser's marriage from Haneen. Consequently, Haneen family began to watch her movements to prevent her from meeting Nasser and hoping her father won't know about their love story. Aisha decides to talk with Haneen in private in her room.

Haneen: My aunt, now you called me to listen to this tape which I am tired of.

Aisha: Our concern and fear for you make us ask you where did you come from and where are you going to, this is right and this is wrong.

Haneen: I think I distinguish the right from the mistake and I know that everyone in this world chooses the person who wants to live with the rest of his life.

Aisha: I understand from your words, that you want to break the words of your mother and your father and let people talk about us.

Haneen: Nasser is for me and I am for him and I lie to you if I said I will forget him.

Aisha: Why do not you have the courage to say this to your mother and father?

Haneen: As you know my mother is sick and do not bear problems. My father, what he is not convinced with today, he will be convinced with it tomorrow.

Aisha: What are you saying ?! you certainly lost your mind.

Haneen: I will not let Nasser become like my uncle Ahmed who lost the air he breathes. And I will not be like you, my aunt, live the rest of my life in pain, tears, and memories.

Haneen takes Aisha's wedding dress from the wardrobe and gives it to her.

Scene 3, Episode 25 minute 32:48

After Nasser talks with Abu Bader about his marriage proposal for Haneen again, he goes to see Huda in her husband's house.

Huda: Why did you allow to insult yourself again?

Nasser: I have no other solution than what I did.

Huda: Did you see the result? You don't know what happened to Haneen. No, you hurt the girl, instead of solving the problem you made it worse.

Nasser: Haneen is the one who insisted on this. She is the one who told me to speak with her father again. What shall I do!!

Huda: You are both definitely crazy.

Nasser: I did not want to reject any words for her. I did not want to reject anything for her, so she would not doubt my love for her.

Huda thinks to herself: You tolerate. My brother, You are excused, your love for Haneen makes you do this and more ?! Did you forget what you did? Are you the only one who is allowed to love but it is forbidden for others.

Nasser: Huda Huda I am speaking to you .. Where did you go?

Huda: I'm with you.

Nasser: Briefly, I want to find a solution. I want you to find a way to talk with Haneen for me. How? I don't know, I want you to know what is happening.

Huda: Brother, after what her father did to you and my father, I couldn't enter their home again and you are telling me her mobile phone is always locked. What do you want me to do?

Nasser: Huda, I want you to remember that in my whole life I did not ask you for any fever and now when I asked you for one you are giving me justifications.

Khaled is walking down the stairs

Khalid: Nasser, I do not want to interfere between you and your sister but I loved to advise you as a brother who is afraid for you and loves you. You are incompetent for Abu Bader and all the cards you play with him are lost even his daughter Haneen. I advise you to Let it go. But if you insist to do what is in your mind, do not let your sister interfere in your problems.

Nasser: I think at the beginning of your speech you said that you do not like to interfere between me and my sister, I think it is better for you not to interfere.

Khalid: For your information, Nasser, there is no wife move without consulting her husband. I have told you and this is your sister I do not want her to interfere in your beautiful love story.

CDA of The Serial

During the serial, the two families interact with each other directly and indirectly which leads to the depiction of social class conflict and gender conflict. Since this paper is about women portrayal, it will concentrate intensively on gender conflict. Since the start of the first episode, the audience sees the Bahraini patriarchy society and subservient woman representation on the screen. Female portrayed powerless, submissive, fearful, unhappy, and depressed. The woman stands against other woman's insurgency fearing of the punishment they will face from the patriarch or because simply this is how things suppose to be and she has to accept it {tradition}.

Women are always mistaken and will be punished in case she disobeys even if she was asking for her right as a human with independent personality. She has no right to choose her own path and destiny if it is out of the limited freedom range and rules that the head of the family have previously determined. When she doesn't accept his rules and decisions, society consider it a declaration of insurgency against the authority -male figure like a father, a brother or a husband- and she must be punished. As a consequence, the head of the family has the right to choose what punishment is appropriate for this disobedience. Punishment can be like disowning, expulsion out of the family house, and domestic violence. With such punishments leave disobedient women weak, regretting their actions, sometimes it leads to losing her sanity like Siham and lost in the world like Haneen. Sometimes these penalties can be harmful but the society sees it appropriate to discipline her. Many times 'crazy' word used for women indicating to losing her sanity for disobeying. These disobedience cases are displayed repeatedly through the series. For example, when Huda wanted to continue working after marriage because she sees herself sophisticated and the job is part of her identity, she had to obey her husband and stay at home. Another example, When Haneen broke her father's

word and ran away from the house to marry Nasser, her father disowned her and she felt like she lost her self, feeling sorrow and regretful on her actions. She walks in the streets with no goal and no place to go. The series overtly suggests that it is better for women to be patient, live unsatisfied and depressed instead of insurgency against the patriarchal power or she will be punished.

Modern women in the series are more powerful than traditional women. They are sophisticated, stronger, less fearful and they are aware of their identity. They have more freedom to choose and live but under the authority's limits. Their limits are wider than the traditional women. Modern women tend to use more makeup and don't cover their head with a scarf. Many scenes women wear a scarf in the purpose of empathizing. As they wear it in sad scenes like for mourning or as a depiction of oppression, sadness, and sorrows they live. On the other hand, the culture gives total freedom for men to do anything they want, any time with anyone and without questioning their actions. In these serial women occupied feminine-stereotypes' jobs like a secretary, an employee, a teacher or they work in a beauty salon.

The second conflict is the conflict of social class and it is restricted to masculinity power. Beside their postulated power that they emanate from culture and the patriarchy system, there is the power of money and social class. When Nasser proposed for Haneen, Her father Abu Bader humiliates him for his low social class and material status. He suggests poor families must not look up at rich families even if they have ethics and values. Money adds power for the owner and enhances social class and ethics are not valuable. At the last few episodes, previous social class power presumption changes to ethics, values, and family are the perpetuated investments for every person regardless of the material and social status.

CDA Scene 1

This scene depicts woman during practicing their stereotype work. While Huda -the older sister- is doing the chores, she sees her young sister is affected and emotional by the previous night incident. Huda's discourse is mostly excusing her brother's action and convince Siham to accept what happened because she deserves it. She excuses Nasser for hitting Siham by claiming his actions were emanates out of love by saying *"everyone in the house, holds to account you because they love you and fear for you."* Then, she attempts to convince Siham to forgive and not to blame Nasser because he had the right to discipline her for her reckless actions *"Do not blame your brother for what he did, it is your actions that brought us to this situation."*. As a young and a female, it is illogical to be free or able to lead the family *"It is unreasonable for a girl in your age wants to lead her family the way she wishes for."* It is postulated that women must be disciplined by men when they break the rules. In this scene, besides it depicts the masculinity power for discipline it also depicts women as a passive being must obey men and accept the consequences of disobeying. Furthermore, it shows both of them came back home around the same time only minutes apart from both arrivals. In the case of Nasser -who is a representation of a male figure-, it was acceptable to come back late but not for the Siham - a representation of a female figure-.

CDA Scene 2

In this scene, Aisha is advising Haneen by saying *"Our concern and fear for you make us ask you where did you come from and where are you going to, this is right and this is wrong."* here woman is advising another woman to obey the patriarch orders with the justification that these orders are out of love and for her benefit. Love, benefit, and right actions are all valid justification to follow and obey without thinking of any decision because the right decision is already have chosen by the head of the family. So members of the family especially females would stand against insurgent female and work on convincing or forcing her. However, when Haneen refuses to obey and insists to choose her life and live it the way she desires *"I think I distinguish the right from the mistake and I know that everyone in this world chooses the person who wants to live with the rest of his life."*, Aisha replies *"I understand from your words, that you want to break the words of your mother and your father and let people talk about us."*; Aisha alludes that the female who chooses her life and disobeys is a shame; everyone is going to gossip about it and shame the family for it. Then she accuses her of losing her mind and she is crazy just for thinking about such an idea *"you certainly lost your mind."*

In this scene's discourse, it articulates the differences between the traditional woman and the modern woman at that time. When Haneen says *"I will not let Nasser become like my uncle Ahmed who lost the air he breathes. And I will not be like you, my aunt, live the rest of my life in pain, tears, and memories."* Both women went through the same circumstances of loving a man who was rejected by the head of the family, but from Haneen discourse elucidates she is not going to take the same path her aunt took. Haneen which is the representation of a young modern woman decided to disobey and choose for her self, while Aisha which is the representation of a middle age traditional woman obeys whether she is satisfied or not without thinking because this is how it ought to be.

CDA Scene 3

Nasser's talk with Abu Bader about marriage again uncovered their love story and their insistence on marriage, which made Abu Bader very angry and discipline his daughter Haneen. Such an action is a disobeying indication for Abu Bader and Huda realizes that and describes them as *"crazy"*. Then Nasser justifies his actions by telling Huda his love for Haneen pushed him to do it. In this case, the motive is actual love not because of culture like previous scenes. This indicates to Haneen as a modern woman had some power on a man, but she is still a powerless woman under the domination of another man -her father-. Huda thinking to herself *"Did you forget what you did? Are you the only one who is allowed to love but it is forbidden for others"* explains that men are allowed to love before marriage freely while women are not. Also, she doesn't reveal her true thoughts about it because she knows this is kind of objection and it is not accepted for women to object. However, Nasser's visit for Huda is to find a solution in order to communicate with Haneen. Even though Huda had a valid reason no to visit Haneen, her brother Nasser wanted to force her. Her husband enters and empower her stance and end the conversation on behalf of her. In his discourse, he utterly said *"there is no wife move without consulting her husband"*, the good wife cannot do anything without the approval of the husband, and since he is the responsible man on her, he is

competent for Nasser.

Plot Summary

Wishes of Life displays many social issues in the Gulf society, especially female youths. The story is about four girls (Amal, Asma, Norah, and Shahad) who have different painful pasts enter a psychiatric hospital in purpose to be healed. All four cases were abused by society. During the series they interact with each other and with the medical staff especially Dr.Tahani and they become friends. The turning point is when Dr.Suad propose a new project to her friend Dr.Tahani where she is planing to use unconventional psychiatric treatment methods aiming to cure the girls. Dr.Tahani provides the help Dr.Suad needed to meet the girls and finish all the formal procedure. Dr.Suad starts her project in a separated center where girls are more free and next to the sea. Her treatment includes trips, activities and psychotherapy sessions. In the sessions, every girl shares her story with the girls until she enters the hospital. In addition, they share secretive details with only Dr.Suad.

She starts with Amal who is half Saudi and half Bahraini, and a holder of a Saudi passport. Her suffering began since she was a child. Her parents were always fighting and she sees her mother is abused verbally and physically by her father. They get divorced and they marry others. Amal falls in love with a man named Turkey. Despite her parents' disapproval on the marriage, she runs away and marries him. After a while, his health becomes worse and he commits suicide. She goes back to her mother and lived with her for a period of time, but her stepfather sexually harasses her which made her move with her father. Unfortunately, her father and stepmother were even worse than her mother's house. Her father accused her mother of cheating and Amal of covering on her. He also considers Amal a shame after runaway and marriage from Turkey. As consequence, he allowed himself and his wife to abuse her verbally and physically. Her father materialistic character and love money, he aspired her to marry a rich man regardless of his age. He found a rich man and force her to marry him for money and to cover her shameful previous marriage. The husband was very abusive, he tortured her and said many hurtful words for her. She even alludes for his enjoyment of torturing her during the intercourse. Until in one day, unconsciously she killed him and moved to the psychiatric hospital.

The second case is Asma. She has depression from her miserable life with her husband. Asma's dreams are different from the rest of the girls in the serial. Her ambitions are to get married, become a good housewife, and raise her children. She did not aspire to have a successful career. Adel is the first man proposed for her and despite his bad reputation, she accepted his proposal hoping her dreams will come true. But her happiness did not last for a long time and her dreams began to crash from the first week of their marriage. He neglected her and after a period of time, she discovered that he is committing adultery. Anyway, she gives birth to her son Fahad. At the age of 14, she became happy from Fahad and Adel bonding. But in fact, this bonding was negative. Adel was teaching Fahad how to blackmail people. After blackmailing many people, in the name of revenge for their sister's and family's honor, the brothers caught Fahad and took a horrible scandalous video for him. Asma watched the video and she decided to protect her own son from the

father. She complains against her husband Adel in Police Station, and both Adel and Fahad entered prison.

The third patient is Norah. She is sick with Sickle Cell Anemia and got addicted to the painkiller medicine. Painkillers led to her obsession and addiction with them. She fell in love with a man called Rashid. He proposed for her except his family rejected this marriage.

The last case is Shahad. Although Shahad was stubborn to talk at the beginning, Dr.Suad was able to touch inside her and induce her to talk. Shahad was a poor girl living with her single mother. By the time, Shahad gained enough money from the acting job and had a disagreement with her mother about her job. She did not want people come to know about her mother job as pickle seller. She left the house and never came back or allow her mother to see her in the backstage. Anyway, she meets a producer called Bu Khalifa and her acting career flourished. After a while, she marries him, except their marriage must be secret because he is already married. As a famous actress, there are paparazzi everywhere taking pictures of her and one of the journalists had doubts about her in a secret affair with Bu Khalifa. Such notions are not accepted in the Bahraini community, so she decided to burn the writer of this article but instead, she burned herself by mistake and entered the hospital.

The whole series surprised the audiences at the end. Dr.Suad who is helpful, passionate and good turned out she was using her friend Dr.Tahani and the girls to blackmail bad people around them, take and steal money from the girls. Furthermore, she counterfeits formal papers. She calls the police to tell about her friend Dr.Tahani and travel outside of the country. She used everyone around her to accomplish her wishes.

The following selected scenes of the series were also performed with the Arabic Bahraini dialect. The performers spoke informal Arabic language and used colloquial words. The language was modified and translated to English without losing the context of the sentence. But the Critical Discourse Analysis derive from the original dialogue.

Scene 1, Episode 12 minute 35:09

In the office of Dr. Suad and Dr.Tahani in the new center

Dr.Suad: You did not end the subject with him?

Dr.Tahani: Of course I did but he opened the subject with me again.

Dr.Suad: What does this mean? Will you give him a second chance?

Dr.Tahani: I do not know, but I do not like a man with a self-contradictory personality.

Dr.Suad: What do you mean by self-contradictory personality?

Dr.Tahani: I mean he says he loves me and wants me and I am the right person for him, at the same time he wants to impede my career and my future, this is very contradicted.

Dr.Suad: Oh my dear, all of them are like this, or let's say most of them are like this, but take my advice and let me tell you something very important, do not ruin your career at the expense of your social life. As he has the right to achieve all his ambitions you also have the right, what does he want? After you studied and become a doctor, he wants to marry you and make you a housewife ?! He is strange, O Allah, thank God, I chose my comfort.

Dr.Tahani: Does this mean that what I did is right?

Dr.Suad: Of course, right, and a million right

Dr.Tahani: Oh God, thank God.

Dr.Suad: Let us close this topic, what did you do with Amal?

Scene 2, Episode 17 minute 23:38

One of Dr.Suad's unconventional ways to treat the girls is to motivate every girl to tell her story to everyone. Everyone is gathering in the living room while the Asma tell her story in the new center.

Norah: Your brother and your mother are right, you took a very fast decision.

Shahad: True, you were very young. How did you accept to marry at such a young age?

Amal: Asma, you are always like this. By the way, you advise me and you say that you are afraid for me and do not think of wrong things. But your action was very wrong. Right.

Asma: I did not think of life or certificate. I always thought that my future was in a house and with a husband and with children. I was so fond of this style of life. I am not one of the girls who want a certificate and they want a car and those who want to work .. no. Therefore, I have agreed to marry. For me, my future is my home.

Dr.Tahani: Unfortunately, not only you, many of the girls were thinking like you, but then they regretted it.

Dr.Suad: How did you convince your brother about the idea of marrying Adel?

Asma: Oh, I wish I listened to my brother Abdullah's advice and I did not break his word.

Dr. Suad: Why?

Asma: Unfortunately, all the words he said about him were true. 24 hours he was beating me and torturing me. I did not live the story of Leila, which I dreamed of and I did not see Qais. For 24 hours I was insulted and tortured until I lost my dignity. I regretted ... I regretted the moment I agreed to marry him.

Norah: And what did your mother say? you have definitely told her.

Asma: No, I could not complain to anyone. Because Abdullah said to me if you go out of this door you do not have a way back because you are the one who chose. As long as you chose, you have to endure all your decisions. That's why I endured and remained silent. I was patient for everything is happening.

Scene 3, Episode 25 minute 11:48

After Nora told her story and faced Rashid. Norah and Dr. Suad are sitting in the garden of the new center.

Norah: Doctor, I feel that you carry all the worries of the world on your shoulders.

Dr. Suad: Indeed Nora, and it seems that you too will complete it and cause me an early death. (laughs)

Norah: Don't say that Doctor. Let your life be long. Do you know that you are one of the people whose impossible to pay you back?

Dr. Suad: Why? Can I know?

Norah: You're the only one who gave me hope in this life after I lost it, the only one that made me love life again, and when I lived with you I discovered that the world is still good.

Dr. Suad: I am very used to you, Nora, I do not know how I will be able to leave you.

Norah: Why, where are you going and leaving us?

Dr. Suad: I mean when you return to the hospital or with the God willing you leave it and live your life, I will miss you so much

Norah: I understand, but doctor, when we go to the hospital, do not forget us, we love you so much and we are used to you.

Dr. Suad: Impossible, thank God you have changed a lot, and you too will change my life for the better, It is impossible to forget you.

Dr.Suad is affected and tries to hold her tears

CDA of The Serial

In this series as well there is a gender conflict. There are a depiction of patriarchy power in many scenes. Women who were severely abused by the society especially by their family members, enter the psychiatric hospital. According to culture and tradition, male are dominant and have more power comparing to female, but female is aware of their wants and they stand against domestic violence. Except living in a collectivistic patriarchal society cultivates the fear of being unaccepted and outcasted, a fear of being alone or losing. As result, many victims continue living in a conflict of obeying and disobeying, freedom and sacrifice, hate and love which keep them in the mercy of a male. Many scenes they were wondering why the girl stayed in these difficult circumstances and didn't take a stance, it is because of the internal conflict.

Traditional women were more portrayed as a religious women and a housewife. They aspire to raise their children and take care of the house. Most women in the series portrayed as modern, intelligent, educated, ambitious and free. Modern women are taking care of fashion, style, work, education, and success, but she is not able to balance between both her family and work. They have to choose one side. The series strongly suggests in order to be successful and have an outstanding career, women must not marry. Marriage signifies an impediment prevents women from their rights and freedom and from pursuing their career and dreams. Women are working under a male supervisor or executive but she took high job positions with power like a psychiatrist which is different than the gender-stereotypes' jobs in Bahrain.

CDA Scene 1

Since this serial is representing modern women, it also represented modern ideologies. Women are free to choose their life partner and they have their own terms for marriage. They are able to think for their selves and choose. Dr.Tahani describes her fiancé as a *"self-contradictory personality"* and demonstrates her confusion about he loves her, but at the same time, he is against her having a job. Dr.Suad describes most men are contradictory and confusing *"most of them are like this"*, Then she suggests that marriage is an impediment for career *"do not ruin your career at the expense of your social life."* Then she alludes that women and men are equal and he has no right to ruin your life and order you by saying *"As he has the right to achieve all his ambitions you also have the right"*, *"After you studied and become a doctor, he wants to marry you and make you a housewife ?!"*. The idea is fundamentally constructed based on men in the Bahraini/gulf society tend to control women, the marriage became an obstacle for women's career. Again

Dr.Suad describes her choosing her career over her marriage is “*comfort*”.

CDA Scene 2

In this scene is articulate the traditional women and modern women. While Asma is telling her story Shahad was surprised of Asma marrying at the age of 18 “*How did you accept to marry at such a young age?*”, because now this age is considered very young for marriage especially all the women surrounding Asma are modern and she is the only traditional woman. Asma is also conservative religious and wears a scarf on her head. Asma replies “*I did not think of life or certificate. I always thought that my future was in a house and with a husband and with children. I was so fond of this style of life. I am not one of the girls who want a certificate and they want a car and those who want to work .. no. Therefore, I have agreed to marry. For me, my future is my home.*”. She is explaining the reasons for her marriage are her ambitions to have a husband and children and becoming a good housewife. She is like any traditional Bahraini/Gulf girl who lives her life for her husband and house. Because most of the traditional girls marry at a young age they don’t complete their study or think of working and accomplish bigger things like modern girls do. Then Dr.Tahani support Asma by saying “*Unfortunately, not only you, many of the girls were thinking like you, but then they regretted it*”. She is feeling compassion for traditional girls, they lose everything if the husband is not good or decides to divorce them in the future. They are left with nothing in contrast with modern girls they tend to have both career and social life. Then Asma proceeds by saying “*Oh, I wish I listened to my brother Abdullah’s advice and I did not break his word*” She is regretting not listening to her brother and since the male has a leading power, the “*break his word*” expression always used when someone is disobeying or not listening to the advice. The expression has an indication for dignity and power. “*Breaking a word*” is used mostly for doing something against the family will and the culture which is wrong. Then she explain her regrets and Adel’s domestic violence claiming he continuously beats and insults her and her marriage and house dream had vanished. Also here Asma admits she had the choice to choose her marriage of Adel or not and she admits she had chosen the wrong decision. Despite that, her choice had a price, her family condition her marriage of him, she has to take everything is coming with her decision “*Because Abdullah said to me if you go out of this door you do not have a way back because you are the one who chose. As long as you chose, you have to endure all your decisions*”. This condition left Asma with no choice after marrying Adel except to live in torture hoping she will compensate her erroneous husband choice by a child.

CDA Scene 3

This is a depiction for a woman empowering another woman. Modern women are able to help other women to be stronger. Norah saying “*impossible to pay you back*” and “*You’re the only one who gave me hope in this life after I lost it, the only one that made me love life again, and when I lived with you I discovered that the world is still good*” and then Dr.Suad acknowledge of the girls progress of becoming stronger and their good influence on her future life by saying “*thank God you have changed a lot, and you too will change my life for the better*”.

Discussion

From these two series modern women and traditional woman notion represented in both; and represent female figures at the beginning of the 21st century with 15 years apart. The main purpose is to study modern women transformation and modern concepts in the series.

In *Calm and Storms*, the modern and traditionalism notions emerged explicitly in the second scene. Two women represented the opposite of the other. Haneen represented the young modern woman while her aunt Aisha represented the middle-aged traditional woman. Their discourse in the scene articulate both women are going through the same situation, but the modern woman decides to disobey the head of the family because she believes that she is the one who should choose her life choices, whereas the traditional woman obeys without objection and spends her life sad. She believes obeying the head of the family is the right choice because this is the way how things must ought to be. Both women depict the perfect image for Max Weber's definition of modernity. He suggested that the differences between modernity and traditionalism are people in modernity think and question things around them, the rules, and incline to develop, while traditional people follow and believe this is the way how things should happen without questioning. However, in comparison between *Calms and Storms* and *Wishes of Life*, the first serial embrace the idea of woman thinks, questions, disobeys, and becomes independent is unacceptable and wrong. Thus, any woman has those ideas and thinks she is capable of breaking the rules; she will be disciplined by men and society. The serial also portrayed women as a passive individual in the community and the appropriate place for her is the house or work under the supervision of men. She worked as a secretary, employee or in the beauty salon. In addition, women's characters are impotent and naive. Even the modern woman who is stronger from the traditional woman is not able to surpass men's intelligence or confronts them, and when she attempts to compete she is punished. Furthermore, there are five main female characters in the serial but only one character represents the modern woman and the rest of the characters represent the traditional woman.

In the second serial, the modern woman image represented stronger than the first serial, and even in some scenes she competes and surpasses men. In this serial, out of six main female characters only one represents the traditional woman and the rest represent the modern woman. The second scene displays the differences between the traditional girl and the modern girl which both are aware of their personality, identity, and rights. Even the traditional girl has more choices to choose from more than the *Calm and Storms*. In addition, woman occupied important positions in work and in decision-making positions too. She did not just settle for that, in many scenes shows woman's prominent intelligence. In spite of the intelligent character is negative as Dr.Suad is clever, exploitative for her job position, and deceiver; she surpasses the intelligence of many men. Females distinguished for their sense of fashion. They all wear modern stylish clothes and hair cuts. But their care for their appearance did not neglect their hard work to be successful. Nevertheless, women in this serial did not defeated easily, actually, they fought for a long time until they gave up, in contrast of the first serial where women did not even bother to fight or their fight was short. Moreover, their wishes and dreams had been destroyed by both gender women and men. Also, one of the reasons

for their dreams had been destroyed is their internal conflict between their wants and the people they love. Despite everything, women are strong that they are able to empower other women and most of them aren't afraid of men. They had confronted them for their dreams and freedom. This serial suggested that men are dominant in relationships -marriage-, consequently, an ambitious woman chooses either marriage -social life- or her career. Those choices are not presented in *Calm and Storms*, in fact, it proposed that it is better for a woman to work in a female only work environment and all of the women aim to marry more than working or self-developing. The only depiction of an ambitious working woman is Huda and her work is a normal employee that doesn't influence the working process in the company. whereas in *Wishes of Life*, the modern woman takes many forms in the working environment and dreams of being a successful engineer, doctor, and actress.

In terms of spatial structure, woman in *Calm and Storms* are often shown in domestic settings like inside of the house, in the room or the house's garden, while in *Wishes of Life* shows women more free in open areas like restaurants and coffee shops and the majority of the scenes are in professional settings like hospital, and filming sets. It also portrayed woman interaction in the professional environment.

In both series represent the traditional woman as a conservative and religious woman. They wear a headscarf and practice Islam. They propose that religion is associated with traditionalism, as religion is the reason for a woman to become traditional and it excludes her strength and rights. The traditional woman tends to use intensively Islamic phrases more than modern woman who uses some religious phrases because of the culture. As a result, women prefer to pray and ask God for relief instead of confronting and taking effective actions. To sum up, both series suggests in order to be an ambitious modern woman, the woman mustn't wear a headscarf and mustn't be religious.

Conclusion

Modernity started in Bahrain when school were build and both gender were able to study and learn. the more education levels and schools were provided the more people become sophisticated. the discovery of oil is one of the most important transformation in Bahrain history. In less than 100 year Bahrain transformed from dessert and small villages into an urbanized and civilized country. King Hamad played a vital role in women rights movement where he gave the permission for the Supreme Council for Women to be established. Twenty years since he became the king of Bahrain and woman life have been changed.

Television is involved in everyday life and still is the most time-consuming medium especially in Ramadan. It impacts the gender image and the perception for gender role. This paper aims to study and analyze modern Bahraini women role transformation in television drama. Two series, *Calm and Storms* (2004) and *Wishes of Life* (2017) are analyzed based on Van Dijk Critical Discourse analysis framework. The study conducts that, the modern women are more powerful than the traditional woman but in *Wishes of Life* modern women are stronger, smarter, more stylish, and more independent than modern women in *Calm and Storms*. In *Wishes of Life*, women are empowering other women and motivate each other. Modern women also occupied effective positions and compete men, in contrast

to women in *Calm and Storms* where they were weak and passive individuals. Furthermore, it suggests a new concept about marriage which is surfacing in the last few years in the Bahraini/Gulf community. The concept of women choose their career over marriage.

As we see modernity and recent women right movements had a huge influence on the ideology of the Bahraini nation, and in turn, on the portrayal of Bahraini woman in television. Bahraini woman roles and influence in recent dramas are different than earlier dramas.

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THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE: A SOCIAL-POLITICAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SYRIAN MIGRANTS' REPORTS PRIOR AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF ALAN KURDI; A CASE STUDY OF BRITISH PRESS

ANFAL LEBBAL

Power is pertinent to language. A linguistic message can be transmitted through media coverage to communicate an institutionally guided political orientation. Thus, giving it the power to shape public opinion. The present research is an attempt to investigate whether an observable change of discourse in British press' articles -in which the tragedy of Alan Kurdi's death had been discussed, is existent. The tragic death of the three-year-old Syrian boy whose lifeless body was found washed up on a Turkish shore on September 2nd, 2015 was reported through world-wide media, which broadcast the news sympathetically. Whether the event's broadcast was a political power move or a manipulation tool to cover a previous -rather harsh orientations regarding the Syrian migrants' situation is one question begging to be critically analyzed and answered. And even though the reports all tread on sympathetic and compassionate grounds, the difference and change that this research aims to capture within newspapers' social-political discourse is that reoccurring within the scope of before and after Alan's death. Through applying Fairclough's analysis method, this research is dedicated to collect data and analyze British newspapers' articles through description, lexical analysis, and an overview of linguistic changes, all in order to further demonstrate the way media is used not only to report, but to influence and manipulate the audience's perceptions.

DISTINCTION AMONG MIDDLE CLASSES; A QUALITATIVE STUDY BASED ON INSTAGRAM AS A CULTURAL PRACTICE

HANDE UZ

Abstract

This paper analyses how the process of distinction is operated and accrued within the individuals who are from different middle-class fractions and use Instagram, which is a smartphone-based social media application. The research question of the study is 'How does 'the mechanism of distinction' function between members of different fractions of the middle class in contemporary Turkey by means of using Instagram Social Media Application?' The main theoretical focal point of this study is the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. Additionally, Erving Goffman's sociology on the self-presentation in everyday life is used. The method of the research is qualitative; it's sampling method is non-random, and non-representative. The snowball method is used and semi-structured in-depth interviews are realized with thirty-one participants who use Instagram and are members of different tennis clubs in Izmir that have different qualities. The collected data are analyzed via the qualitative content analysis method. In conclusion of this study, it's observed that middle classes had developed homogenous tendencies within the context of cultural practices when comparing themselves with the lower classes. Conversely, they differentiate themselves among each other by means of different forms, volume, and composition of capital they own. This approach also affects their usage of Instagram.

Keywords: distinction, photography, Instagram, middle-class fractions, forms of capitals, presentation of the self.

Introduction

To start with, the main concern behind this study is to see 'How does the mechanism of distinction function between members of the different fractions of the middle class in contemporary Turkey by means of using Instagram?' To find different fractions of the middle class, two different tennis clubs are selected which are located in Izmir. Semi-structured interviews are handled with thirty-one participants, which are realized by the snowball sampling method. The method is

non-random, and its sampling is non-probable. Since there are not enough sources to maintain a probability sample, the sample is a non-representative one.

The analysis is done using the theoretical toolbox of Pierre Bourdieu and Erving Goffman. After mentioning the key concepts of these critical sociologists' theories briefly, a qualitative analysis is performed to clarify the research questions.

Bourdieu's Class Analysis

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) is one of the critical sociologists that analyzes culture and class relationship in modern societies. He thinks not only economic structure but also cultural structure processes as a tool of power and creates inequalities among individuals. According to Bourdieu, individuals are not passive but rather decision-maker active agents. Within the stratified social order, agents aim at upward mobility or preserve the position they have and prevent themselves from downward mobility. Accordingly, Bourdieu demonstrates culture as one of the tools for gaining power by means of upward mobility (Swartz, 1997, p.7). Bourdieu states different classes have different dispositions among lifestyles. Subsequently, the dominant class's lifestyle that is aspired by the ones who are in lower positions becomes legitimate. Most importantly, class struggles in the cultural arena become classificatory struggles and aiming for distinction becomes crucial within this process (Swartz, 2015a, p.18).

As Bourdieu writes in *Distinction (1979)*, a class is characterized by its perceived existence as well as its existence, and it is defined by its consumption (that has no need to be conspicuous in order to be symbolic) as well as its position in the relations of production (while it is right that the relations of production direct the other) (Bourdieu, 2015, p.700).

According to Bourdieu, analyzing only economic structure is not enough to define class completely. Bourdieu mentions that class relations can also be observed in the symbolic field of social space such as culture. Furthermore, a class or class fraction is not only defined by its position in the production process such as income, level of education and occupation but also determined by a kind of sex-ratio and a distribution of geographical space and with whole supplementary elements. What's more, these elements (gender, ethnicity) as constructive necessities –without uttering officially- may function as a principle of exclusion or inclusion. Hence, lots of official criterion works for masking hidden criterions. These variables hide the system of relations within themselves (Bourdieu, 2015, p.158-160).

Namely, as Swartz mentions in the chapter named "Social Classes and The Struggle For Power" within *Culture and Power (1997)*, for Bourdieu 'class' is a universal statement of a principle. Forms of symbolic and social accumulation and differentiation are considered among the crucial dimensions of social class relations. The accumulation of non-economic goods and resources are crucial concerning the usage of power including economic power: this feature cannot be explained by taking only property or propertyless-ness into consideration. Furthermore, Bourdieu includes in his class analysis not only income and occupation but also elements about the lifestyle, tastes, gender, age and qualification of education. Eventually, Swartz states that Bourdieu's social classes are not originated by a single determinant fact but rather they originate via togetherness of whole stratified elements (Swartz, 2015, p.205). Basically Bourdieu focuses on shared tendencies

and matching practices of classes that contribute legitimization of social order. Concretely he is interested in consumption habits, leisure time activities, and tastes such as clothing and nutrition that generates lifestyle (Brubaker, 2007, p.246).

Bourdieu mentions that his model is a 'class and class fraction model,' which is defined through carrying a specific volume and composition of capital (Bourdieu, 2015, p.177). Subsequently, Bourdieu claims that there are different classes and class fractions, which represent different economic or cultural compositions of capital. He shortly defines classes in accordance with the occupational division of labor. Bourdieu distinguishes classes as working class, petty bourgeoisie; he also uses middle class and dominant class. Additionally, Bourdieu internally divides classes into fractions, which indicates differences in respect to their cultural capitals. Ultimately the differences between the volume and composition of the capital within social classes explain class conflicts and distinctions. In this way, while economic basis considerably determines class, cultural capital (which is partially conditioned by economic capital) shapes class fractions (Çeğin, Öğütle, 2010, p.125). His social class theory is relational, and he mentions that class identities reflect contradiction between classes because they construct relationally (Swartz, 2015, p.206). Hence classes are not rigid categories for Bourdieu (Swartz, 2015, p.206).

Capitals and Its Forms

Within Bourdieu's non-rigidly stratified social space, agents' class positions are very much related to their volume and composition of capital. Bourdieu's theory about classes cannot be understood without clarifying what capital means to him. Bourdieu states that capital is a social relation, and it also is social energy (Bourdieu, 2015, p.176). Additionally, forms of capitals that are accumulated by agents (the energy of social dynamics) create effects that differ concerning their quantity of fluctuation, ability to transform and the forms of applications via practices (Bourdieu, 1977, quoted in Göker, 2014, p.279). Subsequently, Bourdieu expands the idea of capital adding cultural, social and symbolic capital that can accumulate just like money; such as increasing and decreasing in time (Göker, 2014, p.279).

In accordance with Bourdieu, capital is a useful resource that exists in a specific social arena, which enables participation of an agent in a significant social field, and within this field, it allows particular kinds of profits that come from competition within that field. There are three basic types of capital: economic (financial and material values), cultural (symbolic goods, abilities, and titles) and social (which are gained by being a member of a specific group). The fourth type of capital is named as symbolic capital; it actually reveals the effect of a particular form of capital, which is not perceived by people as capital (such as, attribute to members of upper classes a moral character as a result of assigning a character of philanthropy to the money and time they donate). In this way, agents' position in social space can be placed within two coordinates; the total volume and composition of capital they accumulate. There is the third coordinate, which shows the fluctuation of these volumes and composition in time as a trajectory (Wacquant, 2014, p.62-63). Also, Swartz mentions that for Bourdieu economic capital lies down in the origin of all the other capitals, which are transformed, disguised forms of economic capital (Swartz, 2015 p.110-117).

The Meaning of Distinction

As for Bourdieu, social world experiences are filled with experiences of distinction (Weininger, 2014, p.141). Differentiating between groups of people is inevitable. In this process actors consciously or unconsciously use strategies of distinction. Bourdieu states, act of distinction is the basis of class struggle, and it appears as classificatory struggles in the symbolic space. Agents try to reach upper-class positions, try to maintain their class positions and are scared of falling into lower class positions. Therefore, they consciously or unconsciously behave keeping this longing in mind as well as feel the anxiety in every act they do. Consequently, in the social space, each agent is both simultaneously classified and a classifier. However, there are inequalities between agents concerning their capacity to impose their classifications (Weininger, 2004, p.133). Moreover, the classification is always a two-sided process. It categorizes, divides, and differentiates agents. By this way, it constructs social collectivities (Weininger, 2004, p.130). In this manner, every agent uses strategies of distinction in order to differentiate herself from others. As for Bourdieu “social identity lies in the difference, and the difference is asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.479).

Bourdieu says, existing in a space, being a dot, an agent means differentiation. Namely, the driving force of all the attitudes of agents is not seeking difference, but distinction. Clearly, a difference, a discriminator feature such as whether choose to play golf or football, to drink red wine or champagne, and to play piano or accordion only becomes detectable, visible, socially meaningful difference only if it is perceived by an individual who can grasp the distinction (Bourdieu, 2015a, p.23).

Classificatory Struggles

As regards to Bourdieu “the social world is the site of continual struggles to define what the social world is” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.70). ‘Struggle’ is located in the center of Bourdieu’s theory and studies. Furthermore, Bourdieu rejects the idea that there are only struggles for economic goods in social life. (Joas and Knöbl, 2011, p.22). According to Bourdieu, conflict in social space is not class struggle but rather a classificatory struggle. Besides, the primary emphasis of social space finds its reality not on class structure but rather on classificatory categories. In other words, class struggle in the Marxist sense has not ended, but it has spread out across a wider symbolic area (Çeğin and Öğütler, 2010, p.122-123). Moreover, social classifications are tools of symbolic dominance, and they constitute necessary support of struggle that occurs among classes and class fractions (Çeğin and Öğütler, 2010, p.129). Hence, creating distinction among others which leads in class conflict, as a classificatory conflict is inevitable and an ongoing process for Bourdieu. The distinction and consequently classification struggle process is mainly held in symbolic space which is the space of lifestyles. Social identity is made through distinction and also presents itself through distinction (Bourdieu, 2015, p.256).

Rahkonen states that, “Bourdieu conceives of everyday life as a constant struggle over the final word in determining good taste means. This struggle is a social game that no one can escape” (Rahkonen, 2011, p.126). Accordingly, Swartz mentions that for Bourdieu, individuals make struggles to raise or maintain their relative positions within the hierarchically structured social space. Since the roots of social inequality lie in objective structures based on the uneven distribution of the capital types, one

of the key drivers in the class struggle is the change rate between different kinds of capital. Additionally, Swartz states that Bourdieu criticizes any attempt to draw strict boundaries between classes and class segments. His definition of the class itself is the object of social conflict, so the boundaries between the classes are also objects of struggle. For him, it is necessary to examine the symbolic dimension the class struggle, because the class identity itself is a matter of perception and imagination as well as being materially formed (Swartz, 2015, p.203-7). Furthermore, in Bourdieu's social space, the developable forms of capital (primarily economic and cultural capital) are not only the objects but also the weapons of classificatory struggles among social classes (Jenkins, 1992, p.92).

Subsequently, "class struggle is a struggle over the legitimacy of a given form of social reproduction" (Susen, 2011, p.181). What has become a trump in the symbolic struggle is the imposition of the legitimate perception of the social world. In other words, symbolic power turns into *world-making* power (Bourdieu, 2012, p.380, emphasis added). The reclassification and dialectic of class lie behind the every kind of social process (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 246).

Taste as a Classifier

According to Wacquant, Bourdieu perpetually mapped the relations between social positions and tastes. He demonstrates that the conflicts among groups in the space of lifestyles are hidden; but still, an essential aspect of class struggles. Bourdieu shows that taste is both a weapon and a stake at the same time in the classification struggles by which groups see for maintaining or developing their position in society by dictating their lifestyle as the unique legitimate *art de Vivre* (Wacquant, 2011, p.105).

Taste means disliking others' taste in the first place (Wacquant, 2014, p.66). Consequently, "the struggle for (good) taste is also a symbolic struggle for power" (Rahkonen, 2011, p.129). In compliance with Bourdieu, aesthetical sensitivity that leads agents' daily life preferences -concerning issues of clothing, sport, nutrition-functions as a tool for symbolizing their social difference and social similarity from one another. In other words, through the slightest detail of daily life consumption preferences, each agent perpetually classifies themselves and others as alike or different. Acknowledgment of this symbolic function of everyday life-consuming behavior opens the road to the analysis of classification struggles (Bourdieu, 1984, p.483 quoted in Weininger, 2004, p.130). According to Bourdieu, every class fractions' cultural patterns are generally homogenous, and by this way, every class fraction leads homologous life-styles. Lifestyles, however, always turn into the stylization of life (Bourdieu, 2014a, p.203).

Photography as a Humble Practice

Bourdieu in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* (1990) analyzed the usage of photography as a leisure time activity and practices of photo shooting that differ from one class to another. Bourdieu have attempted to explain how art and culture differ from one social class to another, and to clarify how class struggle contains contradicting styles of adopting art and culture in that study (Joas and Knöbl, 2011, p.3). Photography, which is also leisure time activity and in today's world with the explosion of photography based social media applications, is an essential

one. Additionally, when Bourdieu made this analysis, there were no social media technologies. However, we think that his class-based approach to photography is critical and also can be adapted to the usage of social media blogs that based on photography such as Instagram.

According to Bourdieu, photography as a cultural activity does not require education and expertise which for example drawing, painting and playing piano requires. However, each social class's opinion about what is worth shooting differs from one another. By this way, photography represents a system of perception schemas of any social class it belongs. In other words, what is worth to be photographed is a changeable cultural practice which differs from one social class to another. Namely, although aesthetical perceptions of agents are relative, every class and every artistic clan's aesthetical judgment is homogenous (Bourdieu, 1990, p.5-9). Furthermore, the relationship between individuals and photographic practice is necessarily a mediate relationship, because it always includes references to the relationship that the members of other social classes have on photography (Bourdieu, 1990, p.9).

Bourdieu while thinking about the practice of photography presupposes that this act can provide satisfaction in five different dimensions if there are not any financial restrictions (films are 'expensive'). The first feature of photography is '*protection against time*', the second one is, '*communication with others and showing the feelings or showing others interest that one has for them*', the third one is, '*self-realization of the one*', the fourth one is, '*providing the satisfaction of social prestige*' (going a journey, an event...) and finally, it provides '*distraction or escape*' such as playing a game. However, Bourdieu adds that the practice may lead a psychology that gets and dives into the "Freudian abysses of voyeurism, narcissism, and exhibitionism" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.15), which also can be observed on the usage of Instagram. Furthermore Bourdieu states that;

"...Photographic practice, subject to social rules, invested with social functions and therefore experienced as a 'need', is explained with reference to something that is actually its consequence, namely the psychological satisfaction that it produces"(Bourdieu, 1990, p.15).

Consequently, photography generates a psychological satisfaction, but there are social functions hidden more than meets the eye. At this point, Bourdieu mentions about the *taste of necessity* and says that agents within their object conditions exclude the possibility of desiring the impossible, and through this way, he indicates that the perception of a working and an upper-class people about the practice of photography *differs* from one another (Bourdieu, 1984, p.177, emphasis added). Namely, desires and demands are both defined by objective conditions and these conditions (of, i.e., working class) are concrete conditions that exclude the desiring of the impossible (Bourdieu, 1990, p.16).

Bourdieu wrote about the *cult of unity* and *cultivated differences* based on photography, and he defines the social class's usage of the photography and how the sense of distinction proceeds within different classes. For Bourdieu, as a traditional role, photography is firstly and mostly used for ceremonies and celebrations (i.e., "there is no wedding without photos") not for shooting as daily routine. Besides, it is used for touristic purposes; "photography what one does on holiday and also what makes a holiday" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.36).

According to Bourdieu photography does not only reveal a lived memory but also represents social relations. Bourdieu shows that although working class people use photography in the contexts of its function as a representation of reality – such as shooting the bride and groom in wedding ceremony- when climbing up for the social hierarchy, middle and upper middle class utilizes photography in a more artistic gaze-such as taking a photo of the sunset. Hence, Bourdieu notes since photography is an imitation of art, it does not seen as a creative activity for dominant classes (bourgeoisie) and so, unlike going to museums, photographic practice is more likely to be used by a middle and lower-middle-class individuals for any purpose including artistic one (Bourdieu, 1990, p.62-65). Moreover, as for Bourdieu “the different social classes encourage the practice of photography to different degrees,” and states that people from the lower and middle classes are more likely to engage with the practice as compared to upper classes (Bourdieu, 1990, p.42).

Although the ones from working-class use the practice in realistic ways, the people from middle class see the practice as much more artistic and they detract from its traditional meaning, i.e. they does not prefer family photography but instead they use photography with the desire for ‘self-distinction.’ Also they tend to generate distance from popular aesthetic with their perception of aesthetic (Bourdieu, 1990, p.63). Furthermore, photography is a middle-brow and ‘minor art’ and is not found as a respected type of art by the ones from the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1990, p.63). However, the photographic practice may be used by means of only if it fits into the class *ethos* of the upper fractions of middle classes if it is noble, not vulgar and not ordinary. Bourdieu says that,

“To conform with the norms of one’s class is therefore above all to refuse a vulgar practice and to deny the norms of the classes from which one wishes to distinguish oneself, thus depriving their behavior of any meaning. These norms only become apparent in the form of negative precepts, which are continually recalled and revived by the fear of ridicule. But they can be negative without being reduced to the simple negation of the norms of other classes. The refusal of vulgar practice expresses the demand for differentiation in terms of the logic of the class ethos... Refinement and distinction can only be affirmed with regard to photography when they are opposed to vulgarity...”(Bourdieu, 1990, p.69).

The aesthetic and artistic intent that is merely one of the forms of the tracing and pursuit of differentiation or ‘distinction’ is just unconditionally and precisely manifested in rejections, and is fulfilled only as entirely in a practice that is nervous to break with typical laxity as it is in a pure and simple refrain. Furthermore, merely putting self-distinction intention in photography is not enough to make positive definitions about that practice for upper classes. Besides, since middle classes’ uncomfortable position about their cultural situation, they leave the path of error but it does not mean that this leads them to the way of right. Their inconsiderate rejection of popular aesthetic and popular practice causes at first glance to embrace anything that differs from it (Bourdieu, 1990, p.70-1). Most importantly, Bourdieu says that different social classes can only distinguish themselves by keeping their distance to cultural practices such as photography in different ways.

In conclusion, in Bourdieu’s analysis, although middle class uses the photograpic

practice for artistic aims, the working class rejects this usage but somewhat cares about its traditional value, and upper classes reject the photographic practice as an artistic practice. Therefore middle classes and upper classes instead use it on tourism (if it is not for artistic practice) but by creating a distinction of refusing usage of any sort of vulgarity and ordinariness. However, as it is middle-brow art, mostly the ones from middle classes engage the practice as compared to the others.

Bourdieu then did the social definition of photography, first of all, he mentions about the feature of its timelessness and its element of also the imitation of the art and nature, but photography is a reproduction of reality and can never be objective. Moreover, about the practice of giving pose to a camera, Bourdieu mentions that within the ritual character of photography there is no space for the artistic way. Accordingly Bourdieu states that;

Photographs are certainly taken just as much – if not more- in order to be shown as in order to be looked at...Because the picture is always judged with reference to the function that it fulfills for the person who looks at it or the function which that viewer thinks it could fulfill for another person, aesthetic judgement most often takes the form of a hypothetical judgment relying explicitly on the recognition of 'genres', whose 'perfection' and range of application at conceptually defined (Bourdieu, 1990, p.88-89)."

Traditionally, striking a pose, applying make up or wearing fine clothes before shooting namely obeying conventional, beauty norms and etiquette rules of the stratified society means demanding respect, and dignity and whether the pictures seem natural, there is always a 'stage' which is set up before the posing (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 80-83). Bourdieu clarifies its importance by saying; "How, under these conditions, could the representation of society be anything other than the representation of a represented society?" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.84) -Which is also the central basic principle of Instagram. Additionally, photography is a practice of communication, which is both aesthetic of communication with others and communion with the world (Bourdieu, 1990, p.94).

Therefore, legitimate culture is always in reference even if it is tried to exclude for distinction. The 'bad' taste is always defined with reference to 'good' taste, which is created by the legitimate culture. Additionally, disadvantaged groups de facto excluded from the 'owning' of the legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1990, p.95). In conclusion, the subjects judgment of taste are organized in order to a kind of methodical order that has nothing more to do with personal psychology than that which structures the choices and understanding of 'cultivated' people, yet which is based specifically upon the class ethos- the set of values which, without achieving systematic description, tend to order the 'conduct of life' of a social class (Bourdieu, 1990, p.98).

Instagram as a Photograph Based Social Media Application

Social media has come into existence through the development of web 2.0 technologies. The difference of social media from the traditional media is that users' play an active role in both the process of production and consumption of the content, and consumers of those networks produce even the content of social networks. In this context, social media does not only differ from traditional media but also from Internet-based media that are not web 2.0 based. In addition to

these features, social networks allow instant, fast, and multi-way communication. Therefore, they located outside of the old type of communication formulation, which is 'message→ sender→ receiver'. Thus, through social media networks, it is now possible to have multiple and mutual communication instead of one-way communication. Users both participate in the communication process regarding creating and sharing content, as well as being able to change and interpret content and affect the communication process. Additionally, as in 2015, over 2.5 billion people worldwide are using the Internet and 1.8 of these users billions of accounts in social media networks (Eraslan et al., 2015, p.3).

The notion and importance of social media in communication studies are relatively new, and so there are not any 'accepted' definitions of social media. Lots of researchers make different explanations about the term. For instance, Treadaway and Smits's definition is; "the term social media refers to the collection of technologies that capture communication, content and so on across individuals, their friends, and their social networks" (2010, p.24). "The definition by Treadaway and Smith includes all the well-known social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, blogs, as well as the photo and video-sharing sites YouTube, Flickr, and Instagram" (Jakobsen and Hviid, 2013 p.23). Furthermore in the *Social Media At Work* (2009) the term described as; "the various electronic tools available to help accelerate and improve our ability to connect, communicate, and collaborate" (Jue, 2009 quoted in Jakobsen and Hviid 2013, p.43). We can give Facebook, Twitter, Foursquare, YouTube, and Instagram as examples of social media. Although they have some features in common, they are different. For example, Twitter is a social media application that one can write a sentence only one hundred and forty characters length, and Instagram is a photo sharing medium, so users share their photographs and one-minute length videos, but also users can make comments on the photos that are shared by the other users.

Our primary interest is Instagram as a social media application. According to research conducted by the Pew Internet research company in 2014 that researches social networks according to the users' social classes. The results show that while networks such as Facebook and YouTube are used by lower and middle classes, networks such as Twitter, LinkedIn and Instagram are mostly used by middle and upper-class individuals (pewinternet.org date of access, 20.07.2016). Facebook purchased Instagram in 2010 and integrated into the Facebook application. Instagram, which has been growing since the day it was founded, became a fast-growing social network (Statista.com, date of access, 20.07.2016)

Using a social media application based on sharing photographs is a signifier of a certain kind of lifestyles. "Instagram is an online photo sharing and social networking service. It goes beyond being just a digital platform and functions as a virtual gallery, online meeting space and pictorial narrative compressed and accessible from a single, hand-held device. Since its launch at the end of 2010, it has been a huge success, with close to hundred million monthly users. Over forty-million photos are uploaded every day" (Verdina, 2013, p.7). As we mentioned above, disliked or liked images are very much determined by one's social class, we can argue that what is liked on Instagram and what is disliked is an indicator of one's social class and one's tastes and lifestyle. Hence, what the one dislike on Instagram is also an indicator of from what he or she differentiates himself.

Presentation of The Self on Instagram

Before addressing the self-presentation on Instagram, the key concepts of Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) will be discussed. Afterward, how these concepts could become a tool to analyze social networks, especially Instagram will be considered. Briefly, according to Goffman, social life is like a theater stage. The person on the stage wants the audience to have positive opinions about her. One continually demonstrates certain performances in her social life in line with these aims (Goffman, 2012, s.17). In everyday life, the process of presentation of self is a process of communication, and this process is not symmetrical, because audiences, i.e., witnesses, are more advantageous than players. Since the agent is in the tracked position, witnesses can easily notice an error in his performance and the perception created by the perpetrator can be destroyed (Goffman, 2012, p.22). At the same time, every witness is an agent.

According to Goffman, 'performances' are all the activities that an individual has done at any time and place to influence at least one of the others. The 'roles' are the patterns of action that can be played back in any case which is played during the performance, re-worked, and finalized (Goffman, 2012, p.28). Another key concept used by Goffman is the 'showcase'; the showcase is the general and invariant part of the performances of the person and is the expression equipment that is used consciously or unconsciously by the perpetrator during the performance. The personal showcase is the feature of appearance that each person takes during her performances. Agent's features as race, age, etc., are more temporary individual parts of the showcase when facial expressions are permanent (Goffman, 2012, p.36). According to Goffman, the showcase becomes a collective representation, when the individual begins to play any of the roles specified in the past; he realizes that there is already a specific showcase for that role. In other words, the showcases are selected from a display cartel; they are not created spontaneously (Goffman, 2012, p.39).

Presentation of the self through performances in everyday life is an essential part of the individual's socialization process. In this process of socialization, actors try to give an impression to the 'spectators' in different ways. The progress of the performances on the line of attitudes, which are considered as the ideal norm by the society, is essential for the perception that the individual is trying to create. Therefore, one's performance symbolizes the ethical-moral values of society (Goffman, 2012, p.44).

Goffman's theory concerns the individual's self-representation strategies in everyday life, and precisely because of this, he is interested in how the individual wants to present himself. According to Goffman, the individual performs herself in a desire to ascend in society, which is very useful for our analysis. Goffman says that writings on social mobility are one of the most abundant sources on the presentation of idealized performances. In most stratified societies, the upper class is idealized, and the ones who are in the bottom are longing to go upstairs. This idealization of the upper class represents not just a desire to have a prestigious position, but also locate a place close to the sacred center of common community values. Upward mobility requires proper performance to be exhibited. Striving to go down with the efforts to go up is expressed in sacrifices made to keep the display standing (Goffman, 2012, p. 45-46).

In Goffman's theory, one has more than one identity. Besides, people actually have a kind of identity repertoire. Individuals choose a character from their repertoire according to the situation they meet in social life and exhibit that repertoire accordingly. Agents have the basis of this approach to maintain prestige and create power over the audience. This goal is tried to be achieved by giving appropriate and consistent images in social life (Goffman, 1956, p.126). As a result, for Goffman, in the social stratification system the performances that the individuals present 'on stage' are the most idealized form of self. However, it is vital that the audience is convinced of by the performance, which is masking and presentation process. Therefore, in everyday life self is exhibited with the ideal form that can be in line with social norms. Based on this point, we are thinking about how we can analyze what is presented in social networks and Instagram.

Instagram is, first of all, a photo-centric social media practice. In addition to photo sharing, short videos can also be shared. It is a microblog that is based on photo sharing. In the footsteps of Goffman's self-presentation theory, we can see Instagram as a stage. In this stage, sharing and the profile of the user are the reflections of one's performances. As for Kramer and Winter, Instagram is a social network that gives people more control over their self-presentation (Kramer and Winter, 2008, p.106). The lives of the individuals in the social networks, the stories they share, the messages they like and the comments they make are in the performance mobility displayed in a theater play. In this theater scene, the performer who performs the roles in accordance with her 'idealized' self.

Along with digital culture, digital photography has become a communication medium with the ability to record and instantly share every detail of everyday life. In social networks, the sharing of digital photos has become an area where both performances of daily life and events can be stored as souvenirs. Nowadays, the act of photography and sharing has become to be done for social networks. The photographic stage is consciously edited before shooting. With regards to Goffman, the set is prepared and the perception that will be created by other users who will see that photo during sharing/performance also counted. The person presents himself as a person in a 'reputation management process' (Şener et al., 2013, p.123-126). According to Zhao et al., the user is in an identity performance via photo sharing in Instagram. In social networks, digital photo sharing has become the essential means of constructing the identity of the user. However, the desire for approval during the social performance is also observable in the performance of social networks, which also reflects the user's desire for approval through digital photo sharing (Zhao, Grasmuck et al., 2008, p. 1820).

The photography gives more general information about the individual when compared to written or auditory means. Social network applications like Instagram are a place of self-representation. Through the photos uploaded to the Instagram account, the user builds her self and presents idealized images about her self. Sharing and interpreting of the shared picture generate different stages of the self-presentation process in which the agents adopt the different strategies. By shared photographs, the person re-establishes, presents and appreciates her self, and this cycle becomes a ritual. Furthermore, social networks have become applications that reflect the individual's identity, assets, and lifestyle (Şener et al., 2013, p. 125-129). Through this ritual, a daily identity is constructed. People in photo exhibited

the most idealized state of self. However, it is tried to overcome the class position by sharing photographs (Şener et al., 2013, p.148). Instagram is a field that the individual uses to be visible.

Since the sense of distinction is in the process in every kind of leisure activity, and as we see above the photography sharing on the social media application is also a leisure activity and a process of self-presentation. Within this the most idealized self-presentation process the distinction mechanism is also on stage. Besides, the users classify one another through their posts such as; they make and categorize them as a parvenu, braggart and so on. We will make our analysis of the samples choices and classification process in the analysis part.

Instagram as a Cultural Practice; *‘.I only like posts as a matter of courtesy.’*

This part analyzes the participants’ opinions about Instagram, which is a social media application, based on smartphones. The first tennis club is KTP. KTP is the first tennis club of Izmir, which is founded in 1941 by the notable upper-class professionals, industrialists, and politicians of Izmir. KTP is located in a district of, Alsancak, which is at the heart of Izmir, and one of the upper-class districts of it. Consequently, the membership fees are high as compared to other tennis clubs at Izmir. The other tennis club is ETV that is located in Balçova district, which is more of a middle-class area of Izmir. The membership fees of ETV are much lower compared to KTP, and this makes the club much more accessible. We did sixteen interviews with participants who are the members of ETV and fifteen from KTP. It is argued that these clubs roughly represents the upper fraction (KTP) and middle fraction (ETV) of this middle-class people.

Since Instagram and its features have mentioned in the previous section, the repetition will not be made. To understand how and why the participants use Instagram and the notion of ‘distinction’ processes on Instagram by means of social classes, several questions about the Instagram asked during the semi-structured in-depth interview. These questions are: “Why do you use Instagram?” “What kind of uploaded photos do you like and what kind of photos do you dislike?” “Which ones are your favorite photos and why?” Instagram is the most ‘spectacle based’ social media application because it is only based on photographs and short videos. Since the users present themselves with the most idealized form and shape of themselves, the platform became more and more spectacle based. Furthermore, considering our participants share their ‘idealized self’ and ‘idealized life’ on Instagram, it is argued that the most idealized self of the middle and upper fractions of middle classes have become observable. Moreover, just because questions asked such as “Which photos you upload to your profile are the most meaningful and beautiful for you?” we have become able to reach their ‘idealized-idealized’(the most idealized) selves.

The participants from both tennis clubs mostly say that they generally follow their peers on Instagram. From Bourdieu it is known that one’s social capital is very related to one’s social position on the social space. Therefore we can easily say that people from middle classes, which covers our participants, follow and followed by mostly people with whom share the same class. This fact also contributes to the importance of the analysis by means of distinction process within the class and makes it possible to see what are these hierarchies that function inside the

fractions. Ethical considerations are influential in social media analysis. Indeed, we are not going to reveal any image that indicates the participant's personal data or identity.

Furthermore, at this point, it is good to remind that Instagram is based on showing one's 'ways of seeing', and the ways in which she lives her life. Thus, the questions asked such as 'What type of questions do you dislike seeing on Instagram?' lead people to criticize others with whom they generally share the same class, by means of their life, and lifestyle. This is also what Bourdieu mostly mentions about the distinction, which is the differences and hierarchies of lifestyles as an indicator of the classes' ways of seeing in modern social space.

A Modest Tennis Club; ETV

To start with, in ETV all of the participants have been using Instagram. Their reasons for using the application are mostly following their friends' activities and sharing the 'beautiful things' they have encountered in life. Although we did not ask them to compare social media applications with each other such as Facebook versus Instagram, all of the participants spontaneously compared Instagram to Facebook and explained why they liked Instagram most.

Keeping 'Pew Internet View' data in mind, it is known that middle and upper classes are more likely to use Instagram as compared to Facebook and this data proved in this research as well. Furthermore, everybody as if they were speaking with a single voice mentioned that they do not like Facebook because they got bored from '*the nonsense talk and unnecessary posts*' on Facebook. For instance, Hayal (Housewife, 45 years) says, '*On Facebook, too many people write nonsense things on comments I do not like giving answers to these people, I get bored from Facebook. However, on Instagram, there are not such irritating things*'.

Similarly, Eda (doctor, 52) says, '*I like sharing the things that I see and love. It can be images of nature, sea, and woods. It is the reason why I drifted apart from Facebook and started spending time on Instagram, because on Facebook people only take their photos while having fun with their friends. However Instagram is not like that, even my account is not private. Instagram is a place that I share beautiful things, beautiful places*'.

Another reason that they like in Instagram is following their social environment, and also being affected by them. Like Umut (34 engineer) utters; '*I use Instagram because of my peers. Particularly, you can follow your friends, and you can see what they are doing. Sometimes you want to share on Instagram what you are doing. It is good for sharing memories and for checking when you get bored. I like using Instagram. For instance, I am not using Facebook. It's been a long time that I have deactivated my Facebook account, because Instagram is more practical. I do not prefer Facebook anymore*' The participants generally say that they check Instagram when they get bored and they add that it is an everyday routine for them.

Therefore minority of our participants from ETV report that they like to explore new things on Instagram such as new places to go, new things to do, following fashion icons and get inspired by what these icons have shared. One of the participants, Nil (37, salesclerk) says, '*I love Instagram; because its feature of 'explore' is beautiful. I explore new artists or fashion styles there, and sometimes looking your friends' posts are good for you, it makes one socialize*'.

In ETV all the participants say that they generally like to see photos of nature and natural beauties like beautiful sceneries such as sunset, seaside, and forest views, and pet animals such as dogs and cats. Hence, Eda says, *'I am interested in photos of nature such as the natural things like images of Northern Lights and tornados. Namely, I particularly like photos from life. And of course, I love pictures of pet animals, and I am also a cat owner.'*

Similarly, Salim (58 doctor) who loves traveling the world when he is not working in hospital says that he uses Instagram to make his followers see the natural beauties that he sees in his life. In a similar vein, when we asked the participants what they liked most within the photos they shared, some of them especially say that their favorite images are the photos which show natural beauties. According to Bourdieu (2015), unlike people from upper classes, the people from lower and middle fractions of middle classes like the images from nature and the fact that participants from ETV like these kinds of images serve as another proof for our argument.

We want to focus on what participants from ETV do not like to see on Instagram because we believe that the images they dislike are very crucial to understand the distinction mechanism. Firstly, they say that they mostly follow their friends and acquaintances. We may presume that their social milieu is composed of people who stand near the same class position. Hence we think that looking at what they dislike on Instagram will give us the answers of the distinction mechanism that mostly processes within a class not as compared to other classes such as the working class. Thus especially in ETV, the distinction process within a class will become more visible because nearly all of the participants say that they only follow their acquaintances. So, when we asked what kinds of photos they dislike, they talk in the same tone saying that people who post every day, who post too many selfies, and people who post pictures whatever they do, eat and drink and post photos from wherever they go. We argue that how they classify people that post these kinds of images is vital for distinction mechanism.

About criticizing people who post themselves everywhere, Hayal from ETV says; *'...For example, I get bored with the images while drinking coffee with a 'cool' presentation of the coffee image, but anyway if my close friends share these kinds of posts I 'like' the post as a matter of courtesy... Afterward, I am not doing foolish things, I am not sharing nonsense and foolish images such as, at the hospital for saying like the others; 'Look. I get sick'. Then, for example, people post photos wherever they go and while whatever they do. Such as; 'Look I am at the beach, look I am at the tennis club and so on'. Namely, I certainly do not like excessive sharing of life, I think it is like over- displaying oneself.'* Consequently, in these sentences, we notice that she differentiates herself from people who share 'nonsense' photos. Even Hayal classifies the people as 'foolish' who share posts, which display themselves the way she utters. Yet, she says that also her friends share these kinds of posts, she unfortunately likes these posts 'as a matter of courtesy'. Namely, she thinks that they are doing foolish and nonsense things, but still she likes the posts just because they are her friends and she wants her connection to continue with them in order to preserve her 'social capital'. However, she still mentions that she is different from them, and aiming for distinction becomes observable in her words. She gives the feeling for us that she is so different, so kind and polite that she likes

the foolish and nonsense posts 'as a matter of courtesy.'

Similarly, Aydan (teacher 50) from ETV says, *'I also share images, but I clearly do not post everything I eat and drink at the dinner table. I also share photos from where I go on holidays, but I am not making a great show of this vacation like the ones who make like that way, clear? I do not like this kind of posts'*. Thus, we see that Aydan does not like the ones who are posting for show-off and classifies herself as more modest compared to them. Consequently, the distinction mechanism processes through modesty as etiquette and behaving in accordance with the manner. The participants from ETV generally judge their fellows' attitudes by means of lacking manner and modesty, and This shows us that within the fraction there are also differences and in ETV this process regarding knowing the 'manners.'

The participants also make comments concerning on 'the kiss selfie' which is commonly known as "duck face." Serdar (sales manager,36) utters, *'I don't like people when they are having fun at bar or disco and giving pose with the kiss selfies, I always skip these kinds of images.'* Similarly, Ramiz (retired jeweler,55) says with a conservative tone, *'I do not like young women giving pose while drinking alcohol with the kiss face selfies.'* Hence we see that they (men) classify the ones (women) as they misbehave on social media with the patriarchal norms. Bourdieu mentions, body is a social product, and masculine charisma is a charisma of power (Bourdieu 2015c, p.103). In this case, some of the male participants judge the women on whether they have good manners or not. Additionally, we may say that the male participants are disturbed by the sexuality of women and want to dominate their body and the acts of women, which is also a tool for power and domination also Bourdieu mentions in his book named *Masculine Domination* (2001). We may say that these male participants talked within the patriarchal ideology by deciding the orders for women. Subsequently, having good manners functions as a strategy of distinction. People 'watch' at their fellows shared photos, and they judge the pictures in the context of having manner.

Another tendency from ETV is criticizing people who are continuously sharing photos of themselves on Instagram. As social media is a convenient place for narcissistic sharings, some of the participants emphasize these 'selfish' photos they perpetually share. Nil says *'for example; I don't like the ones who continuously take photos of themselves. It seems unnatural and unnecessary. I don't want to judge people, but they took photos of themselves perpetually, and it irritates me. Namely, why do they share their pictures every day? It is like being a megalomaniac.'*

Similarly, Salim from ETV says, *'I don't like when people show themselves in the forefront. Namely, it can happen once or twice, but people show themselves in every photo they share. For instance, I have some peers; they go abroad for vacation and share selfies that on the background there is a touristic place like a palace or a cathedral, but on the forefront, there is his or her face. It is ok. You can present your self but not in every photo you share, let us see that touristic architecture, palace or what else.. I don't like it. As for me, they should show us interesting places not their face every time.'* Kenan from ETV also says that he does not like 'selfish photos.' Consequently, participants from ETV criticize and judge who always display themselves to the forefront.

To sum up, participants from ETV mention that they generally only follow their peers. However, some of them say that they follow profiles such as National

Geographic to learn and see some beautiful things and they say that they do not like to follow public figures because celebrities and their lives do not interest them, which also shows us their aim for looking 'intellectual.' Besides, they state that they choose the photos with the concept of natural beauties, and with the loved ones as their favorite photos. Hence they generally judge their peers for being selfish and behaving unmannerly. Most importantly they classify themselves in an upper position because they have good manners and courtesy compared to the others. Hence in ETV, the distinction process on Instagram works as being modest and not behaving as a parvenu, and they classify themselves with their cultural capital as compared the ones that are judged by them.

The Upper Side of The City; KTP

When it comes to Kültürpark, there are different tendencies about using Instagram as compared to ETV. Unlike ETV, the participants say that their reason for using Instagram is not only following their peers but also following artists and world-famous tennis players and athletes. According to Cansu from Kültürpark, *'the private life of people, whether they go to dinner or drink does not interest me. There are too many materials about these on Facebook. What interests me more, for instance, is, what kind of photos that an artist, a writer, a philosopher share which I would like, these things interest me. That's the reason why I use Instagram. I also follow my peers but only as a matter of courtesy, compulsorily, since they follow me if I do not follow them back feels rude'*. However, in ETV we saw that people say they only follow their peers and they are not interested in following famous people, which is not the case in Kültürpark.

Furthermore, in Kültürpark Instagram users say that they use their Instagram profile as a digital album for stocking their good memories, which is also not the case in ETV. People say that they are not using Instagram in order to learn the peers' activities but consider Instagram profile as a photo album. For example, amateur painter Berivan (accountant, 55) says that *'Unlike my friends in this club I am not using Instagram in order to learn 'who does what, with whom, and where.' I think and see Instagram as an album. I share the work of arts I did such as painting, sculptures. I see Instagram as a stock of memories. I am using it for this purpose.'* Besides, Nehir (personal trainer, 31) who is interested in amateur photography, also says that she only uses Instagram just for publishing her artistic photography.

Participants from Kültürpark say that they generally like to see photos from their loved ones, artists, athletes, and tennis players. Unlike ETV there is not such an emphasis on natural beauties, but instead, there is an emphasis on artistic sharing, which is not the case in ETV. In our opinion, their interest in art in their real life affects their usage of Instagram. We may say people from Kültürpark give more importance in intellectual capital and that's because they want to improve themselves by means of art such as painting and photography. In this context when we look at their own profile and ask which ones are their favorite photos, they show us their pictures with the loved ones and work of arts, which they made.

Most of the participants from Kültürpark dislike some kinds of images that their peers share. These are such as sharing 'duck faces,' and they say that they do not like posts that are unnatural and artificial. Berk says about the duck faces that, *'I hate nonsense selfies. Especially kiss selfies that women share, they share only their lips,*

while they are singing in the car, I disgust them. I hate it because it seems unnatural, artificial, theatrical and irritative. Specifically, I like simplicity and naturality and these kinds of posts are out of my character.' Thus, we see that Berk judges his women peers for being unnatural and thus his dislike even triggers feelings such as hatred and disgust. He classifies natural and straightforward people like himself on an upper level of hierarchical social order compared to people who make the duck face. This example was observable in the case of ETV, since the owners of words are both the male participants, this feature made us to think about the power of patriarchal ideology hidden under these cases. Burcu (45, doctor) also says that she likes natural and sympathetic photos of people, she says that she does not post her face.

Most of the participants from Kültürpark also dislike people who are sharing pictures excessively about whatever they do and wherever they go and people who are sharing photos of themselves continuously and at least every single day. Likewise, Baha says that *'I want to talk about what I dislike right away. For example, I don't like poses that are shared during dinner at the dinner table, or the beach while sunbathing they share their legs and they have ruined that beautiful scenery of seacoast. Clearly, you would say 'what a beautiful sea coast' but you see hairy legs instead. Bro, go away bro, I don't want to see your hairy and ugly legs, let us see that beautiful scenery, not your hairy legs. I don't like this kind of posts. People trying to give the message of 'I am there, I am here, I am happy, we are having fun' Bro, If you are having fun, go and have fun, why are you sharing it and publicize it online. I just don't love it.'* So, we see that Baha differentiates himself from others who 'live' their joy on social media. Hence not only Baha but also some other participants mention that they dislike people who share what they eat, what they drink every time because it is sharing private life excessively.

Most of the participants from both tennis clubs mention that they generally follow their friends on Instagram. The purpose of this act is to sustain contact with their social environment. Some of them say that especially following phenomenon (celebrity) pages and celebrities do not interest them and they only follow their friends. For example, Serdar states *'As for me, Demet Akalın (a famous Turkish Pop Singer) does not have any specialties to follow. I do not care for her, and I do not follow her Instagram page.'*

However, less of them say that they follow *'fenomen's* (Fenomen is a Turkish word, it's English is 'phenomenon'. However, this word does not give what does it mean in Turkish. People with lots of followers mentioned as fenomen,) such as fashion icons, makeup artists, social media influencers. And some of them say that they like to follow the posts of travel guides and documentary profiles such as 'National Geographic.' Their reasons for following these pages are with their words 'learning interesting things from these profiles'. And their motivation to use application is generally sharing good memories with their loved ones, seeing their friends and being informed, just as another participant mention that checking Instagram in a daily routine to catch and share good memories and also sympathizing with their friend's happiness. Additionally, some participants who run their own business say that they use Instagram for publicity of their works and also get inspired by the international sector about their working areas.

In conclusion, in Kültürpark there are different aims for using Instagram as

compared to ETV such as following artists and getting inspired by them, and in ETV participants generally follow natural beauty pages. Also, what they like and like to share is also different. Although in ETV participants emphasize natural beauties, in K lt rpark participants emphasize inspiring sports players and works of art. We think that this difference emerges because of the differences in their intellectual capital and the way they define what creates distinction. We believe that mentioning these interests to a researcher is also an act for gaining position on behalf of the researcher in distinction process. And what they say to earn a higher status has changed from club-to-club, which can also be referred as from class fraction to fraction. Hence people from ETV make this difference through emphasizing on their respect to nature although people from K lt rpark emphasize on their compliance to art and we think that this is an indicator about their tastes and thus their differences within a class.

Conclusion

This paper firstly clarifies the theoretical background of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of distinction by mentioning firstly Bourdieu's class analysis, his notions of capital, classificatory struggles, distinction mechanism and taste as a classifier. Secondly, this paper indicates the idea of photography via Bourdieusian understanding. Thirdly, Erving Goffman's representation of the self in every day is explained. Additionally, the adaptation of Goffman's theory on the representation of self into Instagram has done. Followingly, the usage of Instagram and photography of the participants from both tennis clubs are analyzed.

Since the taste about photography differ, the participants from KTP mention that they like to follow artistic pages, share artistic photos and see Instagram as a gallery. However, the ones from ETV fancy to share images from nature, and to follow pages such as Natural Geographic to see '*world's beauties*'. This variation shows that their tastes also have differences. It is known from Bourdieu (1984) that middle classes are more curious about nature, but when someone moves upwards in the social stratification, this interest in nature give its place to art. Furthermore, the participants from both clubs dislike the selfish sharings of their peers and the users who upload photos in everywhere such as what they do and what they eat. They find this kind of posts unethical and unpleasant. Generally, the participants from both clubs make self-distinction through their knowledge about etiquette rules and represent this distinction to online platform; Instagram. Another critical point is the participants from all tennis clubs utter that they follow typically their social milieu, which can be considered as they follow the people who share similar social class positions with them. This feature gives the researcher the capability to observe their self-distinction among 'others' that share the same social class.

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THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES ON FACEBOOK'S INTERFACE AND FUNCTIONALITIES

AMEL GHERMAOUI

This social networking site is inspiring researchers to introduce new avenues in social media studies. Facebook is not only a simple site or a wealthy company that is making money, but it is also a computerized human-based virtual universe that is deeply anchored into our lives. I contend that American cultural values have always impacted the cultures of other nations. The advent of the internet has helped transmit American culture worldwide, and social media networking sites like Facebook are helping American culture's proliferation globally. This presentation tackles the unexplored relationship between Facebook and American cultural values. The main concern of this work is to demonstrate the strong impact of American cultural values on the features of Facebook. Americanization via the internet and social media is investigated in this research work. Facebook, which is one of the social media networking sites, helps transmit American cultural values on a global scale. This can be vividly noticed on the way the interface of Facebook is designed. American core values like individualism, self-reliance, equality of opportunity, competition, material wealth, hard work and many other values exercise a strong influence on the functionalities of Facebook. As a result, the purpose of this presentation is to extract and analyze Facebook's functionalities that highly reflect the main American cultural value.

MASS MEDIA AND MIDDLE-CLASS IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: RETHINKING THE PERSPECTIVE OF CLASS IN CULTURAL STUDIES UNDER THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA

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Abstract

Class, race, and gender are the three major themes of cultural studies. The representatives of cultural studies have paid close attention to the relationship between class and culture, and the discussion about “class” in cultural studies has never stopped. However, in recent years, as the research about youth subculture, race, gender, identity politics, and consumer culture has become a hot topic in cultural studies, the study on class has gradually been marginalized. This tendency of cultural studies has led some scholars to conspire unconsciously with the ruling ideology that tries to play down class differences.

Forty years after the reform and opening up to the outside world, China is in an era of social stratification and pluralism, continuous collision and integration of foreign and local cultures, and pervasive new and old media. The emerging social class, represented by the middle class, has been developing gradually. By 2020, China’s middle class is expected to account for 40 percent of the total population. Questions that can be asked as a result of this include: (i) In the context of contemporary China, with the rise of the middle class, how has the “class” problem changed? (ii) In the socialist society that China functions in, how are “social differences” and “class differences” represented and in what way are they explained? (iii) In the process of social transformation, how does the media construct a class? (iv) What kind of cultural and political environment does the Chinese public experience? These problems are worthy of being explored and studied by scholars on the basis of integrating the theoretical resources and the critical spirit of cultural studies within the contemporary Chinese context and cultural phenomena.

Consequently, this study conducted literature research and discussed mass

media and middle-class identity construction, a social and cultural phenomenon in the context of contemporary China. The study tried to rethink the perspective of “class” in cultural studies and find the theoretical growth point in the Chinese context for cultural studies.

Keywords: Cultural studies, social class, mass media, Chinese middle class, identity construction

Introduction

Cultural identity is a hot topic in current cultural studies. However, current studies mainly focus on gender, race, and ethnic identity, and less on class identity. Although class, race, and gender are the three major themes of cultural studies, Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and E. P. Thompson, three early representatives of British cultural studies, have also paid attention to the relationship between class and culture. However, since the late 1970s, the study of youth subculture, race, gender, and other issues has become the focus of cultural studies. In the late 1980s, with the prevalence of “Thatcherism” and the decline of working-class politics, identity politics and consumer culture have gained the spotlight of research. Since the 1990s, although the discussion of class among cultural studies researchers has never stopped, some scholars still pay attention to gender, race, and more, ignoring the fundamental transformation of social relations based on class. Their one-sided emphasis on “identity” and “consumption” led to unconscious collusion with the dominant ideology of desalination of class differences.

Forty years after the reform and opening up, China is in an era of social stratification and pluralism, the continuous collision and integration of foreign and local cultures, and the omnipotence of new and old media, with the development of the economy and encouragement of various policies. The Chinese middle class is active in public life as a new social stratum. They have strong economic power and new consumption ideas, showing a new way of life. By 2020, China’s middle class will account for 40% of the total population.

With the emergence of the middle class, inequality and social class have become a real problem in Chinese society today. The middle class is also a key factor in understanding the current life of Chinese people. So, in the context of contemporary China, with the rise of the middle class, what has happened to the “class” problem? How should class be understood in Chinese socialist society? What new forms does the “class” take? In the process of social transformation, what kind of identity and cultural and political practice does the Chinese public experience? How does the media construct a class? These problems and many others are worthy of being explored and studied by cultural studies researchers on the basis of integrating the theoretical resources and critical spirit of cultural studies with the contemporary Chinese context and cultural phenomena.

Thus, this paper, on the basis of literature review, attempts to explore the social and cultural phenomenon of mass media and middle-class identity construction in the context of contemporary China and to re-examine the “class” perspective in cultural studies. This paper tries to seek the theoretical growth point of cultural studies in Chinese context.

The Trajectory of Class in Cultural Studies

As an early representative of British cultural studies, Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy*, Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution*, and E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, all regarded working class culture as the foothold of their own research. It is not difficult to find that cultural studies were never far from the viewpoint of class in its early development.

Redemption of Working Class Culture

In *The Uses of Literacy* published in 1957, Hoggart tried to reproduce the real world of Leeds' working class life in the 1930s from the perspective of "daily life" and to explore how they should deal with the challenges brought by the rise of popular culture. Through "reading the culture from inside" (Hall 2007: 43) and the contrastive "reading" of working class culture and popular culture, Hoggart explored the following questions: (i) the relationship between the attitude of the working class towards popular reading materials and their traditional values. (ii) the influence of the new popular culture on the old life attitude and values of the working class. Finally, Hoggart answered the following questions: (i) the new form of culture used by the working class, and (ii) the positive use of culture itself.

In Hoggart's view, because "the mass publication must eliminate the class boundary to win the wider readership," people from different groups share the same publication, which is gradually integrated into the "mass" in the cultural orientation. The working class gradually lost its way and lost its critical power in the sugar-coated world of popular culture. Therefore, the working class was unaware of the hidden cultural oppression behind the "classless culture," and faced the crisis of being controlled by the business and ideological machines.

The description of the daily life and spiritual world of the British working class in *The Uses of Literacy* made a powerful impact on the rigid and single image of the working class constructed by academic circles at that time. It reminds people that the working class is not a fixed whole, but a common material and spiritual change within the development of society and culture. In the course of this change, popular culture played a destructive role, and it challenged the once fresh and rich British working class culture with a poor and consistent "classless culture." The original "common sense" of the working class (Hoggart 1994: 253), group consciousness, and spirit of solidarity declined under this challenge.

In *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution* published in 1958, Raymond Williams thought that "class" can be roughly expressed as three levels of meaning: (i) the meaning of group level, it is objective, in different levels of social or economic categories; (ii) the meaning of hierarchy, it refers to the relative social status, regardless of whether the status is innate or acquired; and, (iii) the meaning of the metaphysical level, which refers to the perceived economic relationship including social, political, and cultural organizations. Williams considers that "class" is dynamic, metamorphic, and not just objective. His view can be regarded as a program of class analysis in cultural studies.

In 1963, E. P. Thompson put forward one of the main points in his book entitled *The Making of the English Working Class*, that is, "class" should be a dynamic, not a static concept. It occurs in the interrelationship between people. "Class" is a historical phenomenon. It is neither a structure nor a category. Class is formed

among society, culture, and economy. However, in the explanation of “class,” cultural factors have long been neglected. In *The Making of the English Working Class*, Thompson explored the role of culture in the formation of the British working class. Later, his idea was transplanted by Hall and other scholars. They take this as the outline to study how the lower class consumes mass culture.

It is worth noting that although Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and E. P. Thompson were three early representatives of British cultural studies, they each had different views on cultural and class issues. However, they all stressed the necessity of “common sense,” “structure of feeling,” and “common experience” for the working class as a group. They are deeply concerned that the growing popularity of popular culture continues to erode the common experience of the working class. It makes the experience of social groups identical and poor with a culture of external implantation, and its collusion with the ruling ideology causes the working class to suffer from not only economic but also cultural integration. The latter is subtler and more destructive than the former. Therefore, the redemption of working class culture became an important subject in early British culture studies.

The Challenge to the View of “Class”

As a successor to Hoggart, Stuart Hall discussed the issue of being “Classless” in articles such as “A Sense of Classlessness”. Hall believed that contemporary society was moving away from the class identity associated with industrial capitalism. This means that individuals want to get rid of the rigidity of class composition, while socialists need to be more curious about growing individualism and cultural atmosphere than denouncing it. Under the leadership of Hall, cultural studies focused on daily life and explored resistance factors in popular culture from a more open and positive perspective. By using Antonio Gramsci’s theoretical resources for reference, cultural studies were placed within the scope of “hegemony”. To some extent, cultural studies had made up for the defects of “culturalism” and “structuralism.” At the same time, a new development space was found in the field of cultural struggle, which was masked by the traditional class view. Since the late 1970s, the study of youth subculture, race, gender, and other issues has become the focus of cultural studies, and a large number of representative works have been produced.

In the late 1980s, with the prevalence of “Thatcherism,” the decline of working-class politics, and the rise of identity politics and consumer culture, a series of structural changes took place in British society in the fields of economy, culture, politics, and so on. Leftist thinkers such as Hall are keenly aware of these changes and have actively discussed the characteristics and changes of this “new era.” In 1988, Hall points out in his article titled “The Meaning of New Times” that individual subjects become more important, while collectively, social subjects (such as class, nationality, or ethnicity) become divided and diverse. Hall’s view offers a useful primer to understand how cultural studies reject homogenization in the postmodern society which emphasizes “difference.” His view also indicates “postmodern transfer” of cultural studies. Further, the study of identity politics, race, ethnicity, and gender reveal the complexity of social differentiation, weaken the core position of “class” which is the traditional way of social division, and attract people to pay attention to other social divisions. The discussion of consumption has

also become a hotspot in this era. Some scholars, represented by John Fiske, regard the importance of consumption for identity construction as its theoretical basis, emphasize the initiative of consumers in the process of consumption, and reveal the creativity and inverse function of popular culture. Consequently, the research paradigm founded on the grand narrative of "class" by Hoggart et al. has been difficult to continue and has gradually been replaced by more diversified cultural studies.

But should class discourse really withdraw from the historical stage of cultural studies? Is there still room for survival and development in the field of contemporary cultural studies? The discussion of these problems not only relates to how to evaluate the early tradition of cultural studies but also determines the development trend of cultural studies in the future.

The Return of the "Class" Perspective

Although the "class" perspective of cultural studies was once marginalized, the discussion of "class" in academic circles has never stopped. Especially since the early 1990s, some representative works such as Richard Scase's *Class* (1992), Andrew Milner's *Class* (1999), Sally Munt's *Cultural Studies and Working Class* (2000), and Gary Day's *Class: The New Critical Idiom* (2001) have emerged. Among them, the works of Milner and Munt, starting with the historical formation and social connotation of class concept and the representation of the working class in contemporary culture, refuted the myth of "classless" powerfully. They also reveal the importance of class perspective in cultural studies. Milner explains the causes of class death in the beginning of his book *Class*. He pointed out that one reason is the "middle-class movements" in the 1980s and 1990s, which brought individualism and the way that led to the discrimination of consumerism, and another is the "post-modern turn" of cultural theory and the influence of theorists such as Jean-Francois Lyotard and Jean Baudrillard, which made scholars think that class was no longer the main characteristic of contemporary culture (Milner, 1999: 208). However, Milner's discourse focuses on intellectual tradition rather than on how changes in economic conditions have changed people's material lives. In fact, the death of class is also closely related to the employment status of traditional industrial workers and the declining influence of labor organizations.

Emphasizing the early research methods of cultural studies, the book entitled *Cultural Studies and Working Class* takes a clear stand. The book begins with Andy Medhurst's article named "If Anywhere: Class Identifications and Cultural Studies Academics." Medhurst points out that contemporary cultural studies are obsessed with theory, and when constructed and developed under its concerns about gender, race, and sex, the perspective of class is left out. Meanwhile, cultural studies almost refused to adopt the latitude of "experience," or merely questioned or abused "experience" at will, thus promoting the method of "depersonalizing" (Medhurst 2000: 23). It is in this context that Munt, the editor of the book, put forward the idea that cultural studies comes from social class. At the same time, Munt also noticed the paradox that whatever the origin of the field is, no matter how closely it relates to the problem of class, today's class (especially the working class) has nothing to do with itself in the eyes of contemporary intelligentsia (Munt 2000: 1).

Since the 1990s, the social criticism of cultural studies has declined sharply, and

the color of college has become increasingly strong, which has deviated from the original intention of the birth of cultural studies. It is true that there is an undeniable relationship between some cultural studies researchers' one-sided emphasis on "identity" and "consumption", meanwhile they ignore or evade political and economic factors behind "identity" and "consumption". To some extent, the emphasis of cultural studies on diverse identity politics led to its unconscious collusion with the dominant ideology that played down class differences. While it pays attention to the cultural and political practice of gender and race, it ignores the fundamental transformation of social relations based on class, and its openness leads to the lack of a holistic vision of social politics, even makes the cultural studies into the dilemma of discourse repetition.

The rejection of class and its political economic dimension is also reflected in the research field of consumer culture. Jean Baudrillard and Pierre Bourdieu enlighten the cultural studies researchers to interpret the symbolic value of consumer society and commodities from the perspective of semiotics, and to combine cultural symbol analysis with social stratum analysis. However, the works of some such researchers, represented by John Fiske, increasingly show a one-sided emphasis on consumer creativity and resistance as well as the neglect of the hidden role of social structure behind consumer behavior. It seems that they make cultural studies gradually shift towards a form of entertainment, superficial and impetuous. Aiming at the tendency of non-political economics in cultural studies represented by John Fiske and its corresponding serious populist color, Jim McGuigan in *Cultural Populism* (1992) put forward a severe critique. He believed that this tendency led to the loss of criticism in cultural studies and was a severe crisis facing contemporary cultural studies. The way to deal with this crisis is to put cultural studies back into the framework of the political economy and to pay more attention to the research in the field of production. Under this background, some recent cultural studies began to re-examine the class consciousness of cultural studies during the 1970s, and the perspective of "class" was gradually revived in cultural studies.

The Enlightenment of the "Class" Perspective in Chinese Cultural Studies

It is of great significance to understand the historical logic of the emergence of cultural studies and their internal paradigm shifts in today's Chinese cultural studies. The return of cultural studies to the perspective of "class" under the background of political economy requires Chinese researchers to reflect on this new trend of academic development with this kind of "historical consciousness" and to re-examine the relationship between cultural studies and the local context of China.

The key to the wide and far-reaching influence of cultural studies lies in its strong critical color and problem consciousness, which originates from the class complex of cultural studies. It should be pointed out that the class complex of cultural studies is a strong sense of social responsibility and critical consciousness, accompanied by concern for the living conditions of the mass and academic enthusiasm for actively participating in social reform. This is the quality that current Chinese cultural studies researcher lack. So far, the monumental works that really combine the theoretical resources of cultural studies, critical spirit with Chinese context, and cultural phenomena have not appeared.

In addition, cultural studies were born out of intellectuals' concern and

discussion on class issues. The existence and development of cultural studies today still cannot be separated from a holistic social and political vision. Scholars cannot do research without the sobering understanding of class differences and the attention to social class; otherwise, cultural studies will lose its foundation. Therefore, researchers of cultural studies should understand that if they lose their sense of social responsibility and critical thinking mentality, cultural studies will eventually lose its root.

Contemporary China is in the era of large-scale labor force transfer, social stratification, and diversification; the continuous collision and integration of foreign and local cultures; and the emergence of new social strata while the old social strata strive to find a new sense of belonging. The related questions include these: How has the “class” problem changed? How should class be understood in a socialist society? What new forms does it take? In the process of social transformation, what kind of identity and cultural and political practice does the Chinese public experience? How does mass media construct the class? There are many problems worthy of Chinese researchers’ study and exploration. Regrettably, some researchers do not attach importance to the above problems. They tend to hide in the ivory tower of theory and indulge in “the carnival of discourse” and turn the anti-system critical practice of cultural studies into a means of gaining a place in existing disciplines and academic institutions. Sometimes they try to seek the “meaning” in the popular culture case, but lack the high attention and the prompt response to the new social stratum and many important social phenomena.

In this crisis, this paper argues that Chinese cultural studies researchers need to rebuild the close relationship between cultural studies and contemporary political life through analyzing social and cultural phenomena of class. Chinese cultural studies researchers should also transcend the micro research and aesthetic view of popular culture and daily life in order to expand the whole vision of social politics, pay more attention to the living condition of the social stratum, and actively participate in the social reform.

Mass Media and the Identity Construction of the Chinese Middle Class

Under the enlightenment of the “class” perspective of Chinese cultural studies, this paper attempts to review the relevant literature, explore the social and cultural phenomena of mass media, and the middle class’s identity construction in the context of contemporary China, in order to re-examine the perspective of class in cultural studies and to seek theoretical growth points in the Chinese context.

The Identity of the Chinese Middle Class: a Realistic Issue that Needs Urgent Attention

In the 40 years since reform and opening up, China’s economy has grown rapidly and steadily, and the middle class has grown to be an emerging social group. It is estimated that the Chinese middle class will account for 40% of the total population by 2020. The historical experience of developed countries proves that the growth of the middle class is of great significance to the political, economic, and cultural development of a country.

In recent years, China’s export-oriented economic model has faced challenges, stimulating domestic demand has become an important driving point for China’s

economic growth, and the key to expanding domestic demand is rationally adjusting the structure of national income distribution. Relevant studies have shown that the rise of middle-income groups and changes in consumption structure will create huge market potential (Mao Yunshi, Li Jieming 2010). Therefore, the expansion and development of the middle class is particularly urgent for China. Although not officially using the title of “middle class,” the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China proposed “expanding the proportion of middle-income earners,” and the 17th and 18th National Congress pointed out that “middle incomes are the majority,” and the report of the 18th and 19th National Congress emphasized that the “middle income group continues to expand,” which affirmed the importance of the middle class.

However, when governments, scholars, public opinion polls, and mass media eagerly pay attention to the middle class and affirm their value, the people who are considered to be middle class are not very sure of their middle class status, often feeling “stunned,” “retained,” and “uncertain” (Cai Shufen 1989; Lu Hanlong 1991; Li Chunling 2003; Shen Hui 2004, 2008), which greatly affects the development and growth of this class. They cannot identify themselves as a social stratum. The identity of the middle class is a profound and complex issue.

The Identity of Chinese Middle Class Constructed by Mass Media

The concept of a middle class can be said to be foreign and post-natal in China currently. This class lacks a common “class experience” and therefore lacks the foundation of identity. As the provider of information, mass media often shapes the middle-class culture from the concept and behavior through the setting of issues. Mass media even affects the identity of middle class. This behavior of mass media has attracted the attention of cultural studies researchers. However, according to existing research results, it is found that researchers mainly analyze how mass media constructs the middle-class identity, through the four aspects of culture, image, consumer taste, and lifestyle, and issues of their concerns.

Cultural Construction

In the early 1990s, consumer lifestyle magazines represented by “Trends” became prominent in China. It constructed a class discourse space with the consumption culture as the banner for the middle class. Zhou Fuxing pointed out in the discourse strategy analysis on fashion magazines that China’s middle class desires their own culture as they become affluent. Consumer lifestyle magazines give cultural meaning to the Chinese middle class’ daily consumption behavior, and it becomes the most labor-saving and fastest way. The mass media, especially the fashion media, also need to produce content through consumer culture. The consumer culture makes the two sides abide by the rule of “one shot at a time” (Zhou Fuxing 2009).

However, culture is a process of continuous construction. As China’s middle class continues to grow, consumer culture is no longer sufficient to empower its members. Zheng Jian believed that at the beginning of this century, the political and financial media emerged as the spokespeople for the middle class in China. The professionalism that they advocated for was an important manifestation of middle-class consciousness and values, and also became the middle class’ “new cultural

symbols" (Zheng Jian 2007).

In addition, Shen Hui proposed that urban culture, as a special form of culture, plays a subtle role in the formation of middle-class identity (Shen Hui 2008: 164). As one of the most prominent features of modern urban culture, and an important media product from which people accept information, advertising always reflects the middle class positioning with elite culture and conveys the information of commodity service, which has a guiding role in the creation of the cultural context of middle-class culture.

Overall, the current media mainly builds a cultural system of the contemporary Chinese middle class with consumer culture, elite culture, and professionalism.

Image Construction

For the Chinese middle class, which currently is emerging without clear boundaries, media constructs the public image. This image becomes an important basis for the Chinese middle class to become self-aware and realize its own class identity.

In a study of newspapers and periodicals for the middle class, He Jing found that the image of the middle class is mainly carried out through concept presentation, group image, and personal image. In terms of group image, this class has lived an enviable material life, advocating consumption, stressing taste, and pursuing spiritual freedom; this class is also subject to greater life pressure, physical and mental fatigue, and suffering from serious status anxiety. There are also many emotional problems - they are "angry," and in contrast to their "consumer avant-garde" characteristics, they are "political guards." In any case, they are the stable force and backbone of Chinese society. On the other hand, in terms of personal image, the media mainly presents the image of professional managers, literary and art workers, news publishers, freelancers, academic intellectuals, and private owners. The image of the middle class in today's newspapers is rich and diverse, but "social responsibility" is a missing element with respect to the middle class in media reports (He Jing 2006).

Zheng Jian, from the subjectivity of the middle class, pointed out that the media constructs the image of the middle class from three dimensions, namely, "the subject of consumerism society," "the subject of a globalized free market economy," and "the main body of modern democratic politics and civil society." He argues that various fashion publications and advertisements have always shaped the image of the middle class as being that of "economic animals" or "consumer animals," a stereotype image which has obscured the middle class from being "political animals" or "social animals." Fortunately, publications such as "Oriental Outlook," "Southern People Weekly," and "Nanfang Metropolis Daily" are re-constructing the image of middle class through discussing how they participate in public life and are gradually restoring the multi-dimensional understanding of the Chinese middle class (Zheng Jian 2009).

In general, the image of the middle class constructed by the media is consistent. They are motivated, ambitious, and demand the taste of life. However, in different types of media, the image of the middle class is biased. The early media often generalizes the appeal of the middle class as the form of consumption, so that people only see a single image of the middle class. But with the development of the

middle class and mass media, the media's construction of a middle class image has become more abundant.

Consumer Taste and Lifestyle Construction

Investigating the expression of the middle class in Chinese mass media, it is not difficult to find that most of the media's original imagination about the middle class comes from Western related writings, and the style and taste naturally become synonymous with the middle class in the field of consumption and lifestyle.

Zhou Fuxing used the magazine named "Trends" as an example. He pointed out that its contents basically do not break away from the daily eating, wearing, using, and doing but never involve troubles that should be encountered in daily life. This magazine mostly presents an idyllic pastoral scene. Through the beautification of daily life, it provides a set of exquisite living standards for Chinese middle class (Zhou Fuxing 2009). Zhang Shuiju analyzed the magazine "Trends" and concluded that fashion magazines were like "windows of goods", where they project the feeling of extreme richness of goods and the "enclosure of things to people" (Zhang Shuiju 2006).

In addition, advertising, as an important part of the mass media, also provides and disseminates a symbolic system of consumer symbols with a "distinction" for the middle class. Wang Xiaowen used the advertisements published by "LifeWeek" in 2007 as a research material and outlined a consumer and lifestyle panorama of middle class constructed by media (Wang Xiaowen 2009).

In short, the media industry, including literature and advertising, has become the maker of the middle-class consumer taste and lifestyle, while the middle class has established and consolidated its class position and identity through consuming media reports.

Construction of Issues

For a long time, the discussion of the middle class has mostly focused on its consumption and lifestyle, and the middle class has been rigidly labeled as "consumer avant-garde" and "political guard." However, with its own development, the middle class, as the backbone of society, naturally has the desire to participate in politics and politics. The mass media, represented by newspapers and periodicals, also use the agenda setting function to construct the middle class.

He Jing used "Newsweek" as an example in an analysis of how the mass media has set up a segmented middle class through agenda setting. For example, by reading media's setting agenda on changes in the mainstream of social politics and economic development, the middle class can understand its own social position. Agenda setting can help the middle class to express opinions and wishes. In this sense, the publication constructs not only the issue but also the public domain and at the same time carries out the construction of the ideal middle class (He Jing 2006).

In the field of constructing and establishing the economic subjectivity of the middle class, Zheng Jian pointed out that financial and economic publications seem to have an independent discourse space with external political media but in essence help to construct the identity of the middle class with the concept of liberal market economy as the core of ideology, to shape the ideology of market economy,

and to practice the differentiation of social stratum through the dissemination of economic information and its related discourse symbols (Zheng Jian 2010).

In short, through agenda setting, mass media will lead the middle class to pay attention to certain specific issues, affecting middle class thinking, and influencing their values, worldviews, etc. Thus, mass media is affecting the construction of the middle class identity.

Conclusion: Reflection and Prospect of Mass Media and Middle-Class Identity Construction Research

The middle class and its identity have always been hotspots of sociological research. In recent years, the attention of cultural studies researchers has injected new elements into the field and has achieved fruitful research results. In general, the above studies are mainly based on the theory of the middle class, and they examine the experience of the current media, especially the phenomenon of middle class and its communication practice. Most of the researchers combine the sociological imagination and the perspective of communication to explore the role of the media in the rise of the middle class, which will help others to further explore the relationship between media and the construction of the middle class' identity in the future.

Existing research shows that the mass media has contributed to development of the middle class in contemporary China. The media constructs the identity imagination of the middle class from the aspects of culture, image, consumption, and agenda setting, and combines the members of this class. At the same time, this "imaginary community" has formed a huge power source, driving people to realize the benefits of becoming part of the "middle class."

However, the current research pays too much attention to how media constructs the middle class' lifestyle, consumption patterns, and image. It is more focused on the influence of the media itself or market pressures. The current research ignores the middle class' own subjectivity, how they understand their own identity constructed by mass media, and their own life practice.

In addition, internet as the "fourth media" is obviously more attractive to today's audience than newspapers and magazines, and the white-collar workers of the middle class form the majority of internet users. However, media discussed by the existing literature mainly focused on the traditional mass media, and there are few studies on new media such as internet and social media. This is a deficiency in existing research but also a breakthrough point for future researchers in this area. It should also be noted that existing research focuses more on the function of news media and relatively lacks analysis on other mass media products, such as advertising and literature. Therefore, in a follow-up study, innovation should be made in terms of research objects, research perspectives, and research methods. In the determination of the research object, the middle class should be the center and their subjective initiative and practicality be emphasized. In terms of research content, the research platform is broadened and the analysis of advertisement should be added.

For the research method, in the future, researchers should advocate for the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and take qualitative investigation based on textual analysis and a questionnaire survey. Most of the

existing studies described the phenomenon or conducted subjective discussion. Even though several studies use quantitative and qualitative methods, the starting point is still based on the media's influence on the middle class. They ignored the main consciousness of the middle class, that is, what is the self-identity of the middle class.

In short, through the above analysis and discussion, it is necessary to put forward and emphasize the significance and value of media on the construction of the middle class' identity. In the future, media research centered on the middle class will help enrich cultural studies, communication studies, and sociological theories and gain a deeper understanding of Chinese people and their daily life practices.

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AGENCY OF NATIONALISM: CITY MUSEUMS IN TURKEY

AYSE NUR SENEL FIDANGENC

Beginning from the 1980s the discussions on the “New Museology” has gained importance. This approach attempts to change the object-centered approach of the classical museums to the visitor-centered one with changing the styles of expression and communication and emphasizing the social role of museums and its interdisciplinary character.

The change in museology led new types of museums and most of them used local heritage to promote local development, especially the city museums. It is related to the acceleration of globalization in the late 20th century. With the globalization the nation states begin to decline and the cities become more visible in the global scene. To participate in the global market, governments promote city branding in global and local competition; therefore, local values are seen as the input of this competition. Therefore, the values which are “local” and what make a city “the city” began to be emphasized; or, to be produced.

Beginning from the 2000s, city museums become widespread in Turkey. Up to now, 83 city museums are established and nearly 90 ones are pronounced to be open soon in different cities and towns in Turkey. City museum in Turkey has been discussed in political rhetoric, official discourse of local administration, works of non-governmental organizations and academic research. It reveals that the museums are the agents of city branding, actors of global and local competition, platforms of conservation of local culture and history, initiatives of developing sense of belonging and consciousness of citizenship, collectors of urban memory. But when we read between the lines, it reveals that they are the productions of Neo-liberal and Neo-conservative policies of the government which embraces a new kind of Nationalism. I conduct that regarding the discourse of city museums in Turkey, the city museums are mediated politically. So, they are the agents of history writing and symbols of ideology.

THE IMPACT OF U.S. IMMIGRATION REGARDING NATIONAL SECURITY, A MISCONCEPTION OF 'AMERICA FIRST'

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Keywords

Immigration, Security, Policy, United States, Culture, Homeland, Racism

Abstract

The National Security Strategy (NSS) for the 45th federal administration of the United States places the Immigration Policy as one of the key tasks in order to protect The Homeland, its nationals and the 'American way of life'. President Donald J. Trump has declared, constantly, that the presence of immigrants in US soil has erode the security of the country, both historically and currently. That is why the president has raised, since the time of his campaign in 2016, the need to build a physical wall at the southern border and to reshape the Immigration Policy.

It is not new that the issue of immigration is part of the diagnosis and tasks related to national security matters. However, what differentiates Donald Trump's so called 'An America First National Security Strategy' from previous administrations is that goes beyond undocumented immigration to include residents, students and refugees on the list of possible hazards. As a result, for example, the suspension of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), the travel bans for citizens of particular nationalities and the suspension on the admission of refugees.

As a nation founded by and for immigrants, it results crucial to analyze the potential effects of immigration in the United States. The aim is to identify the possible threats that they represent for the integrity of the economy, the national security and, mainly, the American culture. Evidence shows that immigrants play

an important role for the previously mentioned aspects, far from being negative, especially for boosting the economy and the competitiveness among workers. As for the American culture, the verdict is uncertain.

Beyond the political implications of the measures adopted by the current US' president regarding immigration and homeland protection, the 'America First National Security Strategy' could lead to negative consequences produced not by immigrants, but by radical groups instead, driven by the idea of literally putting 'America First'. The slogan is not new in the history of the United States, on the contrary, since its creation in 1884, it has been connected to some of the country's most shameful moments, related to slavery, racial segregation, war and the origin of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. The reuse of the 'America First' motto could revive some of the darkest aspects of American extremism, such as eugenic convictions and the idea that if America goes first, then the rest of the world go second.

U.S. Immigration Policy in a post 9/11 era

The U.S. Immigration policy can be split into 2 periods: the first, before 9/11, and the second, after 9/11. Before the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 in New York City and Washington DC, the United States' immigration policy was primarily focused on limiting the number of both documented and undocumented people entering into the country (in first place), as well as to avoid the entrance of drugs traffickers (in second place). The immigration system was not as thorough and rigorous as it is nowadays. The visa screening process was limp, interviews were not mandatory and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) operated with the least technology among all federal agencies. Because of its main purpose, communication between the INS and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA), was practically nil.

After the terrorist attacks, the United States experienced the biggest federal reorganization in the history of the country. The INS was dissolved and more than 20 agencies were merged to create the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), in order to group State efforts on immigration and terrorism. Within DHS, 3 agencies were created as well: Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Customs and Border Protection, and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. National Security became the main priority of the entire immigration system and, as a result, consular officers were almost doubled in less than 10 years, interagency communication was enhanced, biometric information of VISA applicants started to be collected before arrivals, and a training program for consular officials (with a special focus on counter terrorism measures and VISA fraud) was created, among other measures.

In a post 9/11 era, immigration is considered by the United States as a matter of national security. Nevertheless, immigration policy has not changed drastically, since this topic is one of the most controversial for both democrats and republicans. Therefore, it is really difficult to achieve consensus to legislate on this matter, even though that since 2001 there has been talks about the need for structural reform of the immigration system. For this reason, during his presidential campaign in 2016, Donald Trump alluded to the lack of legislation to control and limit immigration, arguing that the absence of control in this issue has diminished the economy,

society, politics and, above all, national security of the United States. He took the immigration issue as one of the banners of his campaign, which was a key factor in his victory over Hillary Clinton.

An 'America First' National Security Strategy

The National Security Strategy of the Donald Trump's administration is based, as well as the entire both domestic and foreign policy, on the premise (and promise) of 'America First'. On his inaugural speech in January 2017, president Trump stated that, from that moment, every decision, of any kind, would be based on seeking the greatest benefit for American families. The 'America First' Policy, thence, prioritizes the interests of the United States over any issue, decision, act and commitment.

An 'America First' National Security Strategy sets the immigration issue as one of the main concerns of the country. Grounded on realism, it establishes the need to protect the borders and to reform the immigration system in order to secure the homeland. The specific actions to be pursuit for this purpose are: the construction of a border wall, the elimination of the 'visa lottery', the implementation of a merit-based admittance (to stop the chain migration founded on familiar ties), a review on the relevance of the different types of visas, the reinforcement of the vetting process, the removal of '*ad hoc*' programs such as DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals), the decrease of the ceiling on the admission of refugees, among others.

Immigrant population in the United States

In 2016, nearly 44 million immigrants were living in the United States, representing the 13.5% of the total population (Hipsman, 2016). According to data from the Pew Research Center, the Department of Homeland Security and Border Protection, and the Migration Policy Institute, some of the main characteristics of the immigrant population in the U.S. are:

- 11 million are unauthorized immigrants, with half of them living in California, Florida, New York and Texas. The remaining 33 million correspond to lawful permanent residents (every person who owns a green card), visa holders and refugees.
- Immigrants represent the 17% of the total civilian labor force, 28 from 162 million (with almost 8 million being unauthorized). See Figure 1.
- One third of the immigrants who participate in the civilian labor force work in management occupations, while the rest in services and sales, construction, maintenance and transportation.
- Mexicans are, by far, the largest immigrant group, representing 26% of the total. Indians rank second, with 6%.
- Immigrants rank below natives in rates related to income, poverty, access to education and, of course, English proficiency.
- Indians lead the list of newly arrived immigrants, both authorized and unauthorized, in 2016. Chinese rank second and Mexicans third.

US Civilian Labor Force (% of people by its origin)

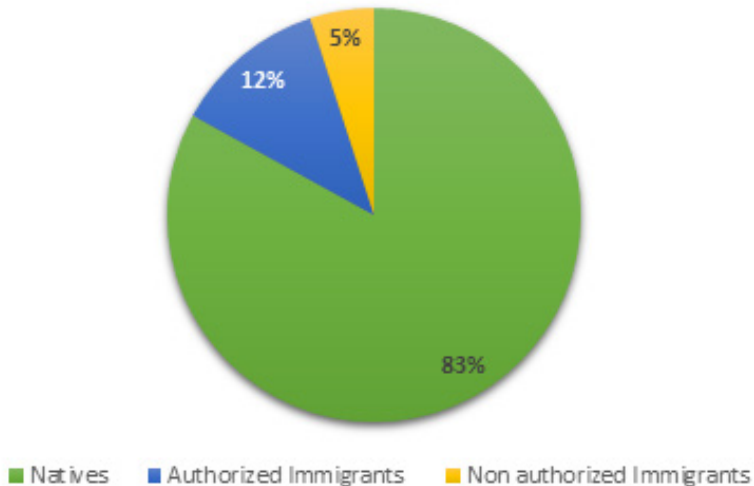


Figure 1. US Civilian Force by Origin and Legal Status. Total: 162 million people.

Immigration and its impact on National Security

In the National Security Strategy, it is stated that *“Illegal immigration [...] burdens the economy, hurts American workers, presents public safety risks, and enriches smugglers and other criminals”* (NSS, 2017, p. 19). Are there grounds for that assertion?

The assertion that immigrants have a negative impact on the unemployment rate for natives is not new. In both government and society, there are sectors that call for limiting immigration to protect American jobs. It is true that the unemployment rate is higher for natives than for immigrants (6.5% vs. 5.5%); however, they do not compete for the same category of jobs. Currently, 71% of native born are in the labor force vs. 73.5% of foreign born people. There is an income gap between the two groups, with immigrants being less paid in all age and gender categories.

Evidence has proved that the presence of immigrants brings outstanding benefits to the US economy. Approximately, 25 million immigrants worked in the United States in 2017 and 10.5% of them owned a business (vs. 9.3% of natives). Moreover, according to data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, *“one-third of the companies that went public between 2006 and 2012 had at least one immigrant founder. Of the 87 privately held companies currently valued at over \$1 billion, 51 percent had immigrant founders”* (Ivanova, 2017), impacting in the country’s income and in the generation of jobs. A study from the CATO Institute shows that immigration produces substantial gains, such as *“an economic boon to U.S. natives of between \$35 billion and \$230 billion annually [...] Immigrants, on average, pay between \$92,000 and \$173,000 more in taxes than they receive in benefits in net present value over their lifetime”* (Bier, 2018).

Regarding the second assertion, that immigrants *“presents public safety risks, and enriches smugglers and other criminals”*, it should be noted that there is no correlation between the presence of (mainly unauthorized) immigrants and the

criminality rates. Immigrants move to the US to find better opportunities and to provide a better quality of life for their families. For instance, they have the incentive of staying away from trouble in order to avoid deportation, among other measures, so they can continue sending remittances to their home countries.

There is evidence that shows that crime rates have drop in cities that had experienced a boost of immigration; such is the case of Los Angeles and New York. Another CATO study, "Incarcerated Immigrants in 2016: Their Numbers, Demographics, and Countries of Origin" proved that immigrants are less prone to be incarcerated than a native: "*Illegal immigrants are 47 percent less likely to be incarcerated than natives. Legal immigrants are 78 percent less likely to be incarcerated than natives*" (Landgrave, 2018). Furthermore, the research shows that the possibility of being murdered by an unauthorized immigrant is 1 in 10.9 billion, per year.

Authors like George J. Borjas and Paul Collier argue that immigration produce a negative impact since they import the 'bad' institutions and cultural features from their home countries, and that those factors bring out undesirable outcomes like corruption and poverty. In spite the fact that the highest levels of poverty, lack of insurance and less access to education are embodied by immigrants, especially Hispanic, as matter of fact, the effects of the presence of immigrants are outstandingly more positive. They do not depend on public benefits and, on the contrary, their presence increase, despite modestly, the general income of natives. In addition, they are prominent workers and taxpayers, contribute to the spread of economic freedom in the country and enhance the total wage of households.

The History of 'America First' and its relation with immigration

The 'America First' motto was officially used for the first time as a Republican slogan in the 1894, after the party seconded an article of *The New York Times* from 1891, in which it was stated that Republicans believed in the idea that "America comes first, the rest of the world afterward" (Churchwell, 2018). The article was not a criticism, on the contrary, it was a flattery over the party, since it encouraged nationalism in times of commercial war against the United Kingdom. The slogan was after used by most of the Republican candidates/presidents in the first three decades of 20th century, as Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge, and 'America First' quickly became a trademark of the commitment to prioritize America over any matter, especially in times for war. During the Second World War, for example, the slogan was adopted by the 'America First Committee', an organization that promoted isolationism and looked for neutrality from the USA. Although its intention was originally genuine, the Committee was rapidly associated with antisemitism and pro fascism, which resulted in loss of credibility and in the feeling that the group was against the very nature of the country.

After that episode, 'America First' started being associated with negative connotations like eugenic ideas, and it was adopted by extremist groups like the German American Bund, the Ku Klux Klan and the Klavana (the female version of the Klan). Both associations believed in the racial superiority of whites, especially Anglo-Saxons and Nordics. However, this idea was cultivated in the country time ago from the birth of this groups. Eugenics was the basis for the 'immigration quotas' implemented by the government during the 19th century, which restricted

the number of people from eastern and southern Europe, Asia and Latin America entering into the country. Although the justification was to guarantee the homogeneity of the country, people from those regions were considered as intellectually and biologically inferior than people, for example, from northern Europe.

Racial segregation and Xenophobia have been one of the most shameful aspects from American History, and 'America First' was part of it. During the 1920's, a very similar slogan began to spread throughout the country: '100% American'. It introduced the so-called 'one drop rule', by which it was stated that one drop of 'Negro Blood' was enough to consider a person legally black. According to author Sarah Churchwell, this rule was "used to determine whether an individual should be enslaved or free" (Churchwell, 2018). Therefore, the possibility of being recognized with rights by the State relied on the color of the skin.

In 1920, American writer Upton Sinclair Jr., Pulitzer Prize Winner (1943) published one of the most controversial novels in the United States: *100%: The Story of a Patriot*. It introduced Peter, a 100% American, who openly proclaim that: "if you don't like this country, let them go back where they come from. But of course, knowing in their hearts that America was the best country in the world, they didn't want to go back, and it was necessary to make them go" (Sinclair, 2006). The novel represented the points of view of thousands of Americans from those times, who found a patriotic and moral commitment in protecting the (racial) integrity of the nation. In other words, the less the immigrants, the more the pureness of the country.

During the first half of the 20th century, America First generated an intense debate both in American politics and society, regarding immigration policies and laws, the civil and political rights of African-Americans, the role that the United States should play in the world and, also, regarding what it means to be an American and who could be considered as one of them. History shows that the slogan 'America First' has a dishonorable past, since it has been used as a banner to symbolize (in a subtle or direct way) discrimination, racism, slavery and xenophobia.

The impact of 'America First' in American Culture

Given the previously mentioned positive outcomes produced by immigrants in the USA, why are they still being seen, by some groups, as a danger for American Society? American society has a dual behavior when it comes to immigration. This has been evidenced through groups that have manifested both in favor and against of a comprehensive immigration reform. On the one hand, some groups appeal to human dignity, to get millions of people out of the shadows to provide them with political and civil rights. They also appeal to the country's immigrant origin and nature, remembering that the United States was founded as a safe place that would shelter those who were seeking political, social and economic freedom. People in this group are represented by the so-called "Coalition of Transformation", led by the Democrat Party. On the other hand, those who find in the 'aliens' the cause of their professional and/or financial misfortunes, those who believe that with the construction of a border wall their quality of life would improve, as the as the Republicans of the "Coalition of Restoration" argue. In most of the cases, people from the first group live in big cities with high presence of immigrant communities,

while people from the second group live mostly in the suburbs and/or rural areas, where presence of immigrants is lower.

The beliefs of the second group have been recently fueled by President Trump, by arguing that some decisions taken by his predecessor, Barack Obama, such as the executive order to create the DACA program as well as the increase in the refugee admission ceiling, have put American's way of life under threat. He has openly declared that immigration is changing the character of the United States and has blamed the congress (specially democrats) for not doing anything to prevent that change. There is no doubt that something is changing both in American politics and culture; but, as a matter of fact, this change is not being produced by immigrants, but by the president itself, whether he is aware of it or not.

He is literally paralyzing the government in his effort to get the funds to build the border wall. In December 22nd 2018, a partial government shutdown was announced after the lack of consensus among democrats and republicans regarding the budget, due to the request of the President to allocate almost \$6000 million dollars for the construction of the wall. The shutdown lasted 35 days (becoming the longest in the history of the country) and caused economics losses for \$11 billion dollars, according to data from the Congressional Budget Office, a nonpartisan federal agency (Edelberg, 2019). On February 15th, only 3 weeks after the end of the shutdown, President Trump declared National Emergency over the wall, to get the needed funds. In his speech, he declared that *"They (detractors) say walls don't work. Walls work 100% [...] Take a look at Israel. They're building another wall. Their wall is 99.9% effective, they tell me -- 99.9%"* (CNN, 2019). Even more, he congratulated himself for his actions, saying that *"We've done a fantastic job. But we haven't been given the equipment. We haven't been given the walls"* (CNN, 2019).

The gravest consequences of Trump speeches and actions go beyond politics and economics. When reviving 'America First', he is polarizing society regarding some of the most sensitive topics in the country, immigration (as well as others as guns' control, economy, leadership of the US in the world, among others). The slogan is not about border security, is all about racism, and the wall is its symbol. What perception do Americans have regarding immigrants in the era of Trump's administration? The American Values Survey, a poll from the Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI), gives evidence of that. The 2018 survey consisted of 2509 interviews, the results of which demonstrate interesting trends in current American society. According to the survey, 4 in 10 Americans support the construction of the wall (Figure 2) and, among them, three-fourths consider that immigrants represent a threat to customs and values. As for the people opposed to the wall, 6 in 10, they declared that immigration strengthens society, because of their hardwork and talents.

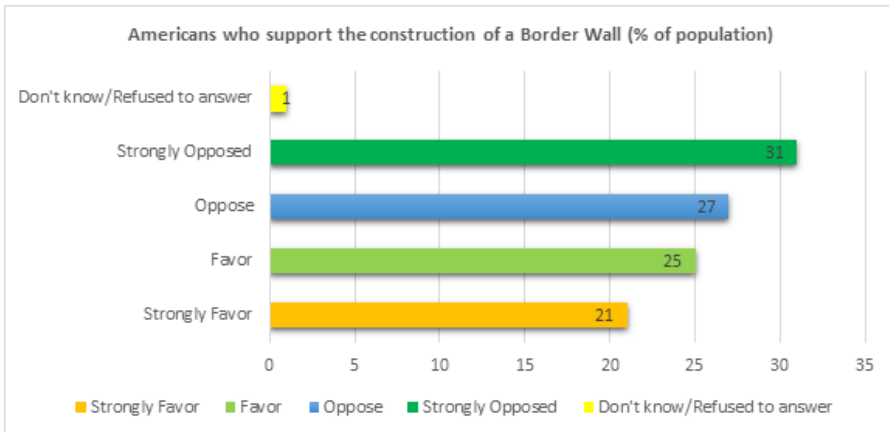


Figure 2. Own elaboration based on the results of the American Values Survey (PRII,2018).

In the survey, people is asked to answer on how well do they think each of the following describes immigrants coming to the US today? Most of Americans recognize that immigrants are hardworking (86%) and that they have strong family values (84%), while 49% consider that immigrants “*burden local communities by using more than their share of social values*” (PRRI, 2018). Another revealing fact is that 41% finds bothering to come into contact with immigrants who speak little or no English, although 56% realize that they make an effort to learn the language.

When telling people that according to U.S. Census projections, by 2045 minorities (Spanish or Latinos and Asians, mainly) will represent the majority of the population, 6.4 in 10 Americans believe that the impact will be positive, leaving a 3.3 in 10 who are inclined towards a negative change (.3 refused to answer). The survey shows that most people who consider that demographic change will be positive are mostly opponents of the wall. 4 in 10 of the interviewed people also shared that, because of those changes, something they feel like strangers in their own country. For that reason, they consider that “the American way of life needs to be protected from foreign influence” (PRII, 2018). That is much to say in a country that was, since its very beginning, built by immigrants.

The poll also includes questions related to racial aspects. For example, 61% think that “*white people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin*” (PRII, 2018), and almost the same percentage (59%) agree with the idea that “*racial minorities use racism as an excuse more than they should*” (PRII, 2018). In spite of the fact that almost 9 in 10 Americans recognize themselves as non-racist (Figure 3), one quarter of them expressed that racial problems are isolated situations. This shows that, although they are against racism, a part of them does not accept that there is a problem of racial discrimination in the country.

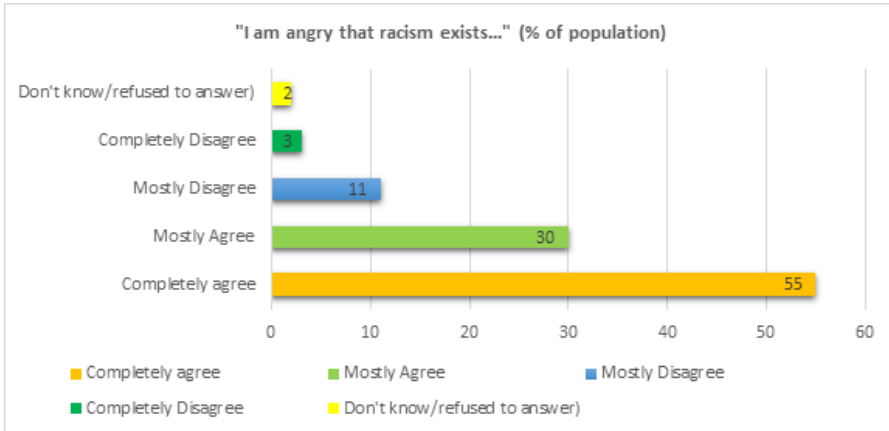


Figure 3. Own elaboration based on the results of the American Values Survey (PRII,2018).

The information gathered in the 2018 edition of the American Values Survey allows to create a profile of the 2 groups described at the beginning of this section. In general terms, based on their answers, it is shown that the supporters of the wall think that immigration affects the social and economic stability of the country, so the necessary measures must be taken to mitigate the negative impact. Some even said they agreed with the separation of families at the border, a measure implemented by the Trump administration since 2018. Additionally, they think that whites are starting to be discriminated as much as blacks, the same for men as for women. On the other hand, opponents of the construction of the wall have a more optimistic view of the diversity of American society. They are more tolerant regarding the coexistence with immigrants and accept the contribution they make to the country's economy. They recognize that there is a problem of discrimination, where the main affected are African-Americans, women and, of course, immigrants.

As might be expected, the first group (wall supporters), are much more exposed to the dangers of the 'America First' rhetoric, the sector of the population that felt left aside during the presidency of Barack Obama. In those years, they felt that their privileges were at stake and a white resentment resurged, something that set the Oval Office for Donald Trump. During his campaign, he said to suburban white Americans exactly what they wanted and needed to hear, that they were losing ground because of the demographic change and that they should blame 'aliens', who are being protected by the Democrats. This role of victimhood was a key element for Trump's victory, since he made his commitment to change that unfortunate and unfair current situation. But victimhood is not something new: The British, the Jews, the communist, the African-Americans and the Catholics have also been guilty of their misfortunes.

Since President Trump took office in January 2017, there have been events that reveal the social consequences of the 'America First' rhetoric. The most notable is perhaps the one from August 2017 in Charlottesville, Virginia, where white supremacists (among those who were members of the Klan) and neo-nazis marched in the so-called 'Unite the Right Rally'. Their purpose was to protest against the

removal of the statue of General Robert E. Lee, who fought in the US civil war on the side of the Confederate States, favorable to slavery. The march went out of control when rally members confronted counter-protesters, and when a 20 years old man ran his car over a group of protesters, killing 1 and leaving almost 20 injured. What surprised the most from this incident, besides of course of the human loss, was the Ku Klux Klan marching in 2017, and that the federal government regretted the violence on both sides, without condemning the acts from the white supremacists.

Other events that are becoming more common are those of white citizens confronting immigrants (especially Latinos) and African-Americans in public places. For example, in May 2017, a video which went viral shows a white woman who was shopping at a Walmart store in Arkansas yelling at a Latina woman “go back to Mexico”. When a black woman intervened in favor of the offended Latina, she also received a racial slur: “a nigga calling me ignorant”. The incident ended when the manager asked the white woman to leave the store, because of her “inappropriate behavior” (Armas, 2017). Another video from July 2018, in which a white woman in Oregon threatens an African-American woman with calling the police for allegedly trying to get food illegally through food stamps, went viral. The video shows the white woman saying that it is her business because she pays her taxes, adding “we’re going to build this wall” (Evans, 2018).

As far as the discourse from the Oval Office remains the same, events like those will not stop to happen, and radical groups will gain field. It depends on the society to remember the very nature of the country and to admit that its richness relies precisely in their great diversity, as it was envisioned by their founding fathers. As Thomas Jefferson once said: “*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal*”.

Perception of Immigration, a key factor to move forward

The America First Immigration Policy of Donald Trump places National Security as the main priority of the country. As a result, measures are being adopted in order to guarantee the safety of the Homeland, some of them drastic. There is no doubt that the construction of a Border Wall is one of the most controversial measures announced by the President. It is also clear that Immigration is generating a demographic change in the United States, and that this fact is producing a variety of reactions among politicians and citizens.

As it was analyzed, 46% percent of Americans support the President in his effort to build the wall and to restrict immigration, since they believe that immigrants are indeed responsible for unemployment, drug consumption, crime and loss of moral values. These perceptions are catalyzing social resentment and reviving radical groups as white supremacists. In spite of that, the perception of immigration within American society has changed positively in recent years, as polling houses like Gallup have shown. In addition, every day the contribution that immigrants make to the economy and society of the United States grows, which it is being recognized by several sectors. Nonetheless, the administration agenda of Donald Trump is still strongly oriented to limit immigration and to reconsider the conditions of permanence of those who already reside in the country.

It is true that the country’s priority must be national security; but, if immigrants do not represent a threat, should not the government drive unity to become a more

prosperous and inclusive nation, instead of fueling social polarization? The current context of the United States represents an opportunity to leave behind, and once and for all, racism and segregation. In the end, the president is giving them a shot to make America Great Again.

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TRADITIONAL FOLKTALES AND THE SHAPING OF RUSSIAN IDENTITY

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Abstract

Traditional Russian folktales and fairy tales weave stories of a world of mysterious beings, dangerous creatures who live in the dark forest, and amazing events that could never happen in real life. Not only do these stories create a sense of wonder in Russian children, they also provide an opportunity to extricate moral and spiritual lessons for both young children and the community at large. Russian tales are often violent sagas full of shape-shifting animals, strange creatures and death. At the same time, these folktales teach valuable lessons about life, the Russian spirit, and humanity in general. Using the well-known story of *The Frog Princess*, the focus of this paper is the interplay between folktales and the inherent moral lessons they teach about Russian identity.

Introduction and Overview

The Frog Princess exemplifies how mythical tales with magical creatures, shape-shifting animals, and helpful beings draw parallels with modern Russian life. The moral and spiritual lessons embedded in *The Frog Princess* explore ideas of gender and familial roles and add to the understanding of Russian identity and its development.

The vast landscape of Russia is often seen as cold and forbidding. It can be that, certainly, but it is also extremely diverse in its climate, flora, and fauna. Yet the cold nature of winters is something that is a constant presence in Russian people's lives. It is an immediate concern that travels with each individual, almost like an entity. The reason Russian people are ever-mindful of the cold is that inattention to it can be deadly. If one fails to consider and respect the cold, life could quickly come to an end. The same goes for wild animals and nature in general. In especially cold

climates, people tend to develop differently than in warmer ones. The brusque, abrupt Russian is a well-known cliché all over the world and this view is somewhat based on truth. Certainly, people tend to focus on the task at hand, namely survival, even as social interactions take place. It is not easy to socialize when bundled up to the teeth in winter.

The thawing and revelation of the Russian soul really begins at home: in the heated spaces of the Russian apartment, the warmest of characters become apparent. These are people who are extremely loyal and selfless. Part of this national character comes from another survival mechanism: the idea that in numbers, it is easier to stay alive. Collectivism is thus ingrained from an early age.

Until recently, most Russians lived communally. While it was a necessity in Soviet times, this arrangement had its effects on the character and disposition of people through generations. Living in close quarters made people grumpy, of course, but it also made them more collaborative, flexible and selfless. "Part of the populace lived in a harsh climate, economic and social deprivations and small self-contained village communities isolated by distance and terrain from the centres of urban civilization." (Warner, Elizabeth A. "Some Aspects of Change in the Structure and Function of the Contemporary Folk-Tale in Russia and Scotland." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 61, No. 1, Kiev Congress Papers (Jan., 1983), p. 78). The other large part of the population lived in an urban environment of concrete multistory apartment buildings, constant bus and trolley traffic and general congestion.

In order to amuse themselves, Russians turned to telling, and later reading, folk stories. "In Russia the obvious manifestation of the interest in nationality lay in the evolution of village prose. At its best, village prose can offer a bewitching step back into Russia's rural past and create a world in which the spirits reign." (Christian, Nicole. "Vasilii Shukshin and the Russian Fairy Tale: A Study of 'Until the Cock Crows Thrice.'" *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 92, no. 2, 1997, p. 398). Both rural and city people enjoyed and passed down traditional folk and magical tales to their children. Inside the home, the multi-generational family created a cozy atmosphere for children to be shaped into contributing members of society. Parents and grandparents usually lived together and the children, of which there were usually one or two, benefitted from a tight familial interaction and the attention that comes with being one of a few offspring. In well-functioning families, children were never left alone. When it became known that alcoholic neighbors left their children at home alone, it was considered the height of impropriety. It was customary for children to learn to read at home, before beginning first grade. Before entering school for the first time, children whose parents and grandparents worked spent the day in daycare centers. In both homes and daycare rooms, reading was of the utmost importance. The nightly tradition was for an adult to read bedtime stories or fairy tales to their children or grandchildren.

These stories could be from the Brothers Grimm, traditional Scottish fables or Russian folktales. Both traditional folktales and stories from other lands, such as Persian fables and Dutch adventures, are well known in Russia and give children a well-rounded view of the world. Russian stories were dominant but other cultures and countries were also well represented in the child's understanding of the world.

Traditional Russian folktales were also called "national Russian stories" or

"Russian national magical tales." "Originally, fairy tales were passed on by word of mouth and rarely recorded in writing. In Russia they acquired respectability in the nineteenth century with Afanas'ev's collections, published between 1855 and 1864." (Christian, Nicole. "Vasilii Shukshin and the Russian Fairy Tale: A Study of 'Until the Cock Crows Thrice.'" *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 92, no. 2, 1997, p. 397). Every home would traditionally have a small collection of illustrated books for children alongside a larger collection of other literature. Part of that collection would contain folktales, fables, fairy tales and magical stories of which *The Frog Princess* is a well-known one. "The themes are found in both translated romances and Russian folk tales, and they probably derive from common sources in world folklore. It was partially this extraordinary coincidence of themes from widely disparate sources which made the tales so significant for contemporary Russians. In a single text, the reader encountered themes from his preliterate past clothed in the form of the newest literary borrowings from Western Europe." (Cox, Gary. "Fairy-Tale Plots and Contemporary Heroes in Early Russian Prose Fiction." *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, no. 01, 1980, p. 90). Even though Russian folktales were considered a national treasure, they were just one accompaniment to novels and poetry by such world-renowned authors as Pushkin and Dostoevsky. The quality and diversity of literature naturally created a certain common knowledge among Russian people and shaped culture and society at large.

However, folktales were not the realm of children alone: adults also read and respected them, gathering moral lessons from their messages. "Early prose fiction in Russia took its content from readers' contemporary experiences (or at least their fantasies), and this content was given form by the structures of ancient oral literature with which their past was saturated." (Cox, Gary. "Fairy-Tale Plots and Contemporary Heroes in Early Russian Prose Fiction." *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, no. 01, 1980, pp. 87). They are considered the purest of all the literary genres, devoid of politics and endowed with moral lessons. Yet they were violent as well, often describing death, darkness and fearsome creatures. This darkness obviously shaped Russian identity through an early introduction of the pitfalls of life to young children. Even though other cultures also had dreary children's tales in their culture, Russian folk tales were rife with violence and death. It is not uncommon for animals to eat each other or tear humans apart. This fearsome darkness reminded children that the world can be a harsh place and this idea shaped the beliefs children held about their environment and their role within it.

Besides just reading about folk stories, Russian could also see them on their television screens. Some stories have been made into cartoons in order to make them more accessible to the populace as well as to project a wholesome image of Russian culture. Since traditional stories come from an ancient past, they have not been censored as other literature has been throughout the 20th century. Even in Soviet times, "folklore was considered innocent of ideology and thus something that deals with the human rather than the political." (Kononenko, Natalie. "The Politics of Innocence: Soviet and Post-Soviet Animation on Folklore Topics." *The Journal of American Folklore* 124, no. 494 (2011): 273). Through this time period, some tales had been de-emphasized and others thrust to the forefront depending on the message the government wanted to send. For example, if the message was to show women as strong and wise, cartoons using the character of Vasilisa the

Wise and her many amazing accomplishments would be shown. Through books and cartoons, Russian children were exposed to their unique cultural identity as well as a good dose of scary tales with neatly embedded moral lessons.

The Story of *The Frog Princess*

As written in Afanasev's book (Afanas'ev, A. N. and Ivan Iakovlevich Bilibin. *Russkie Narodnye Skazki*. Lexington, KY: Planet, 2012), the story of the *Frog Princess* begins with a king instructing his three sons to shoot arrows into the sky and choose wives according to where their arrows land. The older brother shot his arrow into a landlord's yard, so the landlord's daughter became his wife. The middle son shot his arrow into the yard of the shopkeeper. The shopkeeper's daughter became his bride. The youngest son, Ivan, shot his arrow into a bog so he had to take a frog as his wife. He resists at first, saying "How can I accept a ribbiting frog as my wife, a ribbiting frog is not equal to me." (Zybin, Y. A. ed. *Russkie Volshebnyi Skazki*. Moscow: Seventh Book, 2016, p. 160). He was ridiculed by others in the community but his father the king advised him to accept his fate. He reluctantly does so.

Soon after, the king instructs his sons to tell their new wives to make a fine silk carpet in one night and present it to the court the next day. While the other two sons are despondent, not believing their wives can accomplish the task, Ivan, the youngest son, is desperate. His wife is a frog! He cannot see any way to meet his father's demand. He comes home downtrodden and his frog wife asks why he is so sad. He explains what his father the king instructed. Instead of being upset, the frog princess tells Ivan to go to bed, that the morning will bring new wisdom. He does as she says and in the morning, the frog wife has created a stunning silk carpet which impresses the king much more than the carpets the older son's wives have made. Again, the king gives his sons a new task: for their wives to make a delicious bread for the next day. Again, the frog princess' bread is the best, with baked-in scenes of distant kingdoms and amazing edifices.

The third task is for the wives to attend a gathering at the king's house dressed in their finest robes. At this point, Ivan is really despondent since he sees no path for the frog princess to appear impressive in the eyes of his father and the gathered guests. However, she tells him to go to court alone the next day and wait for her to arrive after him. He does as she says once again, and on the appointed night, arrives at the court alone. His brothers ridicule him, asking about the whereabouts of his wife. They tell him he could have at least brought her in a handkerchief and ask where he found such a beauty.

Suddenly there is a huge din and ruckus and a beautiful princess walks through the door. Ivan's frog wife has transformed into a beautiful and wise human princess, Vasilisa the Wise. As she passes the astounded guests, she throws her left arm wide and a lake appears. She throws her right arm wide and swans float on the lake. While the mesmerized guests look on, Ivan hurries back home, finds Vasilisa's frog skin and burns it so she can never turn into a frog again. When Vasilisa returns home and realizes what Ivan did, she admonishes him, saying "had you only waited, I would have been yours forever, but now, I will leave and go to a faraway land. Look for me in the kingdom of Koschei the Deathless." (Zybin, Y. A. ed. *Russkie Volshebnyi Skazki*. Moscow: Seventh Book, 2016, p. 161). She turns into a white swan and flies away.

After crying his heart out, Ivan heads out to look for Vasilisa. His wandering journey begins with him “walking where the eyes are looking,” (Afanas’ev, A. N. and Ivan Iakovlevich Bilibin. *Russkie Narodnye Skazki*. Lexington, KY: Planet, 2012. P. 11) meaning he heads out aimlessly. He sets out into the forest and meets an old man. When he Ivan tells him his story, the old man rebukes him, explaining that Vasilisa was born wiser than her own father and the father cursed her and caused her to be a frog for three years. The old man gives Ivan a ball of yarn and tells him to follow wherever it leads to find Vasilisa.

Further on, Ivan decides to kill several animals he finds on his path (a bear, a duck, a rabbit and a fish), but spares them when they begin to speak and assure him that they could be useful to him one day. He comes across the hut of Baba Yaga, the forest witch. After she feeds and bathes him, she tells him that Koschei the Deathless is hard to find and even harder to vanquish. His death is at the end of a needle, which is inside an egg, which is inside a rabbit, which is inside a duck, which is inside a chest, which is hidden on top of a mighty oak tree.

Suddenly, the bear that Ivan spared on his journey fells the mighty oak and the chest falls down and smashes on the ground. A rabbit jumps out and starts running. Suddenly, the rabbit that Ivan spared chases the fleeing rabbit and tears him to pieces. A duck flies out of the rabbit and another duck chases him, hits him and an egg falls into the ocean. At this point, Ivan thinks all is lost, but the fish he had spared earlier finds the egg and brings it to him. He gets the needle out of the egg and breaks off the tip, in effect killing Koschei the Deathless. Ivan walks into Koschei’s palace, retrieves Vasilisa and they live happily ever after.

Moral and Spiritual Themes in *The Frog Princess*

Traditional Russian stories are often magical yet relevant to society in different historical times. “Narrative specialists demonstrate a growing - and corresponding - conviction that folk and fairy tales are historically determined, a belief that content, style and plot grow out of the surrounding culture rather than representing an ageless and unchanging tradition.” (Bottigheimer, Ruth B. “Fairy Tales, Folk Narrative Research and History.” *Social History*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1989, pp. 343–357).

The themes that speak to general human experiences are not difficult to pinpoint in *The Frog Princess*. Common themes include that of a jealous wife, a foolish young man, and a wise father. In many traditional Russian fairy tales, including *The Frog Princess*, humans are portrayed in both unflattering and aspirational ways. This serves the purpose of allowing common people to identify with the stories and its themes as well as to teach moral lessons. Tales of fractured families, in the case of a father who marries a new wife and finds her mistreating his own daughter, address situations that go on in the lives of modern people. At the same time, the fantastical part of the stories, such as the deathless Koschei, speak to the collective unconscious of the past, when paganism was ingrained in people’s souls as much as the idea of God has been. “The peculiar mixture of ancient form with modern content permitted the reader to make sense of his contemporary experience in terms of the literary forms of his past, and they gave a quasi-mythical structure to his aspiration.” (Cox, Gary. “Fairy-Tale Plots and Contemporary Heroes in Early Russian Prose Fiction.” *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, no. 01, 1980, p. 97).

The hero of traditional tales often has positive qualities that Russians can seek

to imitate, but often, the hero is also portrayed in a negative light. This speaks to the shadow self. Russian culture and is very much at constant interplay between lightness and dark. Russians are well aware that horror lies just a few paces away and one must never take good times for granted.

In *The Frog Princess*, the hero Ivan is on a quest to find his wise wife, yet does not make a plan nor does he gather information about where Koschei the Deathless might be. He walks, presumably trusting his fate, to take him to the right place. The spiritual/religious message ingrained in this story is to trust in God and follow one's path even though the road might seem aimless, dangerous or otherwise unsafe. The old man Ivan encounters sets him on the right track. The old man represents God, the wise intervener, and even though Ivan has acted foolishly and selfishly, the old man helps him. The message here is that even when we make the wrong decisions, there is still hope and redemption.

Part of the landscape of the Russian character is deep spiritual belief which stems from ancient pagan times. The Christian Orthodox faith is informed by those pagan beliefs in a myriad of ways that are not always theologically bound. Stories in general play a pivotal role in the particularly Russian form of Orthodox Christianity. Both in the past, when oral traditions flourished, and in more modern times, such as in the twentieth century, stories of saints are especially powerful and are often related to the folktales with which people are familiar from an early age.

The wandering saint, much like the folk hero who ventures into the wilderness to test his own mettle, is a source of inspiration for both the religiously-inclined and the secular. The saint faces hardships just as the mythical hero does. The dark forests are full of unforeseen circumstances, dangerous animals as well as the promise of helpful beings. "It begins with the hero's departure from his parents' home as a result of the villain's crime or of some crucial insufficiency. In the course of his travels, the hero meets a donor who gives him a magical agent upon successful completion of a test. Arriving in a foreign kingdom, the hero vanquishes the villain, thereby righting the wrong which caused him to leave home in the first place." (Cox, Gary. "Fairy-Tale Plots and Contemporary Heroes in Early Russian Prose Fiction." *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, no. 01, 1980, pp. 88). This same format is clearly visible in *The Frog Princess*. In this case, the hero does not leave home due to the actions of a villain but due to his own selfish and unwise behavior. It is through the portrayal of flawed human beings that folk stories allow the common person to identify his or her own struggles and face the shadow self. Fairy tales also allow for the promise of redemption, just like Ivan was redeemed when he finally finds Vasilisa and returns home.

Terminology is an important indicator of religious roles in *The Frog Princess*. The king is referred to as "my governor dear father." The Russian translation of this phrase places the emphasis on the love and respect that Ivan has for his father, who is also the ruler of the land where the story takes place. Traditionally, community leaders, such as kings or rich landowners, were revered with almost God-like adulation. Even though the king is Ivan's father, Ivan has the type of distant admiration for him that borders on worship. This is further proven when the king instructs Ivan to accept his fate and marry a frog. Acceptance of fate means acceptance of God's will and a total trust in His wisdom. Even the three almost-impossible demands the king makes of his son's wives show that he, as father, has the right to test his sons just as

humans are tested in life, presumably by an unseen force or God.

Another theme in Russian fairy tales is that of surprising events during the quest and the ability of the hero to manage them. Unforeseen circumstances require courage, wisdom, and perseverance. "The hero's own positive qualities were the source of his success, but intelligence replaced strength as the hero's most important characteristic. Rather than fighting their adversaries, the heroes typically outwitted them." (Cox, Gary. "Fairy-Tale Plots and Contemporary Heroes in Early Russian Prose Fiction." *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, no. 01, 1980, pp. 86-87). Ivan shows the bravery and submission to God's will that allowed him to embark on his quest and find his wife, yet he showed little intelligence. He did not realize what consequence burning the frog skin might bring, nor was he able to reach his goal without the assistance of the old man and the animals. Yet he is still a traditional Russian hero in that he sets out on a quest, and in the end, comes to a resolution.

The moral here is that humans cannot be aware of the future, nor are we able to protect against every unfortunate event. Yet we must use courage in the face of danger, perseverance in the face of setback and wisdom in the face of confusion in order to triumph. Even though Ivan lacked some of those, a mysterious force helped him along the way and he achieved his goal. This force refers back to God, or fate.

An additional lesson is that much of what happens to us as human beings is beyond our control. This is not defeatism. It is simply a recognition and respect for the forces in the universe that do not bend to the will of mere humans. It is an acknowledgment that the human being is not at the top of the food chain, as it were, in terms of universal order. In fact, we are very small and insignificant and much hardship can come to those that forget this lesson. What this lesson teaches is humility and encourages us to manage our expectations. Clearly, the human being is capable of great achievements, both good and evil, yet human nature itself is still inexplicable. We act in unreasonable ways and no one knows why. Russian fairy tales remind us that we are not omnipotent or omniscient and we must act in accordance with our abilities but not expect to go beyond what is humanly possible. It is doubtful that there will come a day when a Russian child, or any of us, grows up and suddenly understands all the mysteries of the forest. An attitude of wonder and proper awe should always remain.

This message of humility in the face of the magnificent universe is in contrast to the Western message of individualism and an all-conquering belief in oneself. Children in the West are taught that they are exceptional and can achieve anything they put their minds to. This sets up an expectation of success, often coupled with a reminder that hard work is part of the equation. However, hard work does not always lead to success, so a potential for disappointment always exists. Also, this attitude does not allow for the diverse range of abilities and natural talents in humans, especially when it comes to maturing young people. When children believe they can achieve it all, it motivates them to try but when they fail, they often give up and are faced with the harsh reality of life. This is often a hard blow.

Russian culture teaches that disappointment in the self, like Ivan's dull mind for example, and in the events of the world, such as when Vasilisa leaves Ivan due to his impertinent actions, is part of life and must be accepted and when possible, changed. Hubris is a dangerous element in human life. It is important to accept one's fate, as Ivan's father advised, even though we might be set against it. In the

end, Ivan's acceptance of his fate brought him the esteem of his father and of others in the community, including his two older brothers whom he was competing against. The lesson for Ivan in losing Vasilisa is that not only must one accept his or her destiny, it is advisable to be careful not to hold on to the things we love too tightly. That is also part of accepting your fate: whether a treasured possession or person, grasping and trying too hard to hold on will result in heartbreak.

Gender and Familial Roles in *The Frog Princess*

This story shows Ivan as an inactive character. He did not actively participate in his own destiny. His father instructed him how to get a bride. He left all the work of impressing the king through wondrous tasks up to his wife. What made it even more apparent that Ivan is not embodying the qualities of a righteous man is that his wife, in this case, was further limited by the fact that she is a frog! Yet he found it perfectly acceptable to leave his wife to create impossible-sounding works of art in bread and carpets all for the sake of impressing his father. At once, the message is that men are lazy and "im-potent" while women are resourceful and supportive of their husbands through difficult situations is clear. This speaks well for the view of women that the story presents: they are wise, beautiful, resourceful, honorable and easy to lose. Once Ivan burns the frog skin, Vasilisa goes to a faraway kingdom. She says, "had you waited, I would have been yours forever." (Zybin, Y. A. ed. *Russkie Volshebnyi Skazki*. Moscow: Seventh Book, 2016, p. 162). Ivan went against destiny and paid a price.

When the king first instructs the sons to shoot arrows to find a wife, Ivan believes that he is doomed to marry a frog. He does not foresee that this marriage will actually bring him the esteem of his father and the respect of the community. He is also ignorant of the frog princess' true nature (that of a wise maiden). He does not imagine what burning the frog skin will do, and he cannot see a path forward when the egg drops into the water. Ivan's lack of wisdom is clearly on display in *The Frog Princess*. Yet "he embodies a vital part of the [tale's philosophy]: the fool or misfit is no less humane than an 'ordinary' person (and often has greater potential for understanding and empathy than his 'normal' neighbour)." (Christian, Nicole. "Vasilii Shukshin and the Russian Fairy Tale: A Study of 'Until the Cock Crows Thrice.'" *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 92, no. 2, 1997, p. 392). Ivan is the virile hero in this story, yet he is not given brains in addition to his brawn. What does this say about masculinity?

In this story, the masculine hero follows orders: first of his father and then of his wife. He sets out on a hard quest all alone, exemplifying his courage, yet does not make a plan, which shows his lack of intellectual capacity. He finally achieves his goal, which is to find his wife, but only with the help of countless others. The masculinity aspect of this story is not the strong and witty hero but the semi dull-witted one who is lead and controlled by others.

As for the feminine role, the frog princess plays the role of magical animal and wise woman. Kononenko says that the frog princess "appears repulsive at first, but unlike [Ivan], she does not insist on her rights or make demands on her future spouse. Rather, she wins the heart of Ivan, her prince, and that of his father in the bargain, by excelling at traditional women's pursuits. At night she assumes human form and bakes bread, sews and embroiders a shirt, and then dances with skill and

grace at a ball, and she does all this better than the fully human wives of Prince Ivan's brothers. The Frog Princess is totally lacking in assertiveness." (Kononenko, Natalie. "The Politics of Innocence: Soviet and Post-Soviet Animation on Folklore Topics." *The Journal of American Folklore* 124, no. 494 (2011): p. 277). The image of the princess pursuing so-called womanly duties without a complaint is well taken. However, making amazing art forms in bread or creating a silk carpet in one night, all the while transforming from a frog into a human and back, is not the work of someone without assertiveness. It is the frog princess that saves Ivan from being disgraced in the eyes of his father and peers, even though that same father forced Ivan to marry a frog. It is also the frog princess who rebukes her husband and decides to go far away from him, instructing him to find her as punishment. In fact, Vasilisa goes to the realm of Koschei the Deathless, a terrifying male figure, and proceeds to live with him while Ivan searches for her. These are signs of strength, wisdom, and determination and the frog princess/Vasilisa is shown in the dominant role.

So what does the transformation of the frog wife into Vasilisa the Wise say about Russian identity? The frog was considered something ugly and repellent when Ivan first beheld it. When the frog princess turned into Vasilisa, it is precisely wisdom which is emphasized here, not necessarily her beauty, as the preeminent part of her character. In other Russian tales, there exists the character of Vasilisa the Beautiful, but in this particular story, it is the female wisdom and mystery that creates the persona of Vasilisa. The frog princess is not relying on her looks but her ability to get her husband, who at first rejected her, out of embarrassing situations. Even though she is still a frog and is scorned in the community, her wondrous carpet and bread brought her fame and approval. In fact, when she reveals her abilities, the human wives of the other two brothers are jealous of her. Even when Vasilisa transforms into a human and is described as beautiful, it is her charms and abilities to create wonder that impress the king, all his guests, and her own husband Ivan.

Animal Symbolism and Violence

A large number of Russian folk tales contain animal deaths, specifically animals being torn apart. In *The Frog Princess*, when the rabbit that Ivan spared chased the rabbit with the duck inside of him, the spared rabbit overtakes the other one and tears him into pieces. Many other stories have the tearing apart of animals as well. Usually, the animal being destroyed this way has lost a battle of strength or intellect. These mental images of animals being quartered can be terrifying. What purpose does this violence serve? Considering that the destroyed animal is usually weak in some way, the message to readers is that one must not allow others trick us or overpower us since a terrible fate lies ahead for the defeated.

Each type of animal usually has a specific role from in Russian folktales. The bear is the strong powerful one. The wolf is the brave and savage one. The fox (usually portrayed as female) is the crafty one. Yet depending on the story, even the powerful or crafty can get torn to shreds. "The folktale version often goes on to describe how the bear was further outwitted and eventually killed, and often adds the brutal dismemberment of other animals, notably a fox." (Kononenko, Natalie. "The Politics of Innocence: Soviet and Post-Soviet Animation on Folklore Topics." *The Journal of American Folklore* 124, no. 494 (2011): p. 276). The lesson is that

even when we think we are smart and strong, others can still get the better of us. Vigilance is a must.

Animals also play the role of guides. Just as in the episode when Ivan's father put before him impossible tasks that the frog princess was able to accomplish, the other animals Ivan spared come to his rescue and allow him to achieve his goal, which is to find his wife. There is a spiritual message here. It is that when submitting to one's fate, assistance in varied and mysterious forms can come from God and result in success. Even though the form God takes is animal bodies, the message is the same: trust fate and the eternal plan.

Another animal-related phenomenon in Russian magic tales deals with the transformation of humans into animals and vice versa. In *The Frog Princess*, Vasilisa is turned into a frog because of her wisdom and is able to turn into a human when circumstances demand. When Ivan burns her frog skin, however, she turns into a white swan and flies away. Notably, when she appears in court and impresses the king, she creates white swans that float on a lake. The white swan is a common motif in other fairy tales as well, often representing purity and goodness. It is also a symbol of femininity. In *The Frog Princess*, Vasilisa the Wise is more powerful than the king, her own husband and even Koschei the Deathless because she starts as a frog, is able to accomplish amazing tasks, transforms into a human for a time and punishes her own husband for his selfishness. The only time she is shown as passive is when Ivan vanquishes Koschei. No mention is made of Vasilisa's demeanor. She simply goes back with Ivan and lives a presumably happy life. Other than that, she is both the dominant player and the one that can turn into several different animals, which shows her power.

The lesson about Russian identity, and about what it means to be human overall, is that when someone or something is repellent or unattractive to us, it is wise to think twice before passing judgment. Appreciation for things that are difficult, unpleasant or one does not understand builds character and stamina. In any society, but especially in a land of cold climate and historical upheaval, it is even more so. When children learn at an early age that shiny pretty things are not always what they seem, they bring that attitude of patience and interest for deeper layers with them throughout life. The first time a child faces hardship of any kind, he or she will remember that things are not always what they seem and that it is worth waiting to see the outcome before making final conclusions. It is important to inculcate in children that perseverance is a vital skill as almost nothing comes easy in life, and even if something seems easy, there is a way to improve on it. Most of what humans achieve in life is based on hard and constant work.

If we look at famous actors, dancers, and singers, talent plays a big part of their success, but effort is even more important. The Russian "national artists" that are so honored in the country, now and through Soviet times, are revered even though their work is not in the field of math or science (the traditionally respected professions in Russia, the Soviet Union and many other countries). They are awarded national medals and carry the title of "national artist" as an honorific their whole lives. Why are artists respected to such a degree in Russia today and the Soviet Union before it? There are many reasons, but the one that concerns us in terms of the story of the frog princess is that these artists have worked their whole lives in order to become as great as their talent allowed. In order to perfect

one's craft, it is not enough to dabble: one must be indefatigable. The same holds for all types of work: if someone is a street sweeper, that person should be the best and most dedicated street sweeper that is possible for that individual to be. There is honor and respect in that. That concept is very much a part of Russian culture, not just an aside. It is embedded in children's stories, poems, school plays, teacher talks and conversations with parents. This fairy tale teaches that things will often be confusing, and we must accept them and be open to results while being mindful that any positive result is due to our own effort and the interference of more esoteric powers.

Conclusion

The story of *The Frog Princess* gives us an opportunity to explore three themes as they relate to the creation of Russian identity: the moral and spiritual lessons derived from the tale, gender and familial roles displayed in the story, and the use of animals as shape-shifting bringers of aid and hindrance during the hero's quest. These themes create messages or lessons for Russians from an early age. The roles of femininity and masculinity are also explored. In the end, this story serves to inform Russian culture and identity, but more importantly, it teaches us about being human, flaws and all, and how to navigate the dark forests of our own lives.

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ALTHUSERIAN READING OF MO YAN'S FROG

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Abstract

The present paper analyzes the novel 'Frog' by Mo Yan. Mo Yan portrays the dictatorship and the social formation in which having more than one child is a crime. Gugu started her profession as a midwife in full swing, turned into an obstetrician and indulges in abortions. She is hooked as a gadget of the government to repress the people with regard to 'one-child' policy. Indoctrinated by the state, she forced the public to consent to the State and Ideological dominance. Gugu wires on State Apparatuses initially, but soon after she was packed with humanity to serve the childless couples with clay dolls. This article inquires the reverberation between Mo Yan's 'Frog' and Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses. It reinterprets the portrayal of Gugu, scrutinizing the use of state apparatus to interpellate as subject by the ruling ideology as well as resisting the ideological call.

Key words: Mo Yan, Frog, One child Policy, Louis Althusser, Ideological State Apparatuses

1. Introduction

The official program of one child policy was initiated in the year 1979 by the Central government of China. The purpose of the policy is to limit the growth rate of enormous population, social crisis and economic clash .BBC (2018) reported that, it's a 40 year old policy, where 400 million births prevented, exact statistics on abortions are kept as state secret .It was roughly estimated that 13 million abortions were performed and approximately 10 million abortion pills were sold. If people defy the policy, they risked huge fines and varying degrees of harassment. It is by the start of 1st Jan 2016, Chinese couples were allowed to have two children. Presently, under the new policy, families can have two children provided one

parent, rather than both parents, was an only child.

This situation unfolds the novel *Forg* by Mo Yan. Mo Yan's real name is Guan Moye, which can be translated as "don't speak" because of the political situation during that period. His mother warned him not to speak from mind in open. He was known for his traditional and modern narratives. He was mostly associated with the post - Mao 'root seeking movement'. He has been recognized by global audience as one of the most important voice of contemporary china and a major figure in world literature. It was not a shocking to know that he was awarded the Noble Prize for literature in 2012. Most of his novels were translated by his official translator, Howard Goldblatt.

Louis Althusser in his "Ideological State Apparatus"(1970) considers peoples actions, choices, values, desires, judgements, preferences are the product of social experiences. Althusser(1970) delineates that a small group of people dominate the large group of people through "false representation". He sketches two state apparatus i) Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) ii) Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). The repressive state apparatus functions "by violence" whereas the ideological state apparatus functions "by ideology". RSA constitutes "the government, the administration, the army, the police, the court, the prison"(Althusser,1970). ISA comprises the religion, the education, the family, the political, the communication, the cultural etc as apparatus. RSA function massively by repression and secondarily by ideology. ISA function predominately by ideology and secondarily by repression. Althusser further more elaborates public domain belongs to RSA and private domain belongs to ISA. The focus on ideology mainly dwells upon the imaginary relations of individual to their real conditions of existence. Ideology works in this way to 'hail' individual as subjects. We freely chose to believe the things we believe, and that we can find lots of reasons why we believe those things.

To balance the economic development with population growth, 'one child' policy was forced through contraception, sterilization and abortion. This novel is based on marvellous experimentation of fanciful world Northwest Gaomi Township, Shandong Province. Mo Yan adopts an uncommon format of combining epistolary, fictional and dramatic forms to express his worry with the warfare between politics and tradition. The novel travels through china's history, specifically focusing on one child policy. The focus is on the protagonist Gugu, the narrator tadpole's aunt. She was a midwife turned obstetrician. Gugu at a point saved many women life in the village. After becoming a party member, she becomes toxic of destroying the foetus. In the concluding part, the narrator, Tadpole shifts his spotlight from Gugu to his second wife Little Lion in connection with modern day bullfrog farm. It is a facade doing women surrogacy and operation. It clearly depicts the inhumanity exists in the communist state, and the inadequacy of Chinese men's moral vaccum .Thousands of husbands who are entangled by the national birth control policy whether or not to have the baby, especially even if it is son to be born. The policy was iron fist without resistance. Gugu persuades tadpole and his first wife, Renmei to undergo abortion. This becomes instrumental cause for the Renmei's death. Being guilty of killing Tadpole's first wife, Gugu, as repentance became match maker between Tadpole and Little lion. Meanwhile, Lion was unable to conceive a child. Because, she blamed herself that she killed many fetus by assisting Gugu. After retirement, Gugu felt remorse for the horrible actions she performed. Though birth

control is requisite but the consequence was inhuman. Gugu's combined with Hao Dashou, crested the clay babies modeled on the babies she aborted. She decides to cleanse the sin as a part of her atonement.

The paper focuses on Gugu, a star obstetrician in the area around her village. Due to the political catastrophe, she became toxic in her own profession. Gugu as a subject as well as the State apparatus repressed the public to follow the ideologies laid by the communist party. The State used Gugu as tool to implement the ideology. Gugu imposes compulsory IUD's, vasectomies and late term abortions. In due course, she devotes herself making clay dolls representing the foetus she destroyed.

2. Professional Gugu:

Gugu's father was a doctor in the communist party and he was killed in World War II. Even Gugu was held up in prison by the Japanese Army for a certain period. After the communist liberation, Gugu returned as the first professional midwife by learning the newest method. She was appointed to the township health centre with an assistant Little Lion. Gugu on one occasion jumped on her bicycle rode ten lin in ten minutes to take up the emergency case. "Gugu forged an unbreakable bond with the sacred work of obstetrics" (Yan, 2015, p.18). The village women who witnessed her at the work admired her. Her hands are different from other old midwives. At the time of delivery her soft hand turns into magical hand which made delivery easy. "Like a needle tucked into cotton, supple yet firm"(p.21). During another delivery, the foetus was in wrong position as the hand came first. Gugu instructed Lady Ailian to follow her instructions exactly to to deliver the baby alive. Ailian saw brightness on Gugu's face and gained courage to deliver. Gugu was not only an obstetrician rather she devoted herself to the field.

Above all she forgets the class consciousness where she served all with equally. Gugu seethed how men pull a long face when a woman gives birth to a girl baby but grin happily when a cow does the same thing. Her consideration were not set with "....son or daughter, revolutionary or not, land lord or mongrel" (p.19). All she wanted is the baby and mother alive. Soon after good showers, the weather was good producing bumper crops and people's mood was of wellbeing. Women were eager to become pregnant and have a child. Gugu became busy delivering the kids. "The tyre tracks of her bicycle were visible on every street"(p.26). "From 4 April 1953 to 21 December 1957, she performed 1612 deliveries bringing a total of 1645 babies. Gugu joined the communist party on 17 February 1955" (p. 26). That happened on the day she delivered her one thousandth baby.

3. Party Member Gugu

For about two years, the famine affected the flora and fauna. Human being carved for food at the highest. Over two years of famine, not even a single infant was born in the village because of famine. Hunger disturbed women's menstrual cycle and turned men into eunuchs. Soon after a few years, people were blessed with good showers of rain, sweet potatoes were harvested abundantly and it is truly wonderful food with nutritional value. One of the villager said "We had enough to eat, finally enough to eat" (p.59). People started to grow, at the same time women's breast swelled, whiskers reappeared above the lips of men. Women in the village

were pregnant, 2868 babies were born in 52 villages of the township and Gugu called those babies as “sweet potato kids” (p.60).

Wang Xiaoti, Gugu's Pilot fiancé betrayed her and flew to Taiwan. On one occasion Gugu was treated harshly by her health centre doctor as a defector's woman. Gugu remained of that pilot fiancé and cried very badly on her table. She said “I have always been a party member and I will die as a party member” (p.58). This issue gained importance and changed her too revolutionary and principled concerning party's law and order. Gugu is bestowed as an active power threatening the society through unfaltering loyalty to the communist party. Her heart and mind was upset, once in a while, either by her family members or at the working place. This made her politically toxic and changed her cruelly by implementing the one child policy once it was ordered. Gugu is an audacious heroine, as she does delivery with passion and authority in the initial stage. Later on her cruel hands and witch like figure made her to enforce the law brutally. She endorses her devotion by relentlessly implementing the policy against unauthorized births. Gugu penalizes the carrying women despite their delicate condition.

At a stage, the population explosion was a source of pressure on leadership. It was at that time, the First Family Planning Policy in China came in order. The government proposed “one is good, two is just right and three is too many” (p.65). By bearing Gugu's sincerity as a party worker and committed to the profession in mind, the communist party promoted Gugu as the director of health centre's obstetrics department and deputy head of commune's family planning steering committee. She was leading, organising and implementing family planning policy. Her white teeth became yellow and her voice became manly. She became the source of Mao's ruthless implementation of the policy. She insisted woman to have planned pregnancies. This change of her and the cruelty within made her away from family and village. They started giving birth control pills at all door steps and also distributing free condoms. Gugu was savior and destroyer on holding the same profession

During the initial stage of the implementation of the policy, the country head quarters called for a daily report on numbers and the same was dissatisfied with Gugu's lack of progress. It was that time the resolution was passed that “Vasectomies will be performed on the males” (p. 69). With this order Gugu performed a total of 310 vasectomies. Whenever Gugu performed delivery, she inserts IUD without the permission of the delivered woman. Only after inserting IUDs right after the birth Gugu informs the person about it. In one of the occasion, Gugu threatens a villager to allow his wife to go with her to the health center for abortion or else he will be sent to prison. “I can turn you over to the police for punishment”(p. 126). Gugu in one of the incident tries to destroy the house in which the pregnant lady is hidden. “....now pull down the house.....carry out the order” (p. 151) therefore tractors roared into action. In other occasion, Gugu said “Making a little sacrifice you are contributing to the nation at large” (p. 158). Then she compelled Renmei for late abortion. And during the operation Renmei died. Gugu never anticipated such an incident where she accepts her fault. Gugu was totally disappointed by this incident. Like any government policies has loopholes, the situation is that those who have money can pay the fine to have one more baby and those who do not have money stealthily give birth to more than one baby if it is to be son.

4. Compassionate Being - Gugu

Renmei death traumatized Gugu dreadfully. "Gugu's smock was coated with blood, her face was ghostly white" (p.161). Wang Renmei, Tadpole's wife intensively fixed by the traditional fertility culture. After giving birth to a daughter, she wishes to have a son. Her wish was spoiled because Gugu inserted IUD without the knowledge of Renmei. Later, when she came to know, she has taken out stealthily. Renmei's success on carrying a child was shocked tadpole on the grounds of military career and on Gugu, as a practioner of state policy. Remei pays expensive price of life on behalf of merciless law. Tadpole, Renmei's husband was totally depressed by the death of his wife Renmei. Gugu and Lion, her assistant joined the funeral ceremony of Renmei where she knelt and cried, it trembled everyone to the core. When Gugu was lifted again she felt on knees and wept bitter. After a while owing to repay the death of Renmei, Gugu took care of marriage arrangements of lion with Tadpole "Life is short ...and many things are determined by fate. Better to row with the flow than against it" (p. 189). Even at this juncture and by the decision, Gugu was always impressed by everyone in the village as a woman of incredible audacity. Not only Renmei, but also Geng Xiulian and Wang Dan lost their lives trying to have a second child. Gugu loses her zeal of executing the one child policy after the death. "No matter how hard she tried to get away, the chilling croak-croak-croak sounds of aggrieved crying ensnared her from all sides"(p.250)

Gugu secretly married Hao Dashou, a blind clay doll maker in the same village. Both sold dolls at the temple of fertility goddess, Qin He. All the other shops dolls are painted uniformly whereas Hao Dashou's dolls were unique with individual expressions. Clay is invested with intelligence and the dolls are themselves spirits. Tadpole's second wife Little Lion tends to be a more aggressive woman to become mother. Tadpole and Lion got into trouble for their delivery. Lion felt that by assisting Gugu was the cause of barrenness. It was found to be the strong reason for infertility since it was against the will of god. The rural Chinese women were depressed because they were unable to conceive son or second baby. Chinese family institution deeply believes that only male children can the carry the family line. The strong desire to get a male child to carry the family line, Tadpole and Chen Mei decided to find surrogate mother by providing tadpole's sperm. When Gugu hols Tadpole's baby in hand, she said "what we have to give him is love nothing more" (p. 317). Now it is more important that to view herself as human. Her intuition and inner call for humanity changed her. So she said to herself that she can die in peace. Tadpole said Gugu to sleep in peace and keep living well.

Gugu said to Tadpole "A sinner cannot and has to right to die. She must live on to suffer torment to be like fish frying in a pan,.....only when that is complete she is free to die (p. 387). Gugu became sick with insomnia and fear of frogs as they voices of frog remembers her the foetus she destroyed.

5. Gugu's Evolution - A Supreme Human Being

Fundamentally, Gugu was an admirable women with best skills at work and a good heart. She has lead a life all along as a committed nurse as well truthful party member. The betrayal of the fiancé propelled her to be more indebted to the State. And therefore, she becomes venom to the villagers by ruthlessly implementing the one child policy. It was at time Gugu becomes the "Subject" innocently executing

the state ideology. The inner self changed more toxic that she became an instrument of repression. As a tool of the government, she destroys the house, enforcing IUDs, compulsory vasectomies, and late term abortion. Gugu lead her family planning team into village with armed police in a van, equipped with loud speaker and a tractor.

In addition to that, Gugu has boat that was full of family planning banners with a small cabin for her to announce through loud speakers. Gugu is fully loaded and equipped to implement the policy in and around her village. The State as the power, in turn the power as government that is communist party laid rules for the citizens. To abide by the law and order will be just for the individual or else they will face the consequences. It was a huge frustration and harassment prevented by the government to the citizens. Gugu knowingly or unknowingly become the Subject of the Repressive and Ideological State apparatus. Gugu was hand in gloves with illegal activities, as the System itself encourages her to do so. After the death of Renmei, her ideas started fading away. Gugu slowly started internalising the inner self of human, nature. The society and her family ideology made her mind a subject and she felt lonely and withdrawn. This made her marry a blind person, who makes clay dolls at her village even during the adult age. Finally, she shoots herself outside of the System.

Gugu suffers from the dominant ideology of communism wherein she became an apparatus of the System, where the psychological plight made her realize her own self. She yearned to focus the humanness in her and everywhere around her. She ignores repressive ideology and throws away political ideologies where she was caught up and followed all along. She started in search of herself, in search of humanity, a larger humanity. Gugu was cog in the wheel of the State power, later she restores and redeems herself through "Purgation". And the clay dolls by Gugu, represents the foetus she destroyed. Hence, clay doll making was the gateway to become human. Therefore it is relieved that herself as a subject of both the apparatus and at last she found her real "self".

The state decides how people should live. The state as a device decides the rights of the individual. Mo Yan focuses the pressure of rural citizens and the state intervention in personal life. An Individual has no free space or no space to move. Individuals lose their ability to think on their own. The people are oppressed in nature itself. The never live but exists. The dictatorship of Mao and the state power acting through government packed the atmosphere so tight with communist ideology. They were not members of the country but only exist in numbers. There is no physical structure called cell with four walls but the country itself becomes the cell or prison for an individual. The Chinese culture believes that frog is the symbol as life and fertility. Inclining to that cultural belief, Mo 's title Frog signifies the crucial conceptualization of reproduction and life.

6. Conclusion

Frog is a biopolitical novel by nature. In the lime light of women's vulnerability, their bodies and lives are controlled by the State. A woman not only suffers in the hands of male politicians in the System but also crumbles with son-fixated husbands in the family. The individual body was managed at micro level by the state. It is administrated by ideological apparatuses such as family and hospital and

controlled by repressive apparatuses like court and police. Mo Yan's story could then be said to function as a critique of ideology postulated by Louis Althusser in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses". This novel explores the repressive and ideological state of individuals incapable of making independent moral judgements about political and social behaviour.

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HINDU CREMATION- A MEMORY OR A MEMORIAL?

SRIVALLI PRADEEPTHI IKKURTHY

What remains?

“Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never,
Never was time it was not; end and beginning are dreams;
Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the spirit for ever
Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems.”

- Sir Edwin Arnold, 1900

In Indian Philosophy, life's purpose is fulfilled when one goes through the 16 phases called Shodasha Samskara, of this the final stage is the funeral ritual called Antye??i. Antye??i consists of five major stages; (1) preparation of the body, (2) cremation process, (3) rites of mourning, (4) purification of relatives, (5) remembrance/mourning period. As an eventual rebirth, it is a solitary exploration that seeks perfection through birth and rebirth wherein the signification of life manifests through an unstoppable life-death cycle. Hence, cremation here signifies erasing of the physical to temporal to eventual ethereal. A functioning architecture versus a formal architecture signifies a notion of continuity or to a casual indulgence, since, it is to be accepted that death isn't an "end" but a phase for the indestructible spirit- the Atman? Hence, what remains is a cleaned-up space for another "passage"!

A study formed from several cases of Hindu Cremation processes and places, architectural cases of varying times have been taken up to understand how death is spatially dealt with and how the memory plays a major role in shaping the culture of Hindu cremation. A memory in the form of a memorial, or an annual ritual, how does a human and its community work towards a plausible solution to shock, fatality, and in some way continuance? And how is Modernization making its presence felt with an interventional ideology of functionality based elaborate spatial planning, while the earlier one's had a spatial response of urgency and quickness to be dealt with!

SIBLINGS AS CAREGIVERS: DAILY ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHILDREN LIVING IN SLUMS AND JHUGGIES OF DELHI, INDIA

VARUNA NAGPAL

The study was undertaken to understand the phenomenon of sibling care (6-18 years) among the families living in urban slums and jhuggies of Delhi. A total of 50 families (50 children, 36 mothers, and 14 fathers) were part of the study sharing an ethnographic description of their lives. Children had responsibilities related to house and care of siblings. The chores carried out by sibling caregivers for the family were mopping and sweeping, washing clothes and utensils, cooking for all, filling water from community taps, buying grocery, vegetables for family members, looking after younger brothers and sisters. The daily routine of families with siblings caregivers were shaped with the available resources and manpower. Each member of the household contributed their share in making daily life functioning sufficient and easy. Caring for the whole family was found to be taken up by children at an early age. Caring as an activity included the chores not only for siblings but for every member of the family hence it would not be wrong to state sibling carers as “family carer” as exclusive sibling care was not found in the study. Choice of sibling caregiver was done by parents on basis of child care options, illness in the family (if any), child’s interest in studies, physical inability, individual characteristics, family dynamics or because of community culture as every child cared for his/her sibling.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE APPLICATION OF THE MODAWANA AND UNDER-AGED MARRIED GIRLS IN MOROCCO

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Abstract

This paper is the outcome of a socio-cultural linguistic and judicial analysis of the application of the mudawana in relation to under-aged married girls in the regions of Fez-Boulmane, Meknes-Tiflet and around the Atlas mountains. It is divided into two main parts; the first one discusses the status of marriage in the Koran and Morocco as well while taking into account the perceptions of Moroccan males and females towards such issues in addition to other relevant ones, such as arranged marriage, the use of 'wali' and the suitable age for women to get engaged. In addition to this, it has dealt with the major problems of married women within their marital life while taking into consideration the status of polygamy, divorce women, child custody and inheritance within the new mudawana, which is also known as the new family code with regard to the attitudes of Moroccan male and female interviewees towards the former issues. This section has included a number of male and female interviewees, who have clearly pointed out their opinions with regard to the issues mentioned previously. As for the second part, it has tackled the outcomes of the new family code along with two major fieldworks namely, Moroccans' attitudes towards the application of the new family code as well as their attitudes towards under-aged married women. In both parts, three data collection procedures have been employed namely, the questionnaire, the interview, and the participant-observation from a socio-cultural, linguistic and judicial perspectives. It is also worth mentioning that the informants have been selected at random. They are Moroccan males and females, who descend from different categories, meaning intellectuals and illiterate as well. As for the language employed in the fieldwork, it has included English, French and Moroccan Arabic.

Key words: under-aged married girls, the new mudawana (the new family code), and Moroccans' perceptions.

I- Introduction

The Moroccan Modawana which was launched by the year 2004 has brought new and fundamental rights for the Moroccan family, more particularly the Moroccan women; namely, that women are equal to men in all fields of work; married women have acquired new rights within their marital status in the sense that if they can no more bear their life with their husbands, they can ask for an immediate divorce; polygamy has been abolished, the legal age of marriage for girls starts at the age of 18 years old in addition to the fact that custody is given to the mother. (Royaume du Maroc, 2004; Virkama, 2006)

Moreover, the purpose behind this study is mainly to investigate whether the above outcomes of the new family law code is applied in the Moroccan society. Thus, Moroccans' perceptions will be taken into account so as to check whether the Modawana is applied ; as a result, a fieldwork has been carried out through two data collection procedures; namely, a questionnaire as well as participant observation. Concerning the first data collection procedure, one hundred fifty questionnaires were distributed and the return rate is 90%; the questionnaire includes various questions; namely, whether the amendments of the new family law code are applied; how would people define the institution of marriage; people's attitudes towards the marriage of under-aged girls; whether people would agree to marry their under-aged daughters or sisters to older men, in addition to people's perceptions towards a rapist who marries the girl he raped and how society would consider such an act. As for participant -observation, there are two major objectives behind the choice of this data collection procedure; firstly, to collect information of married girls who were married at an early age. Thus, ten girls were taken into consideration in this research study. Most of them did not choose to marry their actual husbands as they were imposed on them by their family. The setting of this fieldwork occurred in various public and private spheres, namely, houses, hair-dressing saloons and particularly in facebook (Qandisha magazwine) and hotmail as well. Most of those girls shared the fact that marriage was imposed on them by their family members and that they did not have the right to oppose them. Besides, they all wished that the time clock would go back so that they could change their lives. They state that people still value marriage more than anything else as they considered it a security 'Setra' for girls in the sense that they are born mainly so as to grow up and learn how to be good mothers for their kids and obedient wives for their husbands and their in-laws as well. Secondly, to investigate about the application of the new family law code and its impact in relation to under-aged married girls from a judicial point of view, in addition to this, through my investigation, various interesting points have been taken into consideration; namely, whether an under-aged girl could get married at the age of 18 years as it is stated in the Modawana or they are allowed to marry although they are below the legal age of marriage; whether a rapist of an under-aged girl should be jailed or that he should marry the girl he raped; whether the outcomes of the new family law are applied in the Moroccan society or that they are just a black ink in a white paper.

II- The Outcomes of the New Family Code

- Equality in terms of family duties with respect to the rights and obligations of both parties within the household.

- Eliminating the conditions which yield women to custody of a male relative
- The minimum age of marriage is 18 years old for both man and women.
- Repudiation and divorce could be applied both by the husband and the wife by mutual agreement under judicial supervision.
- Polygamy is subjected to the judge's permission and to rigorous legal conditions
- A future bride has the right to state upon her approval of marriage contract that her future husband is forbidden from marrying other wives.
- The first wife must be notified about the fact that her husband is willing to remarry , in addition to the fact that his second wife should be informed of the existence of the first wife.
- Child custody is allowed to the mother, then the father, then the grandmother on the mother's side.(Royaume du Maroc, 2004 and Virkama, 2006:pp. 83-84).

III- Attitudes towards the Application of the New Family Law Code: Socio-cultural Perspectives

The purpose behind this study is mainly to investigate whether the above outcomes of the new family law code are applied in the Moroccan society. Thus, Moroccans' perceptions will be taken into account so as to check whether the Modawana is applied ; as a result, a fieldwork has been carried out through two data collection procedures; namely, a questionnaire as well as participant observation. Concerning the first data collection procedure, one hundred fifty questionnaires were distributed and the return rate is 90%; the questionnaire includes various questions; namely, whether the amendments of the new family law code are applied; how would people define the institution of marriage; people's attitudes towards the marriage of under-aged girls; whether people would agree to marry their under-aged daughters or sisters to older men, in addition to people's perceptions towards a rapist who marries the girl he raped and how society would consider such an act.

1. Data analysis: a questionnaire

1-Gender:	a-Male 40% b-Female 60%
2-Family status:	a-Single 35% b-Married 40% c- Divorced 25%
3-Educational Degree	a- Baccalaureate degree 10% b- B.A degree 10% c- Master degree 25% d- PhD degree 35% e- None 20%

Table 1. Background information

As far as the gender of my respondents, 60% are female while 40% are male. As for their family status, 35% of the respondents are single while 40% are married and only 25% are divorced. Concerning the educational degree, 35% hold a PhD degree and 25% a Master degree while 20% are illiterate and only 10% hold a Baccalaureate degree. Therefore, there are two categories of my respondents; namely, intellectual and non-intellectual people.

a-Yes	b-No
85%	15%

Table2: Information about the new modawa

85% of my respondents have heard about the modawana while only 15% did not. The majority of my respondents state that they have heard about it in the media mainly on TV, magazines and newspapers as well.

a-Agree	b-Disagree
65%	35%

Table3: The adjustments of the reform on the situation of women

It appears that 65% of the respondents agree on the fact that the new family law code has brought changes concerning the situation of women in Morocco; whereas, 35% disagree about this fact. Most of the respondents believe that the status of Moroccan women has completely changed in the sense that women's voices would be heard loudly, in contrast to the previous reforms where women used to be marginalized.

One of my respondents states that:

“Yes, I completely agree about the fact that women’s status has obviously improved in addition to the fact that recently, it has become more difficult to marry and divorce a woman and in case of a divorce, her voice would be heard more than it used to be in the past”.

“I believe that the status of women has changed 100% in comparison. But I still think it’s not a ‘new’ family code that Moroccan women need, but rather education, consciousness-raising, a contemporary mind-set; third, and a chance to prove their existence. Patriarchy is no excuse; many women challenged men in ‘their’ own professions: sciences, theories, sports, and even family provision”.

a-Yes	b-No
25%	75%

Table4: The application of the amendments

Most respondents believe that the amendments of the new family law are not applied in the Moroccan society while 25% assume that they are actually

implemented. The majority believes that the amendments of the new reform are just black ink in a white paper.

One of my respondents states the following quotation:

“I believe the amendments are applied mainly to the poor, but for rich people as well as those with powerful social ‘connections,’ they always manage to slip the firm hand of ‘justice’”.

Another one points out that:

“Unfortunately, as with most laws and amendments in our country, they are applied in some cases, but for the most parts, traditions and the social laws will be more imposing and the Modawana will sound like a thing made by the devil to most families, this is what’s harming its application in my opinion”.

a-Yes	b-No
25%	75%

Table5: Early aged marriage

The majority of the respondents claim that they are against the fact that a girl should get married at an early age, whereas, 25% opted for a yes. Most respondents believe that an under-aged girl is still a child; thus, she should live her childhood and go to school as it is her major place where she could receive an education which will allow her to build her career and her future as well.

One of my respondents claims:

“To my mind, I think that the ideal age for a girl to get married is between 24 to 30 because by then she’d have completed her physical growth, psychological development, and started to get used to adult life”.

-Another illustrates that:

“Even if girls tend to look physically mature at an early age, they would not be fit to marriage because they are still lacking the power of mature reasoning and the audacity necessary to lead a fulfilled and happy marriage”.

a-12 years old	0%
b-14-16years old	10%
c-18 years old	32%
d-More than 18 years old	58%

Table6: The right age of marriage

58% of my respondents points out that a girl should get married only when she is above 18 years old while 32% opted for the age of 18%; whereas, 10% state that she should be between 14 to 16 years old and 0% for 12 years old because it is the age of childhood and it is impossible in our society that a child get married at that age.

One of my respondents clarifies that:

“I believe that a 25 or a 30 years old girl has certain characteristics which will allow her to be fitted for marriage; namely, maturity, patience, understanding, physical and psychological readiness for marriage responsibilities in addition to particular duties like child-bearing and upbringing”.

a-Agree	b-Disagree
25%	75%

Table7: 12 is the legal age of marriage in the Koran

75% of the respondents disagree about the fact that a girl should get married at the age of 12 years old although it might be legal from the point of view of the Koran while 25% agree about the above statement. Most of them claim that in the past, girls could get married at that age because they were in a good shape, physically strong and mature as well while a 12 years old girl is actually like an 18 years old girl in our 21 century.

One of my respondents maintains:

“Religion said and still says a lot of ‘fatwas’ about underage marriage; it’s true that some exceptional cases make the religious point of view somehow valid, but generally speaking, and taking into account the huge difference between today’s girls and those of the previous generations and ancient Arab-Islamic societies, the majority of modern-day girls are barely as strong, patient and responsible as those of the elder generations. Perhaps a 12 year old girl of the prophet’s days would equal an 18 year old contemporary teen in the sense that they were physically stronger than girls of the actual moments”.

a- She will grow up with her children whom she will educate well.	25%
b- She will get divorce early.	30%
c- She will be an obedient wife.*	45%

Table8: The age of 14 is advantageous for marriage

The majority state that when a 14 years old girl get married, she will certainly be an obedient wife while 30% claim that she will get divorce early and 25% opt for the fact that marrying young is advantageous since she will grow up with her kids and she will educate them well.

One of my respondents states that:

“Unfortunately most men think this way, this means that marrying a little girl will make an obedient wife out of her in the future. But if marriage is about molding women the way we want, then what charm and sense of adventure is left in that marriage. I believe also that truthful good marriage should be based on mutual respect, love and understanding”.

a-Agree	b-Disagree
30%	70%

Table9: The age gap of marriage for girls

Apparently, the majority claim that they are against the fact that their under-aged daughters or sisters would get married to older men while 30% agree since they think that if the man is well-educated and rich as well, he will certainly provide their daughters or sisters with a decent life.

One of the respondents advances that:

“I think that it is definitely not accepted in the sense that marriage is a sacred institution between a couple. Thus, I assume that a couple should belong to the same generation; otherwise, it is called a generation gap since they will have no shared interests or ideas except the bedroom!”

a-They want to see them as mothers	0%
b-Younger men are no longer interested in marriage	0%
c-Under-aged girls are exposed to rape and prostitution	45%
d-They think that it is a means to get rich	35%
e-They think that marriage equals security	20%

Table10: Reasons behind early marriage

Apparently, it seems that 45% of the respondents believe that people agree to marry their daughters or sisters to older people mainly because they think that it is better for their under-aged daughters or sisters to marry at an early age instead of being exposed to rape and prostitution while 35% consider that marrying young is a means to get rich, whereas 20% believe that marriage equals security.

a-Agree	b-Disagree
35%	65%

Table11: The age gap of marriage for boys

65% state that they would never agree to marry their young brother or son to an older woman while 35% agree. Most respondents believe that such huge difference of age will not lead to a successful marriage.

One of the respondents illustrates the following by saying:

“I assume that the factor of age is very important not only for girls but also for boys. The differences between the man and the woman may have negative effects on the woman later on .After just a decade, the young husband will think of marrying another younger woman. So I think that it is not a good idea for a young

man to marry an older woman”.

Another respondent clarifies the following:

“No, I absolutely do not agree about such kind of marriage unless it was his own decision which is certainly against the family’s advice and recommendations. This type of marriage is obviously related to some kind of interest, be it sexual, financial, or else. This is what is common among mixed marriages where local people marry older foreigners (or vice versa) for specific interests”.

a-Two wives	0%
b-Three wives	0%
c-Four wives	0%

Table12: Polygamy

Apparently, the majority do not believe in polygamy in the sense that they state that one wife is more than enough. They also assume that It is not a question of affording or not, but rather a question of personal fulfillment. One of my respondents insists on the following:

“If men find all they need (for example care, love, mutual interests, a best friend, a sister, peace of mind and soul) in one woman, I’m sure he will never look for another wife”.

a-Agree	b-Disagree
15%	85%

Table13: The economic profitability of polygamy

It appears that 85% disagree about the above statement while 15% agree. Most respondents consider that marrying four wives has never been economically profitable in the sense that the income of the husband would never be tripled nor quadrupled. Besides, the majority of educated and working women would never consent to be the second nor the third let alone the fourth wife; in addition to this, marrying four wives would be expensive and a depressing situation at the same time.

One of my respondents points out:

“I think it’s quite the opposite. Marrying three or four wives can cause an economic crisis in addition to the psychological problems associated with this phenomenon. I think our religion was for this idea at a certain historical period in Islam, when men died at wars and were in need of more children”.

a-Help getting rid of prostitution	15%
b-Help in bringing about economic progress	0%
c-Help in enforcing Islamic religious principles	50%
d-Help in setting social stability	35%

Table14: Polygamy as problem-solving

Apparently, 50% suppose that marrying four wives would help in enforcing Islamic religious principles while 35% state that it would help in setting social stability; whereas, 15% of the respondents deem for the fact that it would help in getting rid of prostitution and no one opt for the alternative number b.

One of my respondents claims that:

“I think that enforcing Islamic religious principles and setting social stability might be regarded as the major reasons behind polygamy. It seems that Moroccan women like everything about Islam except the issue of polygamy since they refuse it though it is part of our Islamic teachings”.

a-This is ridiculous	20%
b-This is unacceptable	25%
c-This is not applicable	15%
d-This is fair	40%

Table15: Legal permission for marriage

40% assume that such an outcome of the new family is fair while 25% state that it is unacceptable, 20% opt for the fact that it is ridiculous and 15% point out that it is not applicable. Most respondents believe that the law is fair in the sense that a husband could no more get a second wife unless his first one is informed about it and she has the right to either allow him to remarry or not. In addition to this, most wives would ask for divorce when their husbands want to marry another wife because their dignity would not allow them to share their husbands with another wife.

One of my respondents illustrates this by saying:

“I think the law is fair because if a woman accepts this idea, that’s fine; otherwise, if her dignity will not allow her to be a second wife, it’s preferable for her to get divorce. But the question is that this law is not all the time applicable in the sense that most men could easily marry a second or a third wife without the knowledge of the previous wife or worse, they may forge the divorce certificate or the signature of their wives’ permission”.

a-This is fair enough	20%
b-This is not acceptable	50%
c-This encourages people to rape girls	30%

Table16: Offering rapist the choice of getting jailed or marrying the raped girl

50% think that it is not acceptable while 30% believe that it encourages people to rape girls and only 20% consider that it is fair enough for a rapist to be provided with the legal choice of either marrying the under-aged girl he raped or that of going to prison. The majority of the respondents assume that rape is rape and it is a crime. Thus, justice could be done through putting the rapist in jail so as to be punished for committing such an awful act against an under-aged girl.

One of my respondents points out the following:

“I think that this is not fair at all because how come that a raped girl can accept to get married to a criminal whom I believe is a dangerous one. The proof is the suicide of Amina Filali in Laarache among many other cases that we do not hear about. No one would believe that a rapist would live a harmonious life with the under-aged girl he raped”.

a-Sent to jail	70%
b-Obliged to marry the girl he raped	30%

Table17: The suitable punishment for the rapist

70% of the respondents assume that a rapist of an under-aged girl should be sent to jail so as to be punished while 30% consider that he is forced to marry the girl he raped so as to save the honor of the girl’ family. Most respondents state that living in an underdeveloped society where most people are still governed by traditions, shame and honor of the family.

One of the respondents clarifies that:

“This is a dangerous criminal for me Even if he marries this girl, believe me that he may commit other rapes later on. Additionally, I will state that someone who commits this crime is psychologically ill. Besides, enforcing the law is considered as the only way to stop such a crime .And thus, the law must punish the rapist in a severe way”.

a-Happily as she would forget about her rape	0%
b-Unhappily as she would psychologically suffer	45%
c-Unhappily as she would be ill-treated by the rapist and his family	55%
d-Happily as she would at least have gained a husband	0%

Table18: The psychological outcome of marrying the rapist

55% opt for the fact that she will live unhappily since she would be ill-treated by the rapist and his family while 45% thought that she will live unhappily as she will psychologically suffer; whereas no respondents considered the fact that she will live happily as she would forget about her rape nor that she will be living happily as she would at least have gained a husband.

One of my respondents claims that:

“I believe that unfortunately, in our Moroccan culture, a raped girl who marries her rapist is disdained and looked down upon while a wife who is chosen by the man or his family is more appreciated, respected and valued no matter how her flaws are”.

a- Because it is a shame	35%
b-False: Because she is not responsible	65%

Table19: Margination and responsibility

Apparently, 65% believe that an under-aged girl who is raped is a victim and that she is not obliged to marry her rapist while 35% state the opposite as they think that according to the Moroccan customs and traditions, it is shameful for an under-aged girl to refuse to marry her rapist. As a result, she must marry him so as to save the honor of her family; otherwise, the whole family of the raped under-aged girls will be cursed and marginalized by the whole society.

One of my respondents illustrates the following extract:

*“According to the Moroccan culture, if a girl does not marry her rapist, she could be physically abused by her family, not mentioning the psychological abuse of society first. Hence, girls understand this problem and accept to marry their rapists because once they are raped, they have little to say anymore. It is the family ‘father, brother, elder people’ who usually deal with this issue and decide how to end the **shame** that plagued their family name or honor (stupidly) though I believe the true honor lies in character, not bodies”.*

Another one clarifies the following quotation:

“An underage raped (or even if the girl is mature) is not at all responsible for the rape. So she is not to be blamed at all. We should work towards protecting our girls and children in general from these dangerous people”.

2. Attitudes towards Under-aged Married Women: Socio-cultural Perspectives

Data Collection Procedures: participant observation

The major objective behind the choice of this data collection procedure is mainly to collect information of married women who were married at an early age. Thus, ten women were taken into consideration in this research study. Most of them did not choose to marry their actual husbands as they were imposed on them by their family. The setting of this fieldwork occurred in various public and private spheres,

namely, houses, hair-dressing saloons and particularly in facebook (Qandisha magazwine) and hotmail. Most of those women shared the fact that marriage was imposed on them by their family members and that they did not have the right to impose them. In addition to this, they all wished that the time clock would go back and change their lives. They state that people still value marriage more than anything else as they considered it a security 'Setra' for girls in the sense that they are born mainly so as to grow up and learn how to be good mothers for their kids and obedient wives for husbands and their in-laws as well.

1) K. Az: (Sefrou)

She got married at the age of 15 years old to a man of 34 years old. She refused at the beginning because she has never seen him before. During their fiancée period, she told her parents that she could not get along with him since she could not understand his strange behaviour as he shouts at her whenever they go out together. However, her family did not believe her in the sense that they considered him as a nice, shy, calm and generous person. As a result, she got married to him despite her refusal. The poor girl suffered in silence since he took all her salary for him, he did not allow her to further her studies, and he forced her to follow her diet because he thinks that she is fat. No one knew about her sufferings. She took all her luggage and went ahead to her parents' house. She said ENOUGH. Now, she is furthering her studies and she is so ambitious about her dreams.

2) F. B: (AZROU)

She is 16 years old and she lives in a rural area around Fez, she is illiterate and she spent her days taking care of the cattle. She is forced by her parents to marry her cousin and moved to the city of Fez to live with her in-laws. She states that her in-laws do not treat her well because they oblige her to wash their clothes, do the housework and their rooms every single day. She could not complain, otherwise, she will be beaten and insulted by all her-in-laws including the husband. Her mother-in-law is the mastermind in the house. She has endured a miscarriage due to the load of housework and no one has taken care of her during her sufferings. Therefore, during one night when everybody has gone to sleep, she has taken her clothes and her money which she has saved and she move on directly to her aunt's house whom she has told her sad story to; fortunately, her aunt has stood by her side thanks to the support of an NGO so that she could be taken care of. She has been lucky in the sense that they have helped her to get divorce and she has learned a lot of things while residing in that NGO. After that, she has established a small business of her own and she has become successful.

3) S. S: (BOUMIYA)

She is 16 years and she marries a man of 58 in a rural area in the Atlas mountains. She claims that she has signed no contract and the wedding has been celebrated by a dish of couscous, the '*Fatiha*' and twelve men who witnessed the wedding. She knows nothing about the existence of the modawana. She said that the marriage has been arranged by the parents and she could not oppose their choice.

4) A. H (TAOUNATE)

She is 15 years old and she marries a man of 40 years old. The marriage has been imposed on her by her conservative parents because they believe that a girl should get married so as to be secured and set her marital life. They oblige her to quit her studies, stay at home and wear the veil. After two years of marriage, her husband throws her to her parents' house. She claims that she has suffered psychologically and physically from her husband since he used to beat her and insult her whenever he comes at home drunk after mid-night. She believes that she has been living in hell with her husband.

5) B. A (BENI SADDEN)

She is 14 years old and she marries a man aged 35 years old. Her parents are extremely conservative. She and her sisters have been obliged to wear the veil when they were four years old. After one year of marriage, the woman rebels against her parents and her husband as well because she has become aware of the fact that she has abandoned her studies, girlfriends and that she is no more allowed to go out unless she is accompanied by her mother-in-law or her husband.

6) F. A (TAOUJDAT)

She is 14 years old and she marries a 40 years old man. She is an illiterate woman who has never gone to school. She states that her life before marriage was like 'heaven' because she used to go out in the field with her girlfriends while playing and singing altogether. She points out that her life has become a black hell because she is forced to live with a cruel mother-in-law who mistreated her and considered her as a maid who should do the housework from sunrise to sunset. She also confesses that her husband has got a second wife after the birth of her daughter. She ends up stating that men whether educated or not should never be trusted.

7) 7M. O (ANGUEFO)

She is 15 years old and she gets engaged to a 35 years old. The engagement has been arranged by their families without any written contract except the FATIHA and twelve witnesses. She claims that all her family members have followed the same custom of marriage. Besides, the marriage lasts for a week and then she has been sent back to her father's house. She also points out that at the beginning of each year, the elder men of the village organize a mass marriage which includes about thirty to forty under-aged girls. She states that men believe that marriage is a better place to secure young girls. In addition to this, because they are living in misery, they do not have money to travel till Midelt to meet the judge. Thus, they abide by the conventions of their ancestors. She points out that getting married for a week is their traditions and the Sunnah of the prophet (PBUH).

8) A .A (BOUMIYA)

She was raped when she was 16 years old and the rapist was her cousin. She illustrates that he was always after her begging her to marry him since he was in love with her since their childhood. The incident was known to no one except their parents who decided to celebrate the wedding the following day so as to avoid

people's gossip and also to save the honour of the girl's parents. Moreover, after her marriage, her husband obliged her to quit school since he thought that her job was mainly to take care of him and her house. She could not bear her life with her husband since he always returned at home drunk and that if she refused to have sex with him and started harshly to beat her and insult her. One day, while he went to work, she took all her clothes and went back to her parents' house for good. Now, the girl is divorced and she is working hard so as to succeed in her studies.

9) S. A (ERRACHIDIYA)

She got married at the age of 17 years old to a thirty-five years old man. Once again, the marriage was arranged by the family. The girl knew nothing about her future husband except his face in the picture which was given to her by her aunt. They did not know the family of the husband very well except the fact that they are neighbours. A month after the wedding ceremony, the mother-in-law brought the girl back to her parents claiming that she is sick. The poor girl was in a state of shock as she no more talks or laughs as she used to be. Then, a week after, the mother-in-law came back to the girl's house and she for divorce claiming that the girl was cursed by the devil.

10) I.S. (MOULAY YAACOUB)

She got married at the age 14 year old to a 40 years old man. The marriage was arranged by her uncle since he is her tutor after the death of her parents. He convinced her that the man loves her and that marriage will be a '*setra*' for her. In addition to this, after naively believing in him, she discovered that the man has already three wives and that he married her so that she could be the maid of his three wives. Unfortunately, her life has turned into hell. She spent her days cleaning, washing dishes, clothes and executing the orders of the three wives and their children. She states that she could not ask for divorce since she has nowhere to go and that she prefers to suffer in silence since she has at least a place where she can sleep and eat food.

Furthermore, a video which is part of the monthly Moroccan TV program '*Tahqiq*' and which discusses under-aged married girls in a small mountain village in the region of Midelt in Morocco, obviously reveals that under-aged girls are still getting married at a very young age due to poverty, lack of schools and education, ignorance and unawareness. According to people in that video, a mass marriage is organized every year to 30 or 40 under-aged girls whose marital life lasts for a short period and then they get divorced. People in that video still believe that such ritual of marriage is part of their traditions and the Sunnah of our prophet (PBUH).

3. Attitudes towards the Application of the Modawana and Under-aged Married Girls: Judicial Perspectives

Data Collection: participant-observation

The purpose behind this data collection procedure is mainly to investigate about the application of the Modawana and under-aged married women from the point of view of people from the law in Morocco. Besides, various relevant point were taken into consideration during the research; namely, attitudes of people from the law about whether the new family law is beneficial for women and whether it is

applied in the Moroccan society. In addition to this, they were also asked about whether 18 years old is the righteous and the legal age for girls to get married. Whether rural people consult a judge before conducting a marriage contract; their attitudes towards the article 475 which claims that a rapist can choose either to marry the girl he raped or he should go to prison; whether the tragic end of Amina Filali would change the article 475 and whether polygamy is still socially practiced although it has been abolished by the Modawana. Furthermore, the setting of the fieldwork took place within the court, phone calls, hotmail and facebook as well.

a-Lawyers	25%
b-Judges	35%
c-Counselors	40%

Table1: Background information

40% of my respondents are counselors, 35% judges and 25% lawyers.

a-Agree	b-Disagree
100%	0%

Table2: The benefits of the new family code for Moroccan women

All respondents agree on the fact the new family is beneficial for Moroccan women as it has brought them new rights; for example, men and women are both equal in terms of family duties, the minimum age of marriage is 18 years for both men and women, repudiation and divorce could be applied by both the husband and the wife by mutual agreement under judicial supervision, Polygamy is subjected to the judge’s permission and to strict legal conditions, a future bride has the right to state upon her approval of marriage contract that her future husband is not allowed to marry other wives, the first wife has to be notified about her husband’s willingness to remarry and a child custody is primary allowed to the mother, then the father and then the grand-mother on the mother’s side.

a-Yes	b-No	c-It depends
45%	0%	55%

Table3: The application of the new family code in the Moroccan society

The majority of respondents opted for it depends while 45% agreed on the fact that it is applied in the Moroccan society and no one disagreed. They stated that it is relatively applied in urban areas since citizens are aware about the existence of the new family law and thus they abide by it; whereas, due to the high rate of illiteracy and ignorance among rural men and women, they are unaware about its existence.

a-Fair	b-Unfair
100%	0%

Table4: 18 as the lawfully legal age of marriage for girls

All respondents assumed that the law which states that the legal age of marriage for girls is 18 years old is fair. They also claim that in rural areas, people still push their daughters to marry at a very young age like 14 years old in the sense that they do not believe in the Modawana (mentality) since they think that they follow the customs and the traditions of their ancestors .Besides , due to the lack of schools and means of entertainments for their daughters except taking care of the household, the cattle and the fields, they have absolutely nothing to do apart from getting married and thus, their daughters will be secured.

a-Yes	b-No
15%	85%

Table5: Perceptions towards the fulfillment of marriage contract in rural areas

Most respondents disagreed on the fact that in the majority of rural areas around Morocco do not consult a judge so as to write a marriage contract while 15% agree. In addition to this, they claimed that thousand and thousand cases of people are married without a contract in the sense that they still follow the custom of FATIHA and twelve witnesses celebrated by a dish of couscous.

One of my respondents clarifies that:

“In Zerhoun village, we noticed that because of illiteracy and unawareness, a whole expanded family is married without a marriage contract. Thus, the grand-parents, the parents, their children and grand-children are living a marital life full of kids without one single written contract”.

a-Just	b-Unjust
100%	0%

Table6: Attitudes towards article475

All respondents thought that the article is fair enough in the sense that the rapist is given two choices either to marry the girl he raped or he goes to prison. Besides, they think that in rural areas, most people would prefer to save the honor of their daughters by obliging them to marry their rapists while in urban areas it is definitely the opposite in the sense that people are aware of the fact that rape is considered as a crime; thus, the rapist would mostly be jailed so as to be punished for the crime that he committed.

One of my respondents illustrates the following:

“Because of what happened to Amina Filali, most NGOs are struggling for the abolishment of article 475. However, I do not think that it is possible in the sense that the law tries to harmonize people’s principles in relation to law.”

a-Agree	b-Disagree
15%	85%

Table7: The adjustment of article 475 as a result of the death of Amina Filal

Apparently, most respondents considered the fact that what happened to Amina Filali would not change the article 475 while 15% agreed. The majority believe that after serious investigations about Amina Filali’s case, they found that there was no rape at all because she and her so-called rapist used to know each other for the so-called incident. Besides, they actually found her calls in his cell phone number. Therefore, such case could not be called a rape because their sexual relationship was done by her willingness.

One of my respondents points out the following citation:

“I believe that there are various cases of under-aged girls who were not allowed to get married because they were fourteen years old and that after a short period of the judges’ refusal, they returned to the judge while being pregnant. And thus, the judges are obliged to legalize their marriage contract.”

Another one mentions the following extract:

“While conducting crucial investigation and talking privately with the under-aged girls whose parents asked for conducting their marriage, it turns out that the girl is also willing to marry because she likes her future husband and that although the judge would not agree to conduct their marriage contract, she will consent to marry him even without the judge’s consent”.

Another one states the following quotation:

“I think that most doctors around Morocco provide their consent for an under-aged girl to get married since they state that it is better to legalize the marriage contract of the couple instead of pushing them to adultery”.

a-Eliminated	b-Socially practiced
25%	75%

Table8: The practice of polygamy in the Moroccan society

75% claimed that polygamy is still practiced socially while 25% thought that it is eliminated. Most respondents think that it is still practiced in the Moroccan society mainly in rural areas. Besides, although rural men are living in misery with a foot-ball team of children, they still practice polygamy. Moreover, though judges refuse to allow polygamy for men, they can get a second, a third or a fourth if they want and carry out the marriage with a FATIHA and twelve witnesses despite the refusal of the previous wife; and thus, the judge is forced to legalize the marriage

contract so as to prevent adultery.

IV- Conclusion

It is significant to note that while comparing the attitudes of urban and rural people with those people of law, a number of findings have been detected; namely, people still claim that the Modawana is just a black ink in a white paper and that nothing is applied in the Moroccan society. Moreover, there is a huge gap between what is stated in the Modawana in comparison with the actual reality. Besides, the marriage of under-aged girls will never have an end in the sense that people especially those who reside in rural areas still believe that getting married at an early age is part of their traditions and the Sunnah of our prophet (PBUH).

Furthermore, early marriage is still widespread in rural areas in the sense that people are unaware about the existence of the Modawana due to the high rate of illiteracy and ignorance among both men and women and also because of their conventional mentalities which unconsciously push them to believe that marriage should be conducted at a very young age because girls have to be secured from the outside taboos and stereotypes and that a huge number of rural people are married without a contract because they still follow the tradition of their ancestors which is a Fatiha and twelve witnesses celebrated by a dish of couscous . In addition to this, polygamy is still practiced despite its abolishment as it is maintained by most respondents from the court, they think that it is still socially practiced particularly in rural areas although rural men are living in misery.

Also, as for the NGO's call for the abolishment of article 475 in the new Modawana, most respondents from the court believe that the article is fair since the majority of people from the country sides would favor to save the honor of their daughters by obliging them to get engaged to their rapists; whereas, it is definitely the opposite within cities because most urban people would prefer to send the rapist to jail so that he could be punished for the crime he committed. Furthermore, all the girls seem to share relatively similar sufferings caused by their early marriage because they are still socially-marginalized and regarded as nothing by their surroundings. Besides, they point out that people still value marriage more than anything else as they considered it a security 'setra'. Also, they all wish that the time clock would go back and change their lives, in addition to the fact that the new Modawana has done nothing to them except accelerating the rate for divorce and custody as well. To conclude, I obviously recommend that the article 475 which allows a rapist to marry the raped girl should be reconsidered. I also believe that awareness and education should be considered so that people will change their mentalities with regard to the age of marriage among girls particularly in rural areas. In addition to this, I sincerely urge responsible people to reconsider the amendments of the new Modawana.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

First I would like to thank you all for filling in my questionnaire. Your answers will actually help me carry out a research on the status of marriage with its pros and cons in the Moroccan society in addition to the application of the new Modawana in relation to under-aged married girls. I would like to inform you that your answers will not be revealed to anyone; they will be used exclusively for the fulfillment of this research.

Fill in the questionnaire by put an x next the convenient answer.

Background:

Male / Female.

Single / Married.

Education degree: - a BA degree
 -b Master degree
 -c Ph.D degree

1- Have you ever heard about Al Moudawana?

a- Yes b- No

Please justify

.....
.....
.....

2- Did this reform bring about any changes concerning the situation of women?

.....
.....
.....

3- Do you think that the amendments are applied?

a- agree b- disagree

Please justify

.....
.....
.....

4- According to you, how would you define the institution of marriage?

.....
.....
.....

5- Do you think that a girl should get married at an early age?

a- Yes b- No. Please Justify

.....
.....
.....

6- What age would you advise a girl to get married at?

a- Less than 16 years old b- At the age of 18 years old c- More than 18 years old

Please say why

.....
.....
.....

7-Getting married at the age of 12 is said to be legal from the point of view of religion?

a-agree b-disagree.

Why

.....
.....
.....
.....

8- Getting married at the age of 14 is advantageous because.

a- She will grow up with her children whom she will educate well.

b- She will get divorce early.

c- She will be an obedient wife.

Please justify your answer?

.....
.....
.....
.....

9- Would you agree to marry your daughter or you sister at the age of 16 to a man of 40 years old.

a-Yes b-No. Please explain why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

10- People agree to marry their under-aged daughters and sisters to older people because:

a-They want to see them as mothers.

b-Younger men are no longer interested in marriage.

c -Under-aged girls are exposed to prostitution.

d-Under-aged girls are exposed to rape.

e -They think that marriage equals security.

f -They think that it is a means to get rich.

11- Would you agree to marry your young brother or son, who is 18 years to a woman who is 40 years old?

a-Yes b-No.

Please Justify?

.....
.....
.....
.....

12-If you could afford it, would you marry

a-2 wives b-3 wives c-4 wives

Please Justify

.....
.....
.....
.....

13-Marrying four wives is said to be economically profitable in the sense that your income would be tripled or quadrupled.

a-Yes b-No. Please say why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

14- Marrying four wives would

a- Help in getting rid of prostitution.

b- Help in bringing about economic progress.

c- Help in enforcing Islamic religious principles.

d- Help in setting social stability.

-Please Justify your answer

.....
.....
.....
.....

15- Today, the law forbids a man to marry a second wife unless he gets a legal permission from his first wife.

a -This is ridiculous.

b-This is unacceptable

c -This is not applicable

d -This is not fair.

-Please justify?

.....
.....
.....
.....

16- A man who rapes an under-aged girl is given the legal choice of marrying the raped girl or that of going to prison.

- a-This is fair enough.
 - b -This is not acceptable.
 - c -This encourages people to rape girls.
- Please explain why?

.....

.....

.....

17-The majority of people think that a rapist of an under-aged girl should be. Sent to prison

- a- Obligated to marry the girl he raped.
- b- Please justify?

.....

.....

.....

18-An under-aged girl who is legally married to her rapist would live.

- a - Happily as she would forget about her rape.
 - b -Unhappily as she would psychologically suffer.
 - c -Unhappily as she would be ill-treated by the rapist and his family.
 - d -Happily as she would at least have gained a husband.
- Please justify

.....

.....

.....

19-Society does not accept under-aged raped girls to refuse getting married to their rapists.

- a-True because it is a shame.
 - b-False because she is not responsible.
- Please explain why?

.....

.....

.....

Thank you very much for your help

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION

1. Do you think that the new family law is beneficial for Moroccan women?
2. Do you think that it is applied in the Moroccan society?
3. The law states that the legal age of marriage for girls is 18 years old. What do you think about that?
4. Do you think that people in rural areas consult a judge so as to write a marriage contract?
5. What do you think about the article 475, which states that the rapist can choose either to marry the girl he raped or he should go to prison.?
6. Do you think that what has happened to Amina Filali would change the art 475?
7. The new family law has abolished polygamy, do you think that it is socially eliminated or that men are still practicing it?

THE BEWILDERING CASE OF THE 'GRIEVANCE STUDIES AFFAIR': DISTORTED POSITIONING OF CULTURAL STUDIES WITHIN THE ACADEMIC INDUSTRY

NAILE GÜNBAY BERBEROĞLU

I felt humbled and honour equally when the organisers of DAKAM invited me to do the opening speech for this year's cultural studies conference. However, I must admit the overwhelming feeling was my excitement in having a dream-like fit platform for me to demonstrate that the results of the study which I will refer to has been interpretations rather misleadingly. I will base this on two different but connected points. I will also offer an alternative interpretation of the results of the incidence called the 'academic grievance study' one that is crucial for everyone involved and interested in cultural studies and social theory in general.

In May 2018, *Journal of Gender, Place and Culture*, an organ of the prestigious Taylor and Francis Group, which is listed in the Social Sciences Citation Index and indexed by the Web of Science, published a paper titled "Dog Park: Human Reactions to Rape Culture and Queers Performativity in Urban Dog Parks in Portland, Oregon". The author of this paper, who is actually one of the editors of an academic magazine called *Auro Magazine* and not a researcher either in geography, culture or gender studies, with the pseudonym Helen Wilson - actually known as Helen Pluckrose, argued in this paper that:

how female and (queer) male dogs are treated – by both human males and females – could provide insights into a wide range of treatment modalities that serve as helpful heuristics in understanding human social constructions and the spaces in which they play out (Wilson, 2018, 16).

Associate editor of *Reason*, Robby Soave, notes that Wilson is essentially saying "that since yelling at dogs was a good way to get them to stop committing rape, yelling at men—while railing against rape culture—might work too" (Soave, R. 2018). As Soave also points out, in this article which has been peer-reviewed prior to publication, Helen goes as far as to point out that it would not be "politically feasible" to put men on a leash unlike what we can do with dogs. This paper as well as all other papers published by two other collaborators of Helen and herself, as part of their 'methodology' to prove their overall hypothesis, which will be mentioned shortly, can be downloaded - now with the inscription 'retracted' from the internet. If you have not already come across these, I would urge you to have at least a quick look at the bewilderingly horrible material that is possible to publish in prestigious peer-reviewed journals within social studies. This is what the

'Grievance Studies Project' set out to prove, and they have done so.

First, let me begin with introducing you to the actors of what has come to be known as the 'Grievance Studies Affair', for whom I will refer to as 'the hoaxers' here onwards. The hoaxers involved in this affair, argue that gender, race, sexuality studies, feminist and queer theory and therefore, social and cultural studies in general should best be referred to as 'grievance studies'. They argue this based on their observation of the discourses these studies use against the stereotypically and systematically defined 'powerful', who is also privileged. Hence, this project began when James Lindsay, a mathematician, Peter Boghossian, a professor of Philosophy at Portland State University and Helen Pluckrose who I have already mentioned above, took a year out of their usual research to work towards organising this so-called study, which they report as 'scientifically proven valid'.

However, I am inclined to call this a vengeful venture of a shortsighted attack on the scholars of social and cultural studies. The aim of the hoaxers was to 'scientifically' prove that social and cultural studies are fields in which distorted knowledge can easily be produced and that as long as the right jargon was used, any such distortions could be injected into the canon of knowledge. They argue that they have demonstrated this by being published in peer-reviewed prestigious journals without paying a penny.

In a report, which was published in the *Aero Magazine* in October 2018¹, the hoaxers specify that as part of their methodology towards proving their argument they wrote, by their own admission, intentionally broken and ethically crooked articles. The plan was to get these 'articles' published in prestigious peer reviewed journals of social studies, such as *Sexuality and Culture*, *Sex Roles*, *Hypatia* which is a journal of feminist Philosophy, without payment. As you might already know, these journals are neither the pay-in type nor do they have a high rate of acceptance. Out of the 20 articles they put together to send for publication 4 had got published, 3 had been accepted awaiting publication, 7 was under review, with the remaining 6 articles having been rejected when they had to cut their 'experiment' short as someone, who downloaded one of the articles they managed to get published, complained about its content. This blew their cover and they decided to put an end to their hoax before all the papers they had sent were processed. They claim that even though they had to cut their 'experiment' short their hypothesis has been proven to be correct. However, I believe if we as academics want to address problems of academia in regards to the publications of corrupt materials, we should recognize the more dire and overarching problems within its context.

The academic publishing industry itself and its interactions with and within universities around the public and private capital funding, needs to be called into question first. Unfortunately, in today's reality, due to the way academic publishing industry is structured, whilst some quality work can be ignored and eliminated from being published, some others which should not qualify, but written expertly can be published in journals.

However, this is only half the story of the corruption within the academy through the distortion of academic jargon, discourse and methodologies. The other half of this story is that, the same, if not the worse, happens in disciplines like economy,

1 <https://areomagazine.com/2018/10/02/academic-grievance-studies-and-the-corruption-of-scholarship/>

law and education as well as in hard sciences, perhaps even to a greater and scarier extent, considering their ties with the industries which produce weapons, medication, food, and many other vital products, which can, with the exception of weapons, all be used towards bettering or most often as is the case particularly with regards to the third world, are used for the worst.

I do not intend to further the antagonistic attitude employed by these left-wing academics as they self-define themselves, nor will I divert this attack on to other disciplines I mentioned via referring to similar examples of bad practice in academic work. I see no value in either of these ends. Rather, I would like to first focus our attention to how these bad academic practices are being imposed upon the agents within the academic industry.

As mentioned above, unfortunately, bad practices in academia is not limited to social studies alone, ethically speaking perhaps funding structures between the academic industry and the pharmaceutical industry in association with health research or the weapons industry should be called into question first and more immediately for all of our sakes. Nevertheless, all indications of bad academic practice should be taken seriously in order to be able to avoid and eliminate it from entering the canon of knowledge. So even though I criticize these people for their antagonistic and divisive attitude and manner in virally and superficially spreading their message, I still think that their study should be taken seriously and looked in detail by scholars of each field of study mentioned, to better understand both the historical and the contemporary dynamics, mechanisms and practices that are going wrong within academia in general.

The structure and the practices of the 'academic industry' definitely needs to be revealed to demonstrate what the current practices are doing to 'knowledge' and to people who are involved in the production of it. The 'publish or perish', 'publish or be fired' mottos employed by higher-education institutions are shaping the formations of modalities in research, use of theories and methodologies. The hoaxers do touch on the consequences of the publish-or-perish system which helps shape how the 'academic industry' operates, very briefly in their report - hence not virally via the video-clip which has circulated widely - however, even in the body of their report they go on to ignore this aspect entirely and not mention it at all in their discussion.

Let's together consider what all this actually means; the fact that they got published does not actually say as much about the scholars of social studies, at least not as much as it speaks to how academic publishing works. Had they been cited however, that would have been an entirely different danger with ringing alarm bells. Instead, they had to finalize their 'experiment' before all of their papers could be processed, because someone actually read one of the papers and revealed them, no one has cited anything from all those papers they boost as being published. I wish they thought about this for at least a second before rushing out with their 'results'.

Taking into account the political economic structure of the institutions within academia, such as the universities and the academic journal publication institutes and companies, it becomes clear that academia is being operated just like any other institution within the neo-liberal capitalist system. This brings me to my next point, which is the fact that, this matter, this concern regarding the political

economic structure of academia having an influence on how academic practices are conducted and produced, should indeed be a point of interest within cultural studies. I believe that the 'grievance study' incident gives us a great opportunity to revisit some of the premises of cultural studies, in order to attempt to find out what has gone so wrong with use of cultural theory that can led to such badly written papers to find reception.

One of the most prominent founders of cultural studies, Stuart Hall (1992) in his discussion on the theoretical legacies of cultural studies, defines it as an area of interest in which:

the power, the global reach and history-making capacities of capital; the question of class; the complex relationships between power, which is an easier term to establish in the discourses of culture than exploitation, and exploitation; the question of a general theory which could, in a critical way, connect together in a critical reflection different domains of life, politics and theory, theory and practice, economic, political, ideological questions, and so on; the notion of critical knowledge itself and the production of critical knowledge as a practice (p.279).

Clearly, on the one hand, cultural studies should be interested in how the capital circulating within and around the academic industry operates. On the other, there should also be an interest in understanding the complex dynamics that revolve around and govern the political, economic and social relations within these institutions, as well as an interest in the practices of the agents who take part in the production of knowledge within this context. As I will put forwards shortly, I believe this is not a problem of cultural studies or cultural theory in particular, but a general problem with the politics of modernity which has been the case since the early days of cultural studies. As Raymond Williams, the Welsh critical theorist whose work has made what we today call cultural studies, puts forwards in his book *Politics of Modernism*; "culture theory, which takes all other cultural production as its appropriate material, cannot exempt itself from the most rigorous examination of its own social and historical situation and formations, or from the connected analysis of its assumptions, propositions, methods, and effects" (Williams, R. 1989, p. 163).

In the aforementioned report the hoaxers often refer to and criticise the fact that within social studies there is a tendency to politicize social, political and economic injustices. I feel they are confusing the practice of performing politics within the neo-liberal capitalist system, with the term 'political'. As from a critical social and cultural studies perspective, it has long been firmly established both theoretically and empirically, that all aspects of culture, all injustices and violences are political, in that in the way they manifest themselves, we can observe how power operates in many different dimensions in a multitude of ways through the relationships between different subjects-in-ideology, to use a term coined by Louis Althusser, the French Marxist philosopher whose work excited the founders and early scholars of cultural studies.

I can understand what led the hoaxers to this confusion. Because, reflexively thinking, I would have to agree with them that partly because identity theories and politics, particularly used and applied on their own, homogenize agents' identities,

as well as represent their practices as redundantly passified actions. Therefore, they have been insufficient in being able to deconstruct the extent, quality and quantity of symbolic violences involved in human interactions, which is why contemporary sociology, its centres and multidisciplinary legs have been gradually moving away from the politics of identity theories on their own.

I would urge you to consider that many of the issues the hoaxers are referring to should be understood within the context of politics, rhetoric, conceptions and studies which has been shaping what we have come to know as 'political correctness' which as their report suggests has been getting worse in terms of being ethical. My opinion as to why these can happen is also why I would condemn this so-called study as a project with an antagonistic agenda with vengeance. To declare that "these fields of study do not continue the important and noble liberal work of the civil rights movements; they corrupt it" without an understanding of among many others, the framework of modernisation theories, what's sometimes referred to as anti-modernisation theories which are not against 'modernity' conceptually, but against the paradigmatic implications in which modernity theories were formed and how capitalism operates takes both past and present ideologies, systems, struggles and experiences out of their context.

Especially in light of the fact that bad academic practice is not limited to social studies, but is almost like an endemic consequence of the academy being operated like an industry, what I find disturbing, upsetting and utterly discouraging as a young academic, who would otherwise feel at home within the university and in a research environment, is the fact that, journals which published these articles have not said a word in regards to their practices in this affair. Instead they blamed the hoaxers for being unethical, which of course was the case, since that is part of their hoax! No words have been uttered in acknowledgement of the consequences of operating academia as an industry on the part of these journals, journals in which perhaps you and I would also like to publish as well. Moreover, the prestigious citation indexes which are used to measure our merit in academia, which were listing these journals are still listing them, regardless of this incident. In addition, the universities around the world have also been silent on this matter. All these have personally made me question my interest in *this* formation of academia. Obviously there is a lot to take away from the experience of this incident that needs serious pondering upon, regardless of the attitude displayed by these people on issues they make statements about.

Critique of the academic practices should be done, but like all critique it should be done in context and not in a manner which further polarizes different disciplines and fields from each other. We need more collaboration to tackle all problems of academia. Together the knowledge we produce will help shape how and with what knowledge future generations think, beyond our conception of what this means at present. Please take a moment to consider that the vast amount of written and visual text available online today. If the knowledge which is produced via scholarly articles in this vast database are ill-conducted and based on antagonistic and bias assumptions, we will be positioning the digital intelligences of the future ill-and-misinformed accordingly. I differ from referring to this notion of intelligence with the adjective 'artificial' since the word artificial implies fakeness, however, the intelligence we are referring to, is very much real and in-interaction with others,

therefore, already becoming.

The cyborg generation, which Haraway mentions in her *Cyborg Manifesto of Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism* published in 1991 is upon us. As you know it is not just something envisaged within the work of critical theorist such as Haraway, but also something that popular culture has been telling us. The next 'other' as many sci-fi movies inform us, will be the cyborgs of the future; those who has gone passed the rigid boundaries of being human and being made of machine, whose knowledge and ways of experiencing life will take today's conflicts and antagonistic attitudes as normalized while performing their practices. Unless we find ways to collaborate at different dimensions in between and across disciplines, including bridging the cliffs gapping social studies and natural sciences at bay from each other, whilst taking into account paradigm shifts, towards merging theories and practices of both humanities, arts and sciences, the distorted, fragmented and delocalised knowledge we are producing today might be the knowledge that governs our tomorrow.

Being an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field across humanities, arts and social studies, with the addition of heuristic and/or discursive approaches to methodology makes cultural studies vulnerable to producing low quality work, which easily finds its way into the body of knowledge we leave for the future. However, as a quick revisit to Raymond Williams' (1989) discussion on "The Future of Cultural Studies" reminds us, we as scholars of cultural studies, social and critical theory have always had a bigger responsibility in revealing the power dynamics which operate on and position agents who are in active interaction within any industry, institution and structure within the culture and society, including and particularly the ones we are in, such as the family, education, religion, media, all of which we produce buckets of articles for, why not do so for the academy and its industries?

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WHY WAS PROMETHEUS CHAINED TO CAUCASIAN MOUNTAINS?: AN ESSAY ON NART SAGAS

AYÇA DEMET ATAY

One day an envoy of God comes to Earth. He starts delivering each people their language. He takes a language from his saddlebag and gives it to people. He gives Turkish to Turks, Arabic to Arabs, Farsi to Iranians... When he comes to Caucasus, a storm breaks in the mountains. Such a fierce storm... All the remaining languages in his saddlebag scatter around the mountains. That is why so many languages are spoken in Caucasus.

Some Caucasian language communities size from a few hundred people, while others range millions. These language communities lived side by side peacefully in this mountainous region since the beginning of history until the great trauma of the Circassian genocide of 19th century. Throughout the centuries, or better to say millennia, they created a common Caucasian saga, Nart saga, in their various languages. This was a story of collectivity. Narts represented their collective identity as Caucasian.

In this essay, I will discuss Nart sagas and its reflections in ancient Greek mythology.