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Edited by Holger Briel

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Notes on Contributors

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Editorial

It has been 25 years since Larry Grossberg and Cary Nelson published their *Cultural Studies* anthology, a seminal collection of texts which would focus the study of culture in the West for decades to come. Bringing together such cultural theorists as Tony Bennett, Homi Bhabha, Cornel West Donna Haraway, Constance Penley, Janice Radway, Andrew Ross and bell hooks, for the first time cultural studies were given a broad theoretical basis from which to take off. Of course, cultural studies did not start with the publication of this tome; at its heart lie the work of the Frankfurt School, Birmingham's Centre for *Contemporary Cultural Studies* (CCCS), the disciplines of Anthropology, Media, Gender and Post-Colonial Studies, Postmodernism and a host of other institutions, programmes and individuals. But with Grossberg and Nelson's reader, a nucleus of newer, contemporary texts had been presented and cultural studies was contextualised as an inclusive undertaking.

Cultural studies have thrived since then, finding their way into numerous university curricula and departmental structures. The journal *Cultural Studies* had already begun its publication run in 1986 and in 2016 will celebrate its 30th year of existence. Later on, the Popular Culture Association and the Cultural Studies Association would further cultural research at association level and provide a platform for discussions at their annual conferences.

All this did not happen without problems, though, as the 'culture wars' of the 1980s and 90s at US educational institutions demonstrated; but by and large, cultural studies have achieved much: they have contributed to the lessening of disciplinary boundaries in universities, they have provided countless students with a more integrated (and critical) view of the world, and they have never shied away from conceptualising, commenting on and analysing the radical shifts in culture and media taking place since then.

While it is extremely difficult to find an agreeable definition for culture (indeed, many book and articles have been written on this topic alone), it would be amiss not to add one here. Discussion of it is welcome and it is meant to pave the way for a theoretical strand in future journal submissions. The operational definition of culture adopted for this publication understands culture in the first instance as signifying, changing and grounded practices performed by individuals or communities no matter where they may be. Cultural studies investigate these practices with the aim of better understanding what practices humans are engaging in and for what purposes. These practices are viewed inclusively and scholarly opinions from and on marginalised groups are explicitly welcome.

One of the defining characteristics of cultural studies is that they have continued to squabble with their roots and definitions and generally have kept questions open rather than aiming for their closure. This includes the question of what cultural studies are. Only a few years ago, in 2011, Paul Smith edited the volume *The Renewal of Cultural Studies* comprising contributions from scholars in the field such as George E. Marcus, Andrew Ross and Gary Hall. This with the goal of keeping questions about our society, our daily practices and about Marxist and other theories open, including that of cultural studies. In the introduction to this collection, Smith quotes one of the other greats of cultural studies, Fredric Jameson, who would only speak of "the desire called Cultural Studies" rather than of a defined or definable body of knowledge or field of inquiry.

It is out of this desire that a further platform for these ongoing discussion is proposed here, one which is taking a global outlook but is rooted in Asia. Recently, cultural studies have been very much at the forefront of the liberalisation and proliferation of Asian educational institutions

and have achieved a prominent place within sociological and (post-) humanities research. The objectives of the IAFOR Journal of Cultural studies are rooted in the tradition of IAFOR – to provide a global, liberal, invigorating, trans-disciplinary and cutting-edge environment of the world and making a contribution towards naming and analysing some of its greatest challenges. Offers of submissions are welcome and peer-reviewed.

The IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies appears twice a year. One issue will have an open theme and be structured by its selected articles, the other will be themed. Themes are open for discussion, and a discussion forum allows for further interactions and interventions.

Holger Briel

Editor

1. Introduction

This issue of the IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies features contributions that range from today's political protests to Chinese Jade mythology, from the culture of TV to questions of gender politics in education. As such, the diversity of the contributions speak for the breadth of cultural studies and its subjects; but by no means does it make the topics arbitrary; rather, they display a certain contingency. When read together, the texts engage each other, revealing manifold common threads and methods.

In his 'Occupy Central: Towards A Geography of Presence, Edward Irons takes his readers through the days of the Hong Kong Occupy Movement and provides a knowledgeable and personal account of how this movement shook the foundations of Hong Kong. Carmen Inoa Vazquez' 'The Influence of Gender Role Ideologies in Women`s Careers: A look at Marianismo and Machismo in the Treatment Room' analyses gender roles in Latin cultures and how they impact on health professionals. Chairin An takes her readers into the production facilities of South Korean TV stations and investigates issues of (dis)allowed autonomy.

Elvira Sanatullova-Allison and Alexandria Almy's 'Women are the Breadwinners and Men are the Homemakers' also looks at gender roles, but this time in relation to the US education system. How is gender 'taught' at schools and what lessons should be drawn from that? Kazunori Taiencho, Shoichi Fujita and Shinsuke Funaki then discuss social work with people with disabilities in Australia and Japan using Digital Storytelling as a tool. Juan Wu discusses the Chinese anthropologist Ye Shuxian's attempt to approach the birth of the Chinese civilization through the study of Jade and comes up with her own 'Litho-Anthropology. The issue concludes with an interview with Wang Wenlan, one of China's foremost photographers, and his long term project chronicling the last 30 years of changes in China through his lens.

This issue would not have come about without the help of quite a number of individuals. Thanks has to first of all go to all the contributors who put much time and effort into their texts. Next are the reviewers who had many texts to sift through and did so with an amazingly quick turn-around. The production processes would not have existed at all had it not been for the kind help of Jonnie Clementi-Smith and Joycelyn A. Annor-Antwi who diligently went through all the texts. Last but certainly not least thanks to Rachel Dyer at IAFOR for keeping the time on the publication, giving invaluable publishing advice and compiling the final text version.

Holger Briel

Editor

Occupy Central: Towards A Geography of Presence

Edward Irons

Abstract

Occupy Central was a 79-day experiment in urban identity. Occupy—the Umbrella Revolution of 2014—rearranged space on the streets of Hong Kong. This rearranging suggests a geography of presence. Such a geography will explain how spaces of transit become spaces of meaning, how impersonal landscapes become imbued with memory. This paper takes up the warring ideologies—the accommodating and the discontented—as well as the range of lived experiences the erupted during Occupy. It connects the events of Occupy to Hong Kong's core identity: its Chineseness, its status as a world city, and its postcolonial legacy. On the political level Occupy seemed doomed to fail. Yet on the level of signification it subverted an urban landscape through a reimagining of presence.

Keywords: Occupy Central, umbrella movement, world city, Chineseness, urban landscape

Introduction

Occupy Central. Occupy Hong Kong. Occupy Wall Street. All popular movements of frustration and conscious civil disobedience. Eruptions. The Hong Kong version in 2014, now also called the Umbrella Movement, was a call for democracy. The various Occupy Wall Streets of 2011 called for change in the world capitalist system. And the Arab Spring uprisings in the Middle East demanded reform. All were civil disobedience actions spurred on by young people with little faith in their existing governance.

They all share something else: a concern with place. They understood that to grab space was to grab attention. The space of occupation—Wall Street, Berkeley Park, Tahrir Square—somehow added to the significance of the action.

To occupy implies presence. In the language of military action you forcibly take control, you dominate. As a political action this is the sense intended. But in everyday speech to occupy also means something softer, a *being in* space. You occupy your seat. The everyday sense is still operative whenever the politico-militant sense comes to the fore. The message is: by taking over this space we have your attention. *Now* you see us: we can no longer be denied.

This essay is an exploration--of this sense of being seen, of presence. Using Hong Kong's Occupy Central movement, I will make three transits: first, the events; second, the major ideological positions; and, third, theoretical positions and what they can reveal about the meaning of space in Hong Kong.

From Non-place to Someplace

Some spaces reflect heightened significance in our imaginations. These are 'someplaces'. Other spaces are limited to impersonal transit, what Marc Auge calls non-places.[1] Postmodern life is filled with non-places—airports, bus tops, waiting halls. Moving through such spaces feels like wading through white noise; we feel less, our senses are somehow deadened, and our faces are blank. As a category non-places remind us of the theoretical intransitivity of the city, that rattling locomotive running along so many tracks at the same time. My fascination is in the vector of *meaning,* how meaning is created and recreated using urban space.

And here is a working hypothesis—that meaning is created when *landscape,* the backdrop, combines with *action* to create *markers* in the mind, tracers that crystallize, eventually, into *memories.*

My memories of Hong Kong, of concrete boxes, of steel frames, and neon; of people living cheek-by-jowl, stony-faced; of sweat-drenched shirts and frigid air-conditioning; of three-story, compact New Territory villages; of parkland trails; and all the rest you know to lie beyond—the heaving green ridges, stained wharfs and graceful bridges the ships at anchor; the ferries tracing soft furrows through gray waters; and overhead a constant commerce of aircraft. These are the landscapes of Hong Kong.

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[1] Marc Auge, Trans. John Howe. *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (London, New York: Verso, 1995).

These personal landscapes make up part of the collective cityscape, backdrop to the events of 2014. Occupy Central was a social force, yes, but it was also a newborn, and a colossus. And with trembling hands this infant picked three non-place corridors of transit—of Admiralty, Causeway Bay and Mongkok—and molded them into spaces drenched with significance.

Admiralty

The original plan was to occupy the international finance district, Central. As events played out the main Occupy focus became Admiralty. Admiralty is at once the site of key government offices—the spanking newly Chief Executive's building and Legislative Chambers—plus other venues for solemn occasions. These sites include: the Convention and Exhibition Centre, site of the transfer of sovereignty in 1997; police headquarters; the old City Hall; and, just a stone's throw away, Tamar, the People's Liberation Army headquarters in Hong Kong. Admiralty is, indeed, a place of concentrated power and symbolism.

Admiralty is also a crossroads, a transportation choke point. It sits in the middle of Gloucester Road, the main east-west highway running along Hong Kong's northern coast.

On the weekend of September 27-29 in 2014 protesters focused on gaining entry to the courtyard at the Legislative Council Complex, as well as the space in front of HSBC headquarters. On Sunday the 29th the police used tear gas to drive back from both locations. After months of build-up, the media was standing by, and broadcast these events widely. The crowds, augmented by new supporters upset at the police, then flooded onto the highway outside the government offices, the non-space of transit.

The occupying crowds created a village, filled with movement and buzz. And this new village in turn created ripples of quiet disruption around Admiralty and the other zones. The days dragged on. The mountain-like bank buildings cast their long shadows over unused tram tracks. People walked in all directions, ignoring street signs. For the blur and whiz of cars and buses was gone. You felt an absence, as if a wall had been torn down.

Events & Antecedents

Occupy Central had antecedents, most importantly Hong Kong's 2011-2012 version of Occupy Wall Street. That Occupy Hong Kong lasted longer than any of the other Occupy location in the world. It was if not a model then at least an *inspiration* for Occupy Central in 2014. Yet there were other direct causes, in particular Hong Kong's political deadlock. For ever since the handover in 1997, Hong Kong has had a leadership vacuum at the top.

Occupy Central of 2014 began with a January 16, 2013 article by Benny Tai Yiu-ting, a professor at the University of Hong Kong.[2] He proposed an act of civil disobedience, a sitting occupation of Central, if universal suffrage was not passed. On March 27 he

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[2]"公民抗命的最大殺傷力武器" [the greatest mortal weapon of the peoples' struggle]. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*. Retrieved 27 March 2013.

and two others, Chu Yiu-ming and Chan Kin-man, issued a manifesto and established an organization, Occupy Central with Love and Peace.[3] In June of 2014 Occupy Central commissioned a poll in which participants were asked to choose the best plan to elect the Chief Executive. Some 800,000 people took part and voiced their support for a method that would allow the public, political parties, and the existing nominating committee to put forward candidates for public election.

Such polls had no effect on the Hong Kong or Beijing governments. In August 31 the NPCSC (National People's Consultative Standing Committee) announced that from 2017 Hong Kong people would be allowed to elect their own leader, but the candidates would all be screened and approved by Beijing in advance. The Hong Kong pro-democracy camp felt betrayed.

Following this announcement, the Occupy Central organizers made plans to begin civil disobedience on October 1. However student organizations had already started their own class boycotts. These boycotts led to demonstrations in front of the key government buildings in Admiralty. Occupy began on September 27 as a result of these non-coordinated demonstrations. Thus while the *idea* of Occupy Central was promoted by Benny Tai, et al, and the concept was certainly in the air, the actual events appear to have been spontaneous and largely student-led.

The 2014 Occupy movement lasted seventy-nine days. Here are the highlights:

July 15   Hong Kong Chief Executive C.Y. Leung submits a report on public consultation to the National People's Consultative Standing Committee confirming "mainstream opinion" that the Chief Executives must love China and love Hong Kong, and that nomination power should be held by a committee.[4] This statement foreshadows the upcoming white NPCSC paper.

August 31   The NPCSC announces that all Hong Kong will be able to vote for their Chief Executive, but the candidates will be strictly screened and approved by the Central government.

Sept. 26   Students protest outside Admiralty

Sept. 28   Tear gas is used on crowds outside Admiralty; the Umbrella Movement is born.

Sept. 29-Oct. 6   Crowds occupy Admiralty, Tsimshatsui (briefly), Mongkok, and Causeway Bay, disrupting traffic in all locations.

Oct. 3   Scuffles break out between protesters and anti-Occupy protesters

Oct. 9   The Government calls off scheduled talks with student representatives.

Oct. 21   Talks are held with Chief Secretary Carrie Lam; no result.

Nov. 18   Admiralty is partially cleared to allow access to one building.

Nov. 26   Mongkok is cleared.

Nov. 30-Dec. 1   An attempted blockade of government offices is fended off with water cannon.

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[3] "Manifesto," on Occupy Central with Love and Peace website, http://oclp.hk/index.php?route=occupy/book_detail&book_id=11, accessed May 23, 2015.

[4] "Eight Questions about "Occupy Hong Kong" October 16, 2014, Human Rights Watch website, http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/16/eight-questions-about-occupy-hong-kong, accessed April 25, 2015.

Dec. 11   Admiralty is fully cleared.

The Mainstream Position: Let's be realistic

An ocean of discourse, both pro and con Occupy, filled the newspapers and airwaves leading up to the actual Occupy action. The whole territory seemed to be obsessed with the *possibility* of mass occupation of Hong Kong's financial center. From September 27 it became reality. While multiple positions rose to the surface, they ultimately fall into two groups: the mainstream ideology of pragmatic self-interest, and the ideology of self-determination and identity. These discourses around Occupy Central reflect the tacit ideological assumptions fuelling thought in today's Hong Kong. In this section I will spell out those assumptions and positions that feel so natural to those who hold them.

Much mainstream opinion revolves around the need to "be realistic." Jeffrey Lam, a legislative councilor, expressed this well when he called for consensus among all the arguing factions. In an open letter in October he warned that should society "spend endless time in arguing the nomination procedures outside the purview of the Basic Law," there will be no consensus and hence no hope of achieving universal suffrage in any form in 2017. He called for "rational and sensible dialogue to narrow differences," and not taking to unlawful occupation which would paralyze Central.[5]

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[5] "Letter to Hong Kong" by Legislative Councilor Jeffrey Lam, Oct. 8, 2014, http://programme.rthk.org.hk/channel/radio/programme.php?name=radio3/lettertohongkong&d=2014-08-10&p=535&e=273196&m=episode.

The historian Leo F. Goodstadt, in his study on Hong Kong governance, summarizes the attitude held by political leaders calling for pragmatism since the 1997 handover. Ever conscious of political risk, the political elite has consistently felt that the highest priority should be placed on "the efficiency of the system." Economic and financial management should be privileged over any other issues such as the alleviation of housing, poverty, or income distribution.[6] According to Goodstadt this attitude of "not rocking the boat"—not asserting the existence of the differences implied by and allowed under the "one country, two systems" rubric—has been generally accepted by most Hong Kong society. This acceptance is reflected in a general sense of economic satisfaction with the economic structure of Hong Kong. As late as 2010 a Hong Kong Transition Project survey showed little distrust or resentment of the extremely wealthy.[7] Although 59% felt the government privileged the interests of the rich, less than 50% felt the current distribution of wealth was actually harmful to society.

This general acceptance of the economic situation is remarkable. For Hong Kong was certainly affected by the Global Recession of 2008-9.[8] If the economy has not been a focus of discontent, what has? The key issue, unspoken but widely felt, was trust in governance. Goodstadt emphasizes the charged relationship between the general population, the governed, and the government in post-1997 Hong Kong. Power is concentrated in the Chief Executive, with the Legislative Council having little real influence, and the people having little direct influence over either. Once a leader lost credibility with the public at large he found himself nearly unable to govern. This was most clearly the case with Tong Chee Hwa (Chief Executive 1997-2005), who was forced to resign after having sprung too many reform measures without any public consultation. But the same can be said of his successors, Tsang Yam-kuen (2005-2012) and C.Y. Leung. All lost public trust. With the current administration of C.Y. Leung a new variable has come to the fore: Beijing's role. Beijing is taking a stronger hand in Hong Kong issues, in particular the issue of the selection of future Chief Executives. Beijing's hardline position has been reflected in warnings from Standing Committee officials that opposition was equal to an attempt to gain independence.[9]

As Goodstadt concludes, the Hong Kong post-1997 public preferred "polite and tolerant" politics, yet when the public's patience was tested it could turn on its leaders. Thus Hong Kong people are not overly concerned with welfare or the income gap, however real it is. Let me emphasize this point: it is a mistake to assume that wealth gap (the Gini coefficient) is a political problem in Hong Kong to the same degree it is in other countries. It is therefore puzzling that all three of Hong Kong's post-1997 chief executives have consistently voiced populist themes. These themes include reducing

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[6] Leo F. Goodstadt, (2013). *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity.* Revised Edition. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press.

[7] Ibid., 78.

[8] Using the IMF definition of a decline in world GDP, the Great Recession began in 2009 on a world scale. See "World Economic Outlook - April 2009: Crisis and Recovery" (PDF). *Box 1.1 (page 11-14).* IMF. 24 April 2009. Retrieved September 26, 2015. Hong Kong's economy contracted sharply in late 2008 and early 2009, then rebounded. See Janet Yellen, "Hong Kong and China and the Global Recession," FRBSF Economic Letter, February 8, 2010, http://www.frbsf.org/economic-research/publications/economic-letter/2010/february/hong-kong-china-global-recession/, retrieved September 26, 2015.

[9] Li Fei, National People's Congress Standing Committee Deputy Secretary-General, NCNA, 22 August 2014.

income inequality and providing welfare support. "People are angry over the lack of social mobility and affordable housing," said Leung Chun-ying.[10] Taking the bait, most outside commentators also focus on the gap between rich and poor and unaffordable housing as major underlying problems behind political unrest.[11] It is difficult not to conclude that these issues, however worthy on the surface, are smokescreens used to avert attention from the real concerns of Hong Kong people.

In addition to finding the idea of Occupy unrealistic, many establishment figures also insist the entire effort was instigated by outside players. This charge usually meant the involvement of American interests, including the American government. Legislative Councilor Regina Ip, for instance, stated publicly that Legco needs to investigate the extent to which the Occupy movement was funded by U.S. organizations.[12]

Such positions by establishment figures mirror comments from China and China-controlled media in Hong Kong. A People's Daily editorial on October 19, 2014, for instance, stated that the true aim of the Occupy movement was to topple the Hong Kong government and attain independence from China.[13]

To sum up, the "realistic" position is to privilege Hong Kong's economic role, to maintain the status quo, and to avoid discussion of issues of real concern, such as direct election of the Chief Executive.

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[10] Keith Bradsher and Chris Buckley, 'Hong Kong Leader Reaffirms Unbending Stance on elections', *International New York Times,* 20 October 2014.

[11] See, for instance, the Forbes commentator Bee Lin Ang: "Underlying the discontentment is a widening rich-poor gap and unaffordable housing for first-time buyers." In Bee Lin Ang, "Hong Kong Real Estate: Is The Lack Of Land A Myth?," in forbes.com, accessed at http://www.forbes.com/sites/beelinang/2015/04/03/hong-kong-real-estate-is-the-lack-of-land-a-myth/.

[12] "LegCo panel backs Occupy Central probe," online article at rthk.hk. October 10, 2014, http://rthk.hk/rthk/news/englishnews/20141010/news_20141010_56_1044581.htm, accessed April 10, 2015.

[13] Keira Lu Huang, "Occupy Central organisers want independent Hong Kong, People's Daily claims," South China Morning Post online, October 20, 2014, accessed May 21, 2015.

The Occupy Position: We will not be just another Chinese city

"We're telling Beijing this is the start of a movement. We don't want to be just another Chinese city."[14]

This quote by Joseph Cheng, a well-known professor and political commentator, shows that the issues at the heart of Occupy movement were not limited to democracy and universal suffrage. The method of electing the Chief Executive was simply the *proximate* issue that ignited last year's political action. In fact a whole range of issues have been building up, some extending back to the handover in 1997, some left unresolved from the colonial period. These background issues have been widely reported by international media during Occupy in their efforts to unpack Occupy.

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[14] Emily Rauhala, "China rules Out Open Election in Hong Kong, Setting Stage for 'Occupy' Protest," online article at time.com, Aug. 31, 2014, http://time.com/3237227/china-hong-kong-occupy-central-beijing-communist-party/, accessed April 24, 2015.

The fundamental issue, however, is the extent to which Hong Kong people can shape their own future. To quote Leo Goodstadt once again, Hong Kong people treat autonomy and self-rule to be a "core value."[15] This value naturally results in conflict over electoral reforms. The Basic Law, published jointly by Britain and China in 1994, promised a high degree of independence for Hong Kong. It was assumed that the "one country, two systems" framework, plus a common will to resolve any minor issues that surface, would be sufficient to ensure a high degree of autonomy. The factual inability for Hong Kong people to choose their own leader contradicts these assumptions.

People also have strong feelings about post-1997 leadership, as mentioned. Many feel the Hong Kong Government policies simply follow China's instructions and ignore the views of Hong Kong people. Such cynicism is perhaps inevitable when the structure used to choose the leader is a 1,200-person committee hand-picked by Beijing.

If suffrage was the major issue, there were plenty of others. In the economic arena there is a sense that the quality of life has improved little since the handover to China. The median monthly income for the young—men and women between 15 and 24—remained at HK$8,000 between 2001 and 2011, even though prices rose by 12% over the period.[16] To put this in perspective, household income in Hong Kong grew 13 times in the twenty years between 1971 and 1991, a time of rapidly spreading prosperity.[17] In addition, there certainly is rising income inequality. While I have mentioned that this is not the prime motivation for political action, the gap is real. The Gini coefficient went from 0.43 in 1971 to 0.533 in 2006.[18]In general the older generation worked in a period of rapid income growth, while the younger generation is faced with income stagnation. So although the standard of living in Hong Kong remains high overall—few would argue that Hong Kong is not a developed economy—the perception is one of economic stagnation for most people.

Media analyses often focus on social issues as factors in discontent. One street-level perception concerns the increasing number of Mainland Chinese present in Hong Kong. 54,000 migrate permanently from China every year.[19] And 47.2 million people from China visit annually (2014), most staying only a few days. This has been welcomed by the businesses that sell merchandise and the landlords who rent to the fashion brands. But the past several years have also seen signs of conflict and outright antagonism to the influx of visitors. Due to price differentials residents on the border regularly cross over from China to buy daily use goods such as cooking oil. This has caused shortages of some commodities in towns near the border with Mainland China. Infant milk powder is a special case—since the melamine scare in China in 2008, mainland parents regularly come to Hong Kong to buy milk powder. The resulting shortages, plus the

[15] Goodstadt, Ibid., 82.
[1616] Maya Wang, "Love China and love Hong Kong": whose mainstream opinion?," online article at open Democracy. August 11, 2014, https://www.opendemocracy.net/maya-wang/"love-china-and-love-hong-kong"-whose-mainstream-opinion, accessed April 23, 2015.
[17] Raymond Cheng, "Knowledge: Knowing the environment—The subconscious propaganda," in commentary.com, accessed at commentary.om/bribe2a.html May 21, 2015.
[18] Chui Lap, Leung Shong Tung, Yip Chun Hin, "Income Inequality in Hong Kong," online report at 2/AwarePDF/s11-12-DP4.pdf, accessed May 21, 2015.
[1919] Maya Wang, "Love China and love Hong Kong": whose mainstream opinion?," 11 August 2014, open Democracy, https://www.opendemocracy.net/maya-wang/"love-china-and-love-hong-kong"-whose-mainstream-opinion, accessed April 23, 2015.

rise of day traders coming only to buy milk powder in bulk, led to the Hong Kong government passing a two-can limit (per day) for travelers going from Hong Kong to China.

More troubling, Hong Kong people have taken to complaining at the manners and habits of mainland travelers. While the particular examples are not relevant here, it is safe to say there is general discomfort at the avalanche of Mandarin-speaking visitors on Hong Kong's streets.

The sheer volume of visitors has changed the face of several urban districts. Landlords have raised rents as fashion brands like Forever 21 and Chanel grab prime locations Established eateries and neighborhood stores have been forced out by high rents as established areas are turned into cookie-cutter high-end shopping districts.

The increased prominence of Mainland Chinese adds to the sense that control is passing out of the hands of Hong Kong people, in every area. This presence of so many Mandarin speakers serves to remind people that representative democracy is not going to happen. At the same time Hong Kong's leaders appear to follow a line of spineless accommodation to China. Vague unease easily coalesces into a sense that Hong Kong is in danger of being swallowed up, by China, of losing its identity. Becoming just another Chinese city means loss of uniqueness, one's sense of place in the world.

And on the street… a new normality

Occupy created real, embodied experiences, ways of living. The new "normality" at the Occupy sites was immediately apparent the moment you arrived. Occupy created a spirit of the street. A carnivalesque atmosphere sprung to life every evening. On some days it felt like the usual Mongkok night market energy had simply overflowed onto Nathan Road. Other nights were filled with tension and arguments, especially in Mongkok. Opposing groups showed up at all the sites, some clearly trying to provoke the demonstrators through taunts and arguments.

What these opposing groups confronted was a miracle of order and organization. For the Occupy demonstrators had organized quickly. Tents, most donated by the public, were lined up into neat rows. Demonstrators established voluntary work schedules for collecting trash and helping with traffic flow. Certain areas were set aside for first-aid, food and supplies, and studying. A mobile university posted lecture schedules. Church services were held on Sundays. Several makeshift altars appeared.

Art and creativity in particular flowered. While most of the drawings reflected Occupy's political agenda, there was a clearly decorative quality as well; the sites became vibrant communities of color. This in turn attracted its share of tourists, especially from China. The Occupy residents soon became aware of the attractiveness of their experiment, and used the fact that they were under constant observation to promote their messages, creating in turn more striking images.

A constant stream of writing and visual media on the Internet paralleled events on the street. There was an avalanche of postings on FaceBook and twitter. (As the movement took root, the Chinese popular WeChat social media service was blocked.)

Eventually, as one week merged into another, people were drawn back to their schoolwork and jobs, and the number of on-site occupy-residents dwindled. A new concern then filled the air: how long will this go on? And what is the point?

Public support for the demonstrators declined. After the first two weeks it had become clear to all Hong Kong residents that epic traffic jams would now be part of daily life. Many people resented this enforced change in their daily patterns. Some felt that the demonstrators had made their point and could now move on, instead of dragging out the drama. Many argued that the effort, however sincere, was nevertheless doomed to fail, since China would never give in on this area of principle.

Making sense of Occupy

Many of the media analyses and nightly updates of Occupy Central were suspiciously facile. Even now, one year on, the events are too recent, the impressions too fresh in our minds, and we are in danger of latching onto any convenient explanations. I want to guard primarily against assuming that this movement is a "version" of the worldwide Occupy Wall Street Movement of 2011. Occupy Central is no version, it is a unique eruption in Hong Kong society. I here suggest an understanding of place to help us go beyond media assumptions about events. I will examine Occupy using four such theory filters: identity, globalization, post-colonialism, and habitat.

1 Hong Kong and the Discourse of Chineseness

Kwai-Cheung Lo, in his study of popular culture in Hong Kong, explores the idea of Hong Kong's uniqueness vis-à-vis China. Lo sees Hong Kong's uniqueness as a prop supporting China's own cultural identity.[20] China policy, now more than ever, promotes the image of a Chinese culture that is enduring and great. This sense of Chineseness stands in opposition to the entrepreneurial, transnational version of Chinese culture that developed in Hong Kong over its long separation from the mainland. For many mainland Chinese, especially government officials, Hong Kong has always embodied a lower form of popular culture.[21] The "dirty freedoms," historically enjoyed in Hong Kong—gambling, dancing, horse racing—went against the existing order in China. Hong Kong represented the field of everyday pleasures, as opposed to the unsullied and sacred treasury that is China's ancient culture. By default Hong Kong is placed in a position of inherent transgression, a position necessary to support the cohesion assumed in the idea of Chineseness itself. In other words, as "the other pole," Hong Kong has always been necessary to maintain Chineseness.

Today Chinese society has itself embraced many of the "dirty" aspects of capitalism, with a vengeance. In no sense are these activities limited to Hong Kong. Yet Hong Kong still performs the role of the exceptional signifier needed to support the discourse of national and ideological unity promoted by Beijing. While no longer exceptional for its gambling or dancing, Hong Kong remains exceptional for its human rights, its rule of law, and its freedom of expression, things still absent in China. In Lo's formulation, "…Hong Kong is structurally necessary to the domain of Chineseness. It is always the singular exception that enables one to formulate the totality as such."[22]

Hong Kong is a signifier in the construction of a pan-national, universal Chineseness. In turn, when Hong Kong's sense of uniqueness is threatened, when it is in danger of becoming "just another Chinese city," the concept of Chineseness itself is, potentially, thrown into doubt. There are, at the symbolic level, seismic tremors.

This process of negotiating Chineseness brings the ideological position underlying the Occupy movement into focus. The occupation of space forced everyone to confront the meaning of their shared identity, their Hongkongness. As Ross Perlin perceptively notes, the Occupy Central protesters, while calling for democracy, were also "… busily crystallizing a distinctive Hong Kong identity—grounded in Cantonese but hybrid in its history and culture, developing now from deeply felt differences with the mainland."[23] Occupy Central was local, with implications for all of China.

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[20] Kwai-Cheung Lo, (2005). *Chinese Face/Off: The Transnational Popular Culture of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 5-6.
[21] Ibid.,7.
[22] Ibid., 8.
[23] Ross Perlin, "Two Occupys, and the New Global Language of Protest," online article March 30, 2015 at Dissent, accessed http://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/occupy-hong-kong-wall-street-new-global-language-of-protest, accessed April 15, 2015.

2 World City: Beyond the Slogan

It's apparent to any visitor: Hong Kong is a world city. It is "Asia's World City," as the government slogan reminds us.[24] In this case, it's true. Hong Kong is hyper-connected, physically by flight and vessel connections, virtually by being a communications hub. It is an acknowledged center of global finance. Manuel Castells labels such places informational cities, "spaces of flows." I will use the broader terms world or global city John Friedmann focuses on global cities as nodal points of the flow of capital, "… a linked set of markets and production units, organized and controlled by transnational capital; world cities," he notes, "are the material manifestation of this control, occurring exclusively in core and semi-peripheral regions where they serve as banking and financial centers, administrative headquarters, centers of ideological control…."[25] Such cities are the charged centers of globalization.

Hong Kong was not always seen to be a major link in global networks. Friedmann's hierarchy of world cities in 1986 ranked Hong Kong as second-tier, "semi-peripheral and secondary."[26] Yet by other criteria Hong Kong has succeeded in entering the top tier. Peter Taylor's ranking of world city-ness values, published in 2000, places Hong Kong on top, one of the Alpha group (with a score of 10 out of 12) along with London, Paris, New York, Tokyo, Frankfurt, and its main regional competitor, Singapore.[27]

These rankings generally privilege economic factors. And in this sense Hong Kong clearly meets the "global" criteria. In Hong Kong, things function—the vaunted rule of law, social stability, a low crime rate, facilities for trade and travel, all combine to make Hong Kong one of the pillars of global capital. In addition, Hong Kong has an unbeatable geographical advantage: because of its unique location on China's southern edge it effortlessly draws capital and talent targeting China.

There are implications to being a global city. First of all, the people and cultural energy attracted to the global city encourages transnational mixing, hybridity.[28] It is a constantly moving social experiment. But global city governments tend to focus narrowly on economic factor and in particular on one thing, infrastructure and facilities. How, they ask, can we further enhance our competitiveness? The uniform answer is to compete by building new urban landscapes with top-quality facilities. At the same time the residents of global cities increasingly demand more: better government services, deeper cultural offerings, more convenience. These governments end up pushed and pulled in multiple directions, with big business and developers encouraging bridges and high-rises, and a multivalent population wanting freedoms and lifestyles. "Going global" today means that cities develop flagship projects at the same time they rush to

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[24] See the Brand Hong Kong site (http://www.brandhk.gov.hk/en/#/en/about/overview.html) for details of this branding program.

[25] Quoted in Tsung-Yi Michelle Huang (2004) *Walking between Slums and Skyscrapers: Illusions of Open Space in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 5.

[26] Lily Kong, Ching Chia-Ho, Chou Tsu-Lung (2015). *Arts, Culture and the Making of Global Cities: Creating New Urban Landscapes in Asia* (Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 3.

[27] Ibid., 4.

[28] Ibid., 5

invest in cultural capital. Ironically, such investments often ignore indigenous cultural resources.

As Saskia Sassen emphasizes, the process of being a global city also leads inevitably to the creation of a "glamour zone" for what she calls the new elite.[29] The need to develop this veneer of attractiveness in turn compresses any areas left *out* of the glamour zone. Michelle Huang, in her study of open space in Hong Kong, Tokyo and Shanghai, notes how quickly the office buildings, first-class hotels and international airports expand, taking over prime real estate.[30] According to Huang, these trophy projects are built not only by glass and steel, but also by the space taken from other uses in the community. She cites the example of Lan Kwai Fong, a throbbing entertainment district on Hong Kong Island that until the 1990s was a cramped, midlevels residential district. It developed almost overnight into an active center of nightlife. One day the city woke up and found a new carnival-like zone of danger and enticement, located conveniently on the financial district's very doorstep.[31]

The global city thus creates *segregated* space. The presence of a glamour center inevitably creates, often just beyond the horizon, its inverse, the nondescript buildings and crowded alleys housing the workers who service the global elite. The majority of Hong Kong people live in anonymous high-rises. Only half own their own homes.[32] Many residents feel locked out of the information and capital flows animating the glamour zone. These theorists like Huang and Sassen challenge us to create a narrative of the global city as space open to all users.[33]

3 Hong Kong's Postcolonial Modernity

Unlike Tokyo and New York, two other major pillars of global finance, Hong Kong is a postcolonial city. Hong Kong was created from spaces of marginal subsistence on China's periphery—a few fishing villages and sheltered coves quickly grew into a magnificent city that was a British colony for 157 years. From the point of view of economic development this colonial past has not been a problem. In fact it is an asset. As Anthony King notes, colonial cities were the forerunners of the current globalized age.[34] But at the level of self-identity Hong Kong's shift from colony to global city was sudden and severe For many colonial cities, and none more so than Hong Kong, there was what Akbar Abbas calls an "unclean break" between the stages of imperialism and globalization.[35]

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[29] Sassen, 1996, 220.

[30] Tsung-Yi Michelle Huang (2004). *Walking between Slums and skyscrapers: Illusions of Open Space in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 5.

[31] Ibid., 22.

[32] Bee Lin Ang, Hong Kong Real Estate: Is The Lack Of Land A Myth?," in forbes.com, accessed at http://www.forbes.com/sites/beelinang/2015/04/03/hong-kong-real-estate-is-the-lack-of-land-a-myth/.

[33] Ibid., 29.

[34] Ackbar Abbas (1997), *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2.

[35] Ackbar Abbas (1997). *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 3.

At the level of identity Hong Kong's colonial legacy is a unique sense of unrootedness. Abbas contends that Hong Kong, so long known as a gateway, a place of transience, occupies a heightened space of *disappearance.* Things in Hong Kong do not last. They are provisional. The physical space is constantly built, rebuilt, and reconfigured. While all cities move in this direction, toward what Rem Koolhaas calls the generic city without memory, basking in the eternal now, in Hong Kong this is taken to the extreme. What counts is the present, the deal, the current transaction. This strong current is in many ways Hong Kong's animating spirit, its *qi:* leave behind your past, wherever you came from and whatever you did, and focus on what you can do *now.*

Another easily seen colonial legacy is the city's hybrid culture. On the surface Hong Kong's culture was always mishmash, with French toast from Britain, bubble tea from Taiwan, hairy crabs from Shanghai, durians from Thailand, and sushi on every corner; always something from somewhere else. Despite such heavy importation Hong Kong as a *region* has all along possessed a strong indigenous culture. Hong Kong forms part of the Pearl River Delta, which in turn is the heart of Lingnan, a south Chinese coastal culture with thousands of years of tradition. But during the colonial period this indigenous tradition faded into transparency. There was a "negative hallucination," a not seeing what was there.[36]

With the rapid pace of decolonization in the 1980s and 1990s, people suddenly reversed the hallucination and began to see indigenous culture. "The imminence of its disappearance…precipitated an intense … interest in Hong Kong culture."[37] What was behind this sudden focus on disappearance and loss? In the buildup to the handover in 1997, it was widely felt that Hong Kong's entire way of life was under threat. People began to focus on disappearing space, to search for what was missing. In the political arena this created fierce battles over the old Star Ferry pier and the project to extend the Central shoreline. Every expression of cultural uniqueness, from movies to colonial architecture to the language of instruction in schools, became precious. A new kind of Hong Kong subjectivity formed, one that went beyond the older comprador mentalities, one that had political, social and affective aspects.[38] There was a desperate attempt to clutch at images of identity.[39]

This nostalgic turn that surfaced in the 1980s and 1990s contrasts and in fact *opposes* the ephemerality found in globalized cities. The global city, as already noted, is transaction-oriented and has a shallow memory. The nostalgic mind longs for an imagined past. All of these currents now vied for prominence in the montage of landscapes that is Hong Kong.

Yet the ethos that dominated Hong Kong was always the economic. Abbas explains this as Hong Kong's late colonial "decadence." By this he means that in Hong Kong's peculiar state of late colonial development its choices were always reduced, limited. There were options, but one can imagine no other alternatives except the one solution

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[36] Ibid., 6.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid, 11.
[39] Ibid., 69.

that permeates the air, the economic.[40] This was Hong Kong's postcolonial situation. The economic ethos, and that alone, is inscribed on all surfaces.[41]

According to Marc Auge's concept of non-spaces, only consumer transactions survive in the realm of non-space. The Occupy protestors in 2014 struggled against this structure of meaning. They rejected the purely transactional, economic conceptualization of space. They chose instead to *make* place, turning non-space into place. Occupy inserted the rhythms of the street for the swoosh of information flowing in and out of the core.

4 Hong Kong's Habitus: Modernity and Milieu

I seem to be caught between two perspectives. The first is world city theory, in which Hong Kong is a node in multiple networks of globalization. The second is postcolonial identity, an area in which Hong Kong people struggle to redefine a sense of place. I suggest that these two theoretical forces come together when we consider milieu, the space of movement in-between.

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[40] Ibid., 135.
[41] Ibid., 90.

Building on Deleuze & Guattari's work in *A Thousand Plateaus,* Leonie Ansems De Vries sees milieu as movement in-between, the play of forces. The milieu includes all spatio-temporal as well as affective relations; that is its *utilitarian* aspect.[42] Milieu also refers to the relational force in-between organisms. This is its *quality of being* aspect. Milieu thus includes quality, powers, events, and affects arising between individuals.

The Occupy protesters were playing with space within milieu. They created islands of signification, a different kind of desirable landscape. These were the Occupy villages in Causeway Bay, Mongkok, and Admiralty, places of street life free from automobiles, places of consensus-seeking and rowdy self-governance. These images of Occupy contrast with the prototypical ordered, capitalist zones of desire found in all cosmopolitan cities. Through spontaneous play and improvisation in the space of milieu the Occupy protesters created a new alternative between the non-spaces of transit and the glamour zones of capital.

All this street improvisation played out before a unique backdrop, Hong Kong's iconic skyscrapers. Skyscrapers in general, and nowhere as much as Hong Kong, inscribe one dominant theme: modernity. As the sociologist of modernity Sharon Zukin notes, architecture is subject to the same forces as all objects produced under conditions of modernity. Hong Kong's skyline encapsulates the forces at play in modern capitalism: the standardization, the market differentiation, and the incorporation of older, sentimental forms.[43] Around the core shopping areas we see the familiar process of displacement of local merchants. The international retail brands that encroach onto every street corner all promote uniform standards of look, decor, and dress—think McDonald's. These chains become the new anchors or landmarks in a faux community of transactions. The ubiquitous tea shops (*cha tsan teng*) of the 1950s and 60s disappear and become signposts of nostalgia in a forest of uniformity.

At the macro level, trophy buildings, designed by superstar architects, claw at the sky. In Hong Kong's case these trophies are most prominently the banks—HSBC, Standard Chartered, Bank of China. And every year they are joined by new monuments to excess. Two colossal business towers rising over 100 stories, one in Central and one in Kowloon, now frame the entrance to Hong Kong's harbor. The newest flourishing steel and glass will be the Western Kowloon Culture complex, designed by Norman Foster and Associates. Such monuments to modernity may as well be spaceships from Mars; impressive, even awesome from a distance, they do not fit into any local context, and they fail to evoke a sense of place.

Zukin contends there is a natural tension between the market and an organic sense of place. While these two forces were united in pre-modern societies, they are separated in the modern imagination. Modernist architecture expresses movement, and in particular movement *away* from one place, toward an imagined future. Under modern rules of architectural syntax place as space of meaning is inevitably diminished. We are left with a visual order emphasizing movement, churn. The visual landscape in turn reflects a modernist moral order; as Zukin notes, "building a viable economy requires

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[42] De Vries, Leonie Ansems, "Politics on the line," in Brad Evans and Julian Reid, (Eds.). (2013). *Deleuze & Fascism: Security: War: Aesthetics.* London: Routledge, 126-147),135.
[43] Sharon Zukin (1991). *The Urban Landscape From Detroit to Disney World.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 41.

coherent moral values."[44] The world city, as a node in a multiple global networks, encodes its moral code into its skyline.

The city of Hong Kong is built around the accumulation of capital, its guiding ethos. Every building reflects this preoccupation. Occupy 2014 challenged this dominant moral code, as reflected in transformation of Admiralty, Causeway Bay, Mongkok. The Occupy Movement reconfigured dead space *between* the trophy buildings—the new Legco Building, Admiralty station, the Chief Executive's offices, CITIC Tower. It created a new landscape built around the need for a different morality.

Perhaps morality is too strong a word. Perhaps I search for a more flexible term, such as Pierre Bourdieu's habitus. Bourdieu calls habitus "a system of dispositions, manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking…schemata or perception."[45] Bourdieu places particular emphasis on habitus as improvisation. He draws our attention to its revolutionary potential. In Bourdieu's conception habitus is a stylistic choice. Habitus differs from milieu in being connected to deep psychological attitudes. One cannot, according to Bourdieu, understand revolutions without taking into account this stylistic element. Improvisation contains and unleashes revolutionary potential. The habitus forms through the subversive habits of the revolutionary agent as well as the field confronting the agent.[46] The habitus of Hong Kong is a landscape of perceptions and dispositions, made up of a million threads. Occupy worked to disentangle and reweave some of those threads. This disentangling was not a rational action, the result of a linear strategy. It was an eruption of habitus.

In challenging Hong Kong's trajectory as global city, the entire landscape is brought into contention. This includes that bright future over the horizon—the layer after layer of supra-national institutions, the corporations, brands and images that together make up the liberal dream of a post-1945 world order. Occupy also challenged assumptions about the nature of the modern state, in this case China's: that it is necessarily exclusionary, territorial, uniform and public.[47]

Entering any Occupy site you felt as if the world's axis had suddenly tilted. And it was not just the buzz of excitement—that dissipated soon enough. Rather, it was the calm. At the end of every day a gentle quiet would descend—you heard only murmured conversation, the weight of personal thoughts settling into themselves. These were the shifting rhythms of organic village life. The hyper-modernity symbolized by Admiralty was blocked; the non-places were uncolonized by the excluded.

Perhaps this is the nature of political action in the modern city, the space of flows. Political action in the contemporary context works to block those flows, to create new eddies and entropies. Over its 79 days, Occupy Hong Kong played out in a way inconceivable in any other city. Now it has taken place. And it is no longer inconceivable anymore, anywhere.

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[44] ibid., 254.

[45] Bourdieu, Pierre. "Habitus," in Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, (*2005*). *Habitus: a sense of place*. Second edition. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, *27.*

[46] Ibid., 32.

[47] Paul Hirst, "Politics: Territorial or Non-Territorial?", in Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (*2005*). *Habitus: a sense of place*. Second edition. Burlington, VT: Ashgate*, , 51-59, 64.*

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The Influence of Gender Role Ideologies in Women`s Careers:
A look at Marianismo and Machismo in the Treatment Room

Carmen Inoa Vazquez

Abstract

Global statistics document an increase in professional women's careers with far more successful female roles and role models in the industrial, political and financial fields, though with some variation in the different regions of the world. Nonetheless, women hold only a small percentage of board seats and other influential positions in these areas Worldwide. It is also known that presently, women see themselves as progressive and career-oriented. Yet, in the treatment rooms of mental health professionals, they share experiences that evidence a great deal of discomfort in achieving successful careers free of stigma and guilt. One perspective in understanding this paradox lays with an appreciation of the gender role ideologies of 'marianismo' and 'machismo', which socialize the roles, place and image of women and men differently across cultures and societies. Gender role expectations have not completely disappeared from women's experiences in their day to day professional interactions, and are not confined to the members of more traditional societies. When marianismo and machismo are not understood or placed within their proper context, women's overall self-esteem and career successes can be affected. This paper illuminates how these dynamics manifest in the treatment room of (medical) clinicians.

Keywords: Gender role ideologies, marianismo and machismo, women's careers, self-esteem

Introduction

Attaining success in a career of your choice can be a significant booster towards positive feelings of self-perception and self-evaluation (Abu-Hilal, et al., 2014; Heine 2001), but the definition of success is intimately related to a societies cultural values, given that: "individuals evaluate themselves in culturally appropriate ways, deriving feelings of self-esteem, particularly from those identity aspects that fulfil values prioritized by others in their cultural surroundings" (Becker, et al., 2014 p. 16). Among these key cultural values that have been connected to self-esteem are 'marianismo' and 'machismo'. These are concepts that determine (based on gender) what is considered appropriate behaviour within a specific traditional cultural group (cultural norm). The practice of these principles is further reinforced by different organizations and social units, including the family, the legal system, labour laws, educational and religious systems.

Marianismo is a gender specific value associated with Latino culture, that holds detailed guidelines for the types of behaviours considered appropriate for women. These sets of belief systems and social practices are evident among other ethnic groups, under different definitions and names. The demands of self-sacrifice intensify among those women who have been socialized (conditioned) within a marianismo social system, in particular when faced with difficult choices relating to their families and careers. These are stressful situations that can render women at much higher risks of anxiety and depressive disorders (Englander and Yañez, 2012; Gil and Vazquez, 1996).

Machismo is a gender-specific value that assigns precise behaviours to men. This is a term primarily associated with Latino culture, but it can also be applied to other cultures. Most definitions of machismo include both negative and positive behaviours for men, providing a strong base for male gender role identity (Englander and Yañez, 2012; De La Cancela, 1986; Erdmenger De Staebler, et al., 2011; Edelson, Hododa and Ramos-Lira, 2007).

Historically, many societies that adhere to gender specific values mould children's behaviours in ways that are considered important for the well-being of the family and the good of the greater society. These values include educational and career choices, even associated colours (pink for girls and blue for boys), and simultaneously convey a strong message that prioritizes the creation of family and nurturing for women, and the expectation that men are the providers being responsible for financially supporting and protecting their families. Any deviation from these societal goals can result in a grave burden for women (and men also), with feelings of regret and a sense of failure translated into a 'lack of goodness'.

Present Statistics - Lack of Parity for Women Globally

Economic necessities and the need to personally fulfil one's ambitions and identity have been motivators for women to pursue full-time careers, but such career women continue to face a marianismo paradox in spite of their awareness of being seen as successful role models. This can affect women in all areas of professional life, with examples such as Christine Lagarde, Janet Yellen, Inga Beale, Sherry Coutu, Joanna Shields, working in business and academia (Slaughter, 2012; Freeman, 2012). This should be considered with the existence of far more opportunities for advancement in education, as evidenced by the greater number of women than men attending and graduating from colleges, obtaining advanced degrees, and participating in the labour force (UNESCO, 2010).

Adding to the paradox of women progressing in their careers is the indication that although the enrolment of women in tertiary institutions has doubled compared to that of men since the 1970's, there is neither parity across all disciplines, nor in all areas or countries. This is true specifically in the area of science and technology, where women encounter significant barriers as they move up the educational ladder toward research careers (Lalande, Crozier and Davey, 2000). Data on the proportions of women researchers are available from 34 out of 89 countries; this data shows that less than 30% of researchers are female. In Japan, as of 2013 there were 127,800 female researchers compared to 759,200 male researchers (WPGE, 2014). In South Asia the overall rate is 12%, primarily reflecting the situation in India where only 10% of women are researchers. Other data from Asian countries participating in this study include the following proportions: 11% in Macao China, 42% in South East Asia, and 55% in the Philippines, and Myanmar, the Asian countries reporting the highest proportion of women researchers. In Europe 32% of researchers are women, and only five countries have reached gender parity, including Latvia and Lithuania. In the United States women's participation rate is consistent with the overall world average of 27%. In Africa, about 29% of researchers are women; the only high-proportion countries are Cape Verde (gender parity), and quite strikingly, Lesotho, which reports the second highest proportion of women researchers in the world at 76% (UNESCO, 2006).

In the United States, there is a shortage of women occupying leadership positions in psychiatry (Freeman, 2012). However the profession of psychology presently demonstrates strong gains, with more women than men enrolling in graduate programs. A most recent poll reports that in 2013, female faculty members were more evenly distributed across the ranks of full (30 percent), associate (31 percent) and assistant professor (31 percent) compared to male faculty members (Wicherski, et al., 2014; APA, 2014). The profession of psychology appeals to women because of the opportunities it affords for flexible schedules, allowing a better balance between family and work. This scheduling flexibility does not apply to many other careers.

Studies conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Latin America have shown that the role expectations for wives and mothers place many women in difficult positions when faced with the requirements of either prioritizing their families or their careers. Research on the association between marital status and motherhood and a women's opportunities for achieving tenure in academia and holding full professorial rank reported that 27% of women in science and engineering holding doctorate degrees were unemployed or out of the work force due to the pressures of their family responsibilities (UNESCO, 2010).

A longitudinal study conducted in the United Kingdom focusing on the retention of qualified women scientists in science-based jobs in England and Wales, found women holding degrees in engineering technology who remained in science and engineering, tended to have children much later or not have children at all. (Blackwell and Glover, 2008). A separate study looked at reasons that could explain the lower level of representation in senior administrative positions for women in Latin American universities, found that gender role expectations and guilt, related to their choices between family or career. This finding is notable, given the representation of women scientists in Latin America (46%) is among the highest reported, and suggests the value of marianismo as a possible significant reason for the lower level of representation. Similar difficulties related to the reconciliation of work and family have been reported in Japan with 70% of the relatively low paid temporary workers being women, and an under representation of women in academia (OECD, 2012).

Studies that have looked at the impact and relevance of 'marianismo' and 'machismo' within Latin American culture report a lack of consensus. This lack of agreement can in part be due to the complexity and the multifaceted aspects of these concepts. (Olowude, 2002). It seems that the complexity of these concepts require investigators to search at an unconscious level within individuals. This endeavour is not always possible to attain in time limited studies. The time often required to achieve and develop a true therapeutic relationship could in part explain the discrepancies reported by some of the studies that have attempted to capture the emotional impact of marianismo. Given that there are studies that have reported positive findings in the connection between depression and marianismo (Guzman, C. 2013; Beitra, D. et al., 2012; Villegas, et al. 2010; Bull, 1998).

Recurrent Narratives in the Treatment Room

The complexity of women's conflicts in the management of their families and careers is often marked by narratives that illustrate a significant connection between their feelings of personal worth, and the gender role expectations of marianismo, with symptoms of depression, low self-esteem and anxiety. An exploration of these dynamics facilitates an understanding for both the clinician and patient of the debilitating guilt caused by marianismo that can jeopardize progress and performance in women's daily career requirements.

The most salient problems women bring to the treatment room include feelings of inequality and a lack of success in both their family and career roles. These problems can be understood, and are supported by the research on general stereotypes that inform on how people form implicit gender stereotypes or beliefs segregating specific behaviours, capacities and performances even when they question these beliefs (Nosek, Banaji and Grenwald, 2002; Rudman and Goodwin, 2004; Banaji and Hardin, 1996). Individuals may choose to report the stereotypes they hold accurately, or may not even be consciously aware that they are holding certain beliefs and self-concepts (Rudman and Phelan, 2010).

An added contribution to the conflicting narratives in the treatment room are the messages offered by the media, professional publications, and other sources that encourage women not to allow the responsibilities posed by their families, and their careers to interfere with their own professional success. These often mixed messages are challenging and confusing to many women, who confront intrinsic cultural beliefs, and the economic demands that require them to work outside of the home, as well as attend to their family needs. Conflicts can be further intensified by self-comparison with other women, such as Marissa Myer, President and CEO of Yahoo, who simultaneously announced her presidency and pregnancy. She is a formidable role model that could be perceived as evidence that women can have successful careers and family without any visible or apparent conflicts.

The well-intended advice and recommendations that encourage women to 'go for it all', do not always have the intended effect. In many cases there has often been an opposite effect, which makes women feel more conflicted rather than empowered, to feel pressured rather than relieved. These conflicts are not only complex, but require exploration at an emotional level that facilitates an understanding of the connection between the gender role expectations of earlier traditions in socialization, and the woman's present emotional state. An attempt to offer support and understanding based on studies that describe the difficulties faced by women in their daily lives, while attempting to fulfil their family and personal needs (Gould, 2014), not always translate into the real world realities faced by career women with families on a daily basis when these are related to gender role expectations. Even when provided with good

childcare, and other types of support at home (an option not always available), women still face emotional conflicts and difficulties in the fulfilment of these sometimes oppositional dual roles.

One of the main goals of my clinical work with career women who seek professional help has been to explore predictable patterns of behaviour within contextual cultural and gender frameworks. Clinically, it becomes clear that conflicts manifesting in low self-esteem are closely related to women's perception of not functioning or performing to their satisfaction while attempting to balance their careers, and family, as well as the sex-based discrimination at the workplace. Women face other stresses that relate to a lack of mentoring, networking power, glass ceiling barriers, corporate mobility, and many others, but most of the difficulties reported are framed by an undeserving feeling, a lack of authenticity, or not having achieved real success in spite of significant career achievements, as a type of imposter syndrome, which may also be fuelled by lower salary scales compared to equivalent male positions.

The performance of many career women is often of a high calibre even if they have low self-esteem. This high performance is probably due to a compensatory effect which is typical of some individuals with low self-esteem who are portrayed in the literature as possessing a high level of persistency. Yet, the general belief is that people with high levels of self-esteem would perform better in many life tasks (DiPaula and Campbell, 2002). Regardless of the performance exemplified by these indefatigable women, the emotional toll on their lives ends up affecting both family and career. The conflicts with family do not solely refer to the nuclear family but to the extended family, as well. The importance of the family includes the care of elders or filial obligations. Japan's introduction of a nationwide long-term care insurance (LTCI) system in 2000 made long-term care a right for older adults regardless of income and family availability, but there is no evidence that there has been a decline in the emotional support level for family members. Research findings indicate that the use of LTCI services has increased the provision of emotional and cognitive support to elders among societies that adhere to Confucian norms of filial obligations to family members, including women. Despite the increase of these services these family members including women still continue to provide care for their elderly family members (Tsutsui and Higashino, 2014).

Career women seeking treatment for their low sense of self-esteem and feelings of lack of authenticity, first require an in depth examination of the inner voices of the past that determine the priority that is given to balancing the multiple roles in their lives and the demands presented within the values of familism, or the importance of the family. This includes the prioritization of their nuclear families and the extended family and social circles. Then, they can move on to a further understanding of how realistically difficult the fulfilment of both roles is, particularly when the model of success is based on the traditional (male) model of uninterrupted employment and total dedication to work (O'Leary, 1997; O'Neil and Bilimoria, 1997; O'Neil, Bilimoria and Saatcioglu, 2005). Attempting to fulfil both roles is at least in part, an important component that explains the reasons many of these women do not feel accomplished. They face a constant struggle in attempting to fulfil family, professional and personal needs in their lives instead of placing their plight in context, meaning that most women presently face these issues due to their gender role expectations. They instead tend to blame themselves and feel incompetent. Their narratives clearly indicate that they are struggling with traditional role expectations that get reinforced by spouses, family, media and society.

Many career women often report facing conflicting daily demands from work and family that cause them to feel guilty and debilitated, for example, when asked to attend a meeting for partners on their child's first day of school. On the other hand, this does not indicate that men

do not feel guilty for not being able to provide the type of parenting their children need, but these are not the main narratives presented by men seeking help. The different patterns of socialization based on gender require men to be the main providers for their families, which is strongly supported by society, offering a solid basis for such differences in feelings. The conflicts exacerbate when women with families face economic and professional demands without the appropriate support, or an understanding on their part of the realities. In particular when society reinforces that the primacy of the family is the main responsibility of women. It is particularly striking that the United States of North America, is presently among the four countries in the world, alongside Liberia, Papua New Guinea, and Swaziland, that do not require by law paid time off for maternity and/or parental leave. Paid maternity and parental leave is being considered in the United States America with the hope that it will be provided. In the meantime, benefits are provided on an ad hoc basis, according to the company. California, New Jersey, and Rhode Island are among the few states that include benefits to families in need of parental leave (Gault, et al. 2014).

Removing the Threat of The Gender Role Expectations

It is important to recognize that many women do not experience low self-esteem regularly, in spite of being brought up with traditional (more patriarchal) values, such as marianismo. Many women can be assertive and successful, coping quite well, multi-tasking and facing the stresses of work and family. They often share upbringings that truly convey a sense of equality in choice of their career and family. In general, it is very difficult to have a thorough understanding of the effects of marianismo on women's careers, particularly where intertwining of individual differences interact with the multi-dimensional aspects of the concept. In contrast, there have been significant findings that corroborate the relationship between marianismo and depression in women. (Caceres-Dalmau, 2004; Cano, 2004; Vazquez, 1998).

The symptomatology seen in the depressions and anxieties can be due to many emotional conflicts other than marianismo's belief system, but the clinician should also consider that exploring the possible connections with this construct can offer a better understanding to the career woman seeking treatment. It can be useful to explore behaviours that produce self-doubts in women, as exemplified in the ten commandments of marianismo These ten concepts evolved through clinical observations and interventions in the treatment room (Gil and Vazquez, 1996).

The anxiety related to some aspects of marianismo is ubiquitous among many women in different areas and relationships and is not solely focused on career choices and/or performances in those women seeking treatment. It is nonetheless, an important component in the level of anxiety experienced by many career women who are defining themselves by the tenets of marianismo, which when reinforced by the machismo belief system that men may adhere to as well. The ten components of marianismo's behaviour in women illustrate the paradox between family, career and self-fulfilment that many women experience regardless of their place, culture or their ethnicity:

   1) "Do Not Forget a Woman's Place" - The woman's dilemma of following old world tradition vs. New Life Style. This system of belief is quite prevalent among traditional males and females and responds well to explorations and support in the treatment room. Although the literature related to implicit association has focused primarily on racial stereotypes, recent research looking specifically at gender stereotypes reported promising findings. These findings indicated that women were able to imagine themselves as

successful in roles usually associated with males (Rudman L. A. and Phelan, J., 2010; Davies, Spencer and Steele 2005).

2) "Do Not Forget Tradition" - This is a component of the acculturation process, or what (John Berry, 1980), refers to as the adjustment that takes place when individuals from different cultures come into continuous and direct contact with, and learn from one another. Acculturation is a process that could affect both men and women and merits explorations by those clinicians working with people from other cultures in general.

3) "Do Not Be Single, Self-supporting, or Independent-minded" - Many women patients express difficulties in handling situations where they feel pressured by marianismo's beliefs that prioritize finding a partner. These beliefs are salient in many young women in the early stages of their careers. Through in depth explorations women obtain insight on their available options, including the option of enforcing marianismo or forging a personally satisfying-Lifestyle.

4) "Do not put Your Own Needs First" - Women struggle with obtaining a balance between their own needs, such as pursuing an education or a career. By understanding that their implicit beliefs stem from intrinsic beliefs related to traditional cultural values, women can gain awareness and institute changes of their inner beliefs. It is often useful to help women differentiate between selflessness vs. self-fullness. Dynamically, the roots of marianismo and machismo are strongly reinforced by the mother. Exploration and analysis of the mother/daughter conflicts can shed light into many feelings brought to the treatment room in addition to a fear of losing part of the 'self' given the close relationship between role ideology and women's sense of self. Resolution of the cultural attachment and the mother role can help the patient move towards a separation/individuation level beyond blame. Life choices can be challenged and the woman is helped to understand her fears of career vs. family life. Women often move in their relationship with their mother from adversaries to allies. When traditional gender behaviours are questioned, within a safe environment, women can be helped to challenge these beliefs.

5) "Do not Wish for More in Life than Being a Housewife" - Understanding the dynamics of this concept leads to an understanding of functional ways to prioritize and integrate realistic choices, including an integration of the worlds of work and home, free of guilt. When fear of success is caused by marianismo, women can be helped by understanding the power these beliefs exert and interfere within their professional development, existing potential, and growth in their careers. Traditional gender behaviour is questioned, but at the same time supported, allowing women to challenge these beliefs. The patient is also supported in learning and applying assertiveness skills both at home and at work.

6) "Do not Forget That Sex is For Making Babies, Not for pleasure" - The traditional sexual attitudes held by men and women impose significant guilt and anger for women. When this problem is presented in the treatment room the goal is to explore the traditional sexual attitudes held by both genders. Women express an absence of self-entitlement and refer more to a sense of duty. One helpful technique is to help women assess and re-program their sexuality in ways that promote an understanding of their feelings as a culturally learned imposition. They should feel entitled to their sexuality regardless of lifestyle.

7) Do Not Be Unhappy with Your Man, No Matter What He Does to You" - Obtaining

awareness of what constitute abuse is very important. Marianismo values can impact and prologue domestic violence, a very serious and tragic problem. When a woman presents domestic violence as a problem, the clinician should first assess that the patient or members of the family are not in immediate danger. Then the initial intake interview as well as the subsequent focus of the therapy can be beneficial by elucidating the many pressures accompanying the fulfilment of a career, and a family and available solutions can be explored. Abuse can also be psychological and requires awareness and support. These problems should be explored along with marianismo's values that can dynamically make a woman feel that she is appreciated and admired by being a victim.

8) "Do Not Ask for Help" - Exploration of this culturally infused value often requires helping women to become aware of the source of this conflict and to find realistic ways to seek viable help with family care, including the extended family and the home without carrying a sense of guilt, or unrealistic feelings of incompetence.

9) "Do Not Discuss Personal Problems Outside the Home" – Seeking professional help from a mental health professional still carries stigma and disapproval in traditional societies. This belief can make women feel ashamed for seeking mental health help and can be used by family members or others as a sign of weakness. This is a very important component to be addressed with career women seeking professional help. Addressing this issue allows the treatment to evolve by removing emotional confusion and paving the way for women to move on with their lives by discarding or modifying certain beliefs that cause difficulties in performing different roles.

10) "Do Not Change" - Dynamics of change bring fear, and it is recommended that these are explored, in particular the fear of change, its consequences, and gains. The recognition by clinicians of the impact marianismo exerts in many career women can serve as a vehicle for change. The therapy focuses initially in helping the patient understand what aspects of their life they feel require change, and whether marianismo has had effects on the progress of their careers and well-being.

Conclusion

Women presenting gender role conflicts in the treatment room can be helped through the understanding that for them both families and careers are central to their lives. They can be helped to gain insight into the source of their conflicts, which need to be addressed and understood as resulting from the barriers imposed by gendered social contexts (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987). The first and most crucial part of addressing this problem is to look at the unconscious pressures imposed by marianismo and machismo. This is very important to understand because values in traditional cultures resist changes or create emotional turmoil if not properly understood and put in to perspective by those following them.

In the treatment room, women can also benefit from obtaining insight into their definition of success, which includes more than just paid work. Understanding that success has different implications for women who hold traditional values can facilitate a different understanding for them. This understanding allows these women to follow their own set of recommendations accepting the realities of their different demands as women who desire to have a successful family and career. This understanding often minimizes their sense of guilt and low self-esteem. Part of the attainment of this shift in understanding depends on removing the source of guilt associated with marianismo. This can be achieved if women

can modify their appreciation of the early learned values without feeling that they are betraying themselves. Changing the mind set could benefit women's functioning in their family and career roles, since for the most part most women who succeed in both family and career still feel that they have missed something. Changing this mindset is an issue for older women, but many younger women have not achieved this emotional balance and still have problems with self-esteem. Overall, at the moment there seems to be reason to believe that the definition of success for career women lies in their own definition of success which is measured through their socialization based on their gender (O'Neil, Hopkins and Bilimoria, 2008; Sturges, 1999; Melamed, 1995).

There is a need to conduct research that further advances women's career development. Besides studies that focus on mentoring, networking and sexual harassment, or existing barriers, such as those imposed by the 'glass ceiling' and sex-based discrimination. These were conducted at the Harvard Business School in a case study that looked at gender equity (Kantor, 2013). While studies in these areas inform the development of women's careers, they lack a precise look at the specifics of gender role expectations, such as marianismo and machismo; Studies of marianismo and machismo need to be replicated with a larger number of women. An understanding of this subject would provide more comprehensive knowledge that would contribute to the understanding of women's conflicts in their career development in their contemporary lives. Further research in this area should examine the career development of women in different developmental stages of their lives and circumstances as well as include members of different ethnic groups and economic circumstances.

Giving voice to women's own career and life experiences is an area of study that should be given priority. In particular, the research into the application of assertiveness and leadership skills that could possibly help to resolve the gender wage gap. In addition, "respect" paid to women is another area for future research. Lack of respect for women has often occurred on the senate floor of the United States, in the film and television industry, in health care areas, and the banking and technology industry. A study conducted at Yale University reported that male senators with more power based on tenure and leadership spoke more than their junior colleagues. This has not been the case for women with equal power. Men were seen as more competent, listened to more frequently and allowed a stronger voice than women, as further corroborated in a study evaluating chief executives representing both genders (New York Times, 2014). Gender bias based on machismo beliefs, as exemplified by Princeton Eating Club e-mails ridiculing women, and the Harvard Business School Case Study (Gender Equity, Kantor, 2013, *New York Times*, discussed earlier) should be studied further in order to develop understanding of the origin of these biases and to facilitate the finding ways to eliminate them (*NY Times*, 2014). It seems that the attainment of success free of guilt for career women and men, as well as the avoidance of gender gaps could be achieved by including a real commitment to a new mindset. In this new mindset, women, girls, men and boys would receive the message from parents and society in general of an equal responsibility for the welfare of the family and the freedom to choose a career within their ability that they would like. The cultural and societal messages to women that their plight in life is to be the sole caretakers of the family places many women in the position of striving for unattainable standards. These messages must be modified with more realistic goals that place equal responsibilities on the caretaking of children and the extended family by both genders.

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Women are the Breadwinners and Men are the Homemakers: Gender Socialization in Culture, Society, and Education

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the impact of gender socialization in culture, society, and education, with a focus on how both student's and teacher's cultural and societal conditioning influence their behaviors in educational settings. To answer the question of what gender norms and beliefs of a teacher are transmitted to the classroom, the paper examines of how society and culture reinforce gender roles in education. Examples of gender socialization, gender roles, and sex stereotypes are used to discern the inequality in teaching students of different genders and sexes. The paper further analyzes how teachers' biases can be detrimental to the learning of their students and how societal norms are sustained through self-fulfilling prophecies. Finally, the importance of gender competence for teachers is spotlighted and the significance of gender equity, as a powerful way to assure that students are granted fair opportunities in education, is brought to the foreground.

Introduction

Gender socialization as a norm seems to be a cultural universal trait of all societies. Gender socialization is considered a major component of socialization as a whole; it is the "process through which individuals learn to perform certain roles considered appropriate for each sex" (Erden, 2009, p. 410). Learning how to act and interact in a society is generally key for survival. We learn how to do this through various methods of socialization, through understanding societal norms, and enforcing sanctions on those who go against norms. Ultimately, girls and boys are socialized differently in a society so they may better fit their predetermined gender roles. Depending on who you ask, gender roles can be based on both nature and nurture; just like race, gender is socially defined. However, the origination of some gender roles stemmed from the biological differences in females and males.

In many societies around the world, a simplification and generalization of male gender roles involves being the breadwinner of the household and doing manual/outside labor (to name only a couple), and female gender roles include being the homemaker and caretaker of the children and family. Bear in mind that there are some societies were such gender roles are reversed and assigned to the opposite sex. So, how do such "predetermined" gender roles affect our students? Do teachers treat the sexes differently? If yes, what are the long-term consequences and are they really considered consequences? These are just a few of the questions that will be answered in a narrow scope throughout this paper. It was discovered that, yes, research has been done on gender socialization and education but not as much as one may hope.The issues being raised in this paper embody the impact of gender roles/socialization in education. One of the key objectives of education is to enable students to be aware and realize their capabilities while trying to reach their full potential and sometimes gender roles/expectations get in the way of such freedoms.

Gender Socialization, Gender Roles, and Sex Stereotypes

There is a common misconception that no difference exists between sex and gender, however, simply put gender deals with the parts one plays in society (gender is one's social identity – an identity that is culturally accepted for each sex, male or female) while sex deals with the parts a person has. Gender is also a large part of one's psychological and cultural identity. Needless to say, both play an integral role in how we live our lives individually and in our society. Gender roles like boys do the yard work, the car fixing, technical adjusting, while girls do the cooking and cleaning, babysitting, are just a few examples of simplified gender expectations. These gender roles differ from family to family, from culture to culture, and from country to country, but an expectation of each sex is typically set. These in term are a part of a culture's norms; they help teach people how to conform and behave in a society.

Gender socialization was defined in the introduction, however, other definitions exist. Shepard defines gender socialization as "the social process in which boys learn to act the way society assumes boys will act and girls learn to act in ways society expects of them" (Shepard, 2013, p.281). Upon first reading this definition, we may find no issue with it; however, if you were to give it a second read, you may see the subtly of the word choice. The definition in itself is perpetuating gender socialization by saying boys are assumed to act a certain way while we expect girls to act differently. Such subtleties are a prime example of how our society reinforces gender roles and how we may not be aware that we are a part of perpetuating a negative lifestyle upon our students.

At birth, we are socializing our children toward a particular gender. For example, boys are wrapped in blue blankets while girls are wrapped in pink blankets. This is the establishment of

incurring either feminine or masculine ideals. For we tend to associate pink with females and blue with males. This is also seen later in life when there is a hesitance within the male sex to not wear pink due to it being too feminine, and men continually deal with the questioning of their masculinity. Other forms of gender socialization involve the distribution of chores among siblings. Which sex tends to do more household cleaning chores and which tends to do more outdoor labor? What children are taught to wear is another way to reinforce gender expectations. How parents treat their children can reinforce gender roles. Girls tend to be coddled more while boys are told to suck it up and not cry.

Males and females are socialized differently. Children learn at an early age what is expected of them and what is gender appropriate. Some of these norms are learned from gender/sex stereotypes like men being seen as strong, independent, sexually aggressive, and confident, while women are seen as submissive, dependent, emotional, nurturing, and sexually passive (Shepard, 2008). These traits are reinforced in the household followed by the educational system. "Each teacher…will transmit her own gender role expectations to children, reinforcing appropriate behaviors and punishing inappropriate ones" (Erden, 2009, p. 410). It is difficult for teachers to avoid bias in the classroom. Our beliefs and experiences help shape our teaching methods and approaches. "Stereotypes are recognized and acquired by the individual in the course of gender socialization. The educational system, as a leading institution of socialization, plays a key role in this process" (Auhadeeva, Yarmakeev & Aukhadeev, 2015, p. 33). School is where a great deal of gender roles and gender stereotypes become fixed in the student's mind and where behaviors are greatly practiced.

Gender Equality in and through Education
It is important to state and be aware of the fact that gender roles/socialization in today's (Western) world are shifting. Societies are stepping away from old views of women being the caretakers and men being the breadwinner, but it is a slow and difficult process. Despite the shift, there is still evidence pointing to the unfair treatment of the sexes in schools as well as differing expectations for each sex. "It was found that teachers [in 1990] perceived male students as being their best students. They found their best students to be more logical and competitive, and to enjoy mathematics more compared to their best female students…teachers believed that boys possessed scientific skills to a greater degree than girls" (Erden, 2009, p. 410). If there are educators who strive to teach each sex differently and make assumptions on how they learn, are they doing a disservice to their students and/or society?

There was an extensive study done by Myra and David Sadker in the late 1980s. The study focused on fourth, sixth, and eighth grade students and found that boys were overall more assertive than girls. "Boys were eight times more likely than girls to call our answers, whereas girls sat patiently with their hands raised" (Shepard, 2013, p. 281). Sadker and Sadker believe this behavior was caused by differential treatment given by the teachers. There was an understanding that it is okay for boys to blurt out the answer because, 'boys will be boys' while girls are expected to not shout and to raise their hand. Sadker and Sadker found these results to be subtle yet impactful: "Boys should be academically assertive and grab teachers' attention; girls should act like ladies and keep quiet" (1991, p. 86). So, how often do such subtleties go under the radar and what harm is truly coming of them? These are questions educators and parents alike need to ask themselves.

Self-Fulfilling Prophecy
One area educators need to be careful to avoid is negative self-fulfilling prophecies. A self-fulfilling prophecy is where a person is told something (whether true or not) and they start to

believe to where it eventually comes true. A perfect example of this would be telling girls they are not good at math. There is much debate over whether or not boys truly are better at math or that both sexes fair equally well but are socialized to believe differently. Once again, we come back to the subtleties of teaching. What one says can truly make a difference for better or worse. Children should be allowed to freely express their interests in education and life without being stereotyped as not good enough to succeed at certain subject matters.

> The gender approach in education aims to promote schoolchildren's individual manifestations of gender characteristics (masculine, feminine, androgynous), their freedom of expression and the development of the qualities that may go beyond gender stereotypes, which means successful gender socialization, self-actualization, and self-realization (Auhadeeva, Yarmakeev, & Aukhadeev, 2015, p. 34).

The above quote is what educators should strive to achieve. Individuality and learning who you are is an important part of growth. If a young boy shows interest in sewing, they should not be denied the chance to pursue that skill. Too often prejudices based on sex can be seen in how teachers treat their students or how students perceive how they are being treated. A study conducted by Auhadeeva, Yarmakeev, & Aukhadeev showed that 79% of students believed their teachers were friendlier to girls, which was tied to the sex stereotypes of girls being more obedient and careful and better at school while boys were seen as distracted and less diligent (2015). Much of this paper thus far has covered more of the nurture argument, but the aforementioned traits are more associated with sex. How does biology play a role in gender socialization? Are girls truly more obedient and boys less diligent?

Biological Determinism and Reverse Gender Socialization
There is a term in sociology that describes the actions of males and females as solely dependent on their sex and the biological traits of each sex (Shepard, 2013). This term is known as *biological determinism*. The main idea behind this concept is that males and females have a diverse and different biological makeup that influences their behavior in society. For example, males have higher levels of testosterone and, therefore, will be more aggressive, while females have more estrogen and, therefore, will be more emotionally connected. It is said that heterosexual men subconsciously choose mates that are younger and more physically fit while heterosexual women choose more mates who are more economically stable (Shepard, 2013). Why? Does it all come down to biology and survival of the fittest? Both sexes have an innate need to produce offspring and protect them. Males choosing mates that can better handle childbirth and are more likely to produce healthy children. Females are looking for a household where their children's basic needs would be met and money tends to assure that. However, this is only one form of thinking in sociology and many sociologists do not see biological determinism as a single variable for the difference in gender behavior.

One of the origins of gender roles goes way back to hunter and gatherer societies; there are still some societies around the world that live under this lifestyle. Why is it that males were the ones who went off to battle or did the dangerous tasks of hunting while the women stayed home? One factor pertains to the survival of the human species. To a certain degree, men were considered more dispensable than women. The population only required one male to sustain itself (obviously not the best route to take) in regards to procreation. Whereas, it would take multiple females to more thoroughly keep a society alive.

Margaret Mead, an American anthropologist, who examined how culture and socialization can influence gender role behavior (Shepard, 2013), studied a few primitive tribes in New Guinea. The results worked to disprove some of the biological determinism theories presented by demonstrating the complexity of human nature. Her discoveries showed both men and women taking on what were traditionally roles of the opposite sex or both sexes acted masculine. Therefore, biology was not always the sole independent variable behind behavior.

Similarly, Howard Zinn (2003), an American historian, later discovered similar switches with the League of the Iroquois that had socialized to a completely matriarchal society where women had the power, respect, and even took charge of military activities. All of the aforesaid conveys the importance of societal influence. Ultimately, "individuals can fairly easily be socialized into the gender of the opposite sex" (Shepard, 2013, p. 277). This statement is imperative to gender socialization in schools. When discussing the impacts teacher's biases, and the consequent behaviors, can have on their students, especially during primary education, we need to bear in mind the somewhat malleable nature of our youth, i.e., children can be molded just as much by the actions of others as by their own experiences, among other factors.

Gender Competence of Teachers
One of the avenues toward more gender equality in the classroom is making teachers aware of their biases toward gender and how they transmit those beliefs in their teaching. The beliefs of teachers "have an impact on their behaviors in the classroom, their preparation and delivery of instruction, and their learning from their own teaching practices" (Erden, 2009, p. 409). Erden mentions how empirical studies provide supporting evidence to the aforementioned statement. Teachers' perceptions and behaviors are the making of their past experiences; experiences that were influenced by society and culture. Teachers are just as much a product of their culture and society as their students. "A gender competence of the teacher means awareness of the organizational, psychological, pedagogical, and didactic aspects in managing schoolchildren's educational activities based on their gender-specific attitudes" (Auhadeeva, Yarmakeev, & Aukhadeev, 2015, pp. 35-36). Eliminating preferential treatment of students and children in society no matter their sex is a way to better the lives of our students and society as a whole. Gender competence can also lead to acceptance which creates its own ripple effect.

Shifts and What We Do Can
Today in the United States, gender socialization is shifting gears into a society with less focus on a patriarchal theme; however, patriarchy is still very evident in U.S. culture, society, and education. "Research has documented remarkable change in women and men's attitudes about gender in the United States over the past several decades" (Cunningham, Beutal, Barber, & Thornton, 2005, p. 863). Too often children are pressured to choose a gender at an early age and, if chosen gender is not one that matches their sex, they tend to face strong social pressures to go against their individuality and their true gender identity. However, there is a debate now that switches up the standard belief of which sex is hurting in education. The strong feminist movement of gender equality has focused more on the inequality of females versus both sexes.

Therefore, a shift is becoming evident, especially in higher education; we are seeing more women graduate high school and attend college than men. Some of the reasons for the gender role shifts in the U.S. are social structural factors like "educational attainment, women's employment, living arrangements, and family formation…to the extent that individuals believe that the family responsibilities of women and men should be relatively similar" (Cunningham, Beutal, Barber, & Thornton, 2005, p. 863). As more women becoming the breadwinners.

Hopefully, this shift will equate to a more equitable society and more gender equality in the classroom for both sexes.

How can we make a difference as educators in the realm of gender equality teaching? We must first become aware of where our gender biases stand as well as the gender biases in our culture and society. Next, we must be willing to make the necessary corrections to our beliefs and behaviors toward gender roles. The aforesaid can be done in various ways. One could take a course on gender equality in education and maybe this should be a requirement for teacher education programs. A teacher could record how they teach and respond to their students while in the classroom followed by critically analyzing how they treated each sex. Research was done by Tipton and Robertson in 1993 that had teachers do the above; the results involved the teachers being surprised at how they treated male and female students differently. Another idea is taking an implicit association test which is where a teacher could see if they have certain preferences toward each sex. Ultimately, it is the responsibility of the teacher to be aware of their personal beliefs and biases and recognize the necessary changes that are for the betterment of their student's education. "In all, different expectations from male and female students shape and modify the intellectual development of them limiting their capacities to achieve their fullest potentials" (Erden, 2009, p. 410). Education is a basic human right and plays an important role in allowing for discovery of individuality.

Conclusion

Teachers and students alike need to be aware of how gender socialization leaves impressions on their social lives inside and outside the classroom. There is no specific way to live life, but there are certain societal norms that are not meant to be broken and others that could use some tweaking. Many gender roles and stereotypes are some of the aspects of society that could flourish from some changes. Johnson (1997) mentioned that we, as a society, act like those playing a game of Monopoly. We carry on with the idea of having to follow certain rules and goals that society defines for us, and those rules tend to limit our abilities. It is a rarity for people to realize they can change the rules. In education, we have to examine those rules and understand where those rules came from. In order to do that, we need to place ourselves in those people's shoes. "To use the game analogy, it's a mistake to assume that we can understand players' behavior without paying attention to the game they're playing" (Johnson, 1997, p. 35). Then we need to determine their applicability. Depending on the circumstances, there are many rules that need to be broken or restructured. Simple examples could be the books children are allowed to read due to "questionable" content and the reinforcement of specific gender roles. As educators, we need to spark our students' interest to ask questions, to determine if that "questionable" content is just that or if certain gender roles are ones we have to follow. The idea is to help create "individuals who are motivated to interrogate their personal assumptions as well as those that are embedded in the educational and larger social systems in which they operate" (Leland, 2000, p. 4). Always have them asking, "Why?" More times than not it is not the answer that provides knowledge but learning what questions to ask. "Instead of being positioned as helpless victims, they are positioning themselves as social activists who are challenging the status quo and asking for change" (Leland, 2000, p. 6). Just because we are assigned a certain sex at birth does not mean we have to act a certain way; teachers and students should embrace their true identity even if it means going against the grains of society. There are some rules that perhaps are meant to be broken.

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Multiple Identities of Media Labourers and Experiences of Creative Autonomy: An Empirical Investigation from a TV-Producer/Director's Perspective[1]

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Abstract

This paper seeks to fill a gap between existing theories of cultural work and the lived experience of creative labourers. After identifying certain limitations in mainstream theories of cultural work that are implicitly based on the image of traditional artistic labour, the paper suggests that there is a need to consider the various desires of creative workers in current creative industries. Arguing that the multiple wishes of creative workers are based on their multiple identities, the paper examines the idea of multiple identities and its relationship with creative autonomy by analysing the case of Korean television PDs (Producer-Directors) in the light-entertainment genre. Finally, a new analytical framework of creative autonomy that elucidates the paradoxical and complex nature of creative production process and creative labour is suggested.

Keywords: Creative labour, creative autonomy, multiple identities, television industry, creative production process

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[1] This chapter is drawn from my PhD dissertation, tentatively entitled "Multiple identities of creative labourers and the negotiated creative autonomy: An empirical research of the light-entertainment television PDs in South Korea" (University of Warwick, in progress).
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Introduction

It is widely believed that creative and media organisations should loosely control employees during the creative production process by offering them a certain level of creative autonomy, but these organisations should tightly monitor and manage the distribution and reproduction process of creative products (Hesmondhalgh, 2009). Recently, academic interest in cultural work and creative labour has increased, but the concept of creative autonomy remains largely dependent on the images of traditional artistic labour. In reality however, the creative industries are now typically a commercialised market environment and many believe it seems very unlikely that contemporary creative labourers will have true creative autonomy. Due to the tendency to use traditional approaches when considering the creative industry and its creative work, the ability for creative labourers to maintain a good level of creative freedom has largely been denied in previous literature. As a result, there has been little space within which to discuss the importance of autonomous creative labour in the constant development and innovation of the industry. This paper seeks to fill this gap by conducting empirical research with creative labourers in the Korean television industry.

I begin by pointing out the limitations of mainstream theories of cultural work: due to the fact that these theories often deny the possibility of creative autonomy, this in turn leads to an inability to consider the value of creative autonomy within the creative production process. I then suggest that there is a need to look beyond the artistic desire of creative workers and will argue that we need to acknowledge the multiple wishes of such workers based on their multiple identities. To understand the concept of identity, organisational identity, social identity, and multiple identities for this research, I briefly summarise the relevant theories. In the last section, I analyse the concept of multiple identities and creative autonomy with the case of Korean television Producer-Director (PD) in the light-entertainment genre. Finally, I suggest a new analytical framework of creative autonomy based on my findings.

Denial of Creative Autonomy

To date, there has been a tendency in the discussion of the creative autonomy of cultural workers for studies to largely be based on the cultural studies tradition. Indeed, most traditional views on cultural production understand creative labourers as a kind of 'artistic' worker. Naturally, within the context of highly commercialised cultural/creative industries, the possibility of having 'true' creative autonomy during the production process has been largely denied. Adorno and Horkheimer's (1992) culture industry critique has laid the foundation for criticism of the standardisation of the cultural industry. It argues that the commercialisation of the cultural industry forces creative labourers to follow industrial demands, rather than pursuing their own creative endeavours. In this sense, writers then assume it is inevitable that creative workers must compromise their level of artistic autonomy due to commercial relations.

Neo-Foucauldian views on cultural production also established negative approaches to the concept of creative autonomy with the idea of 'governmentality'. Foucault believed that the identity of individuals naturally reflects the power relationships and social dynamics within society, as identity is constructed through primary discourse within the given society. Based on such approaches, many have understood creative workers to be a vulnerable work force consisting of labourers who are self-motivated toward the creative process. Neo-Foucauldians suggested that although creative companies are believed to allow a good degree of creative autonomy to workers within the creative industries, the firms in fact have the goals of growth in productivity and efficiency, and as a result, self-motivated labourers become exploited. In

this vein, many scholars pointed out that such a tendency has been linked to job instability, long working hours, and relatively low wages (for example, Banks, 2007; Ross, 2003; Stahl, 2005).

Meanwhile, Bourdieu framed the concept of creative autonomy and the nature of the cultural industry somewhat differently. For Bourdieu, creative workers well recognise the fact that they are not fully autonomous but by maintaining the superficial image of autonomous artistic labour they understand that this in turn brings financial rewards (Bourdieu & Nice, 1980). From this perspective, a good level of creative autonomy (whether or not it is superficial) is believed to be beneficial to both the industry and cultural workers themselves, as it produces a 'belief' in art, which conceals the bare face of commercialism.

To date, these three approaches to cultural work have been primary foundation upon which the possibility of true creative freedom within the cultural industry has been denied (Banks, 2010). From such structural perspectives, it is believed that workers are implicitly guided to work more effectively and productively as their identities are constructed by reflecting the given social orders and values (Du Gay, 2007; Prichard, 2002). Furthermore, it seems that such negative views are very closely related to the traditional images of artistic workers.

Beyond Artistic Desires

Although the concepts of creativity and commerce are not necessarily polarised, in many cases, cultural work-related studies still primarily centre on the traditional views of artistic work in which cultural workers are understood to be people who produce 'art for art's sake'. Even after "the myth of genius" has been shunned (Bilton, 2010; Sawyer, 2006; Weisberg, 1986), many still believe that the creative autonomy of creative labourers is needed for individuals to express their own innate artistic creativity.

However, when it comes to the cultural production process of contemporary creative workers, the underlying thought that creative autonomy is needed almost exclusively for the aesthetic independence of creative workers does not seem appropriate. Above all, such an interpretation is unable to reflect the complex nature of the creative production process in current creative industries. Contemporary creative labourers are not a group of people who are quietly waiting for their own muse to appear; rather, creative workers produce cultural products by aiming to bring about 'communication of experience' with others through the product (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). To such creative workers, having active communication and sufficient interactions with multiple stakeholders is surely crucial. For instance, receiving feedback or praise from co-workers and audiences becomes an important motivator for creative labourers. At the same time, creative workers desire to have a good life with an appropriate level of work-life balance and a living wage.

That is not to say that creative labourers today do not wish to have artistic independence during the creative production process; rather, after recognising the given structural conditions of the industry, creative labourers actively search for a way to maintain their artistic independence as a creative self by actualising their own self-expression through their work. Within the current commercial cultural industry, their goal may be to become successful both creatively and commercially. In this sense, the traditional concept of the aesthetic or artistic drive of creative workers is somewhat inadequate. Instead, we need to redefine the concept of creative autonomy in a way that allows consideration of the multiple wishes expressed by creative labourers

through their work based on their multiple identities. In turn, this allows us to explore the continuing creative development of the industry under a highly commercialised market environment. I also believe that such an approach might enable us to find an answer that could lead to the growth of not only the industry and organisations but also individuals. It is on this basis that the present research is founded.

Understanding Multiple Identities of Creative Labourers and Multiple Desires

1) Overcoming Dichotomies of Identity
Recently, many have understood the concept of identity at work within a postmodern frame, which considers the fragmentation and dislocation of the identity of individual workers. In general, it has been believed that a largely fragmented contemporary society will lead individuals to have a weak and corroded identity in their working process, which in turn causes employees to have a lack of stability and a meaningless working experience (Beck, 2000; Sennett, 1999).

Several new frames of identity, which consider the inter-relationships between individuals and social structures, have been constructed to overcome this dichotomy of essentialism-structuralism. As widely quoted, Pierre Bourdieu (1990) framed the inter-relationship between individuals and social structures with the concept of 'habitus'. For Bourdieu, individuals inevitably reproduce the social and cultural norms of the privileged class through inclinations that create habitus (Mowbray, 2014). It is true that Bourdieu admitted the possibility of autonomy in individual choice, but he was pessimistic about the likelihood that autonomous individuals could overturn the dominant social order. Bourdieu believed that it is hard to deny a given structure, as individuals will inevitably willingly advocate the habitus having experienced the benefits of following social values and norms.

Meanwhile, other more optimistic views have also emerged, which claim that market opportunities allow individuals to have more autonomous self-expression, and the capacity of an individual to enhance a given situation will be linked to more assertive career planning and the self-growth of individual workers (Giddens, 1991). Giddens believed that autonomous and knowledgeable individuals could bring about the change and development of social structures. For Giddens, individuals are able to behave based on their own intentions and autonomy and are thus able to effect change, even though they may not be able to anticipate and manage all unknown eventualities (Ha, 2006). He did not believe that individuals could have complete autonomy, but he also resisted the idea that a given social structure automatically determines an individual's identity. From this perspective, individuals have the capacity to subjectively construct their 'essential' identity, and in the process, they are believed to have a certain degree of autonomy to behave based on their own preferences and intentions.

2) Social Identity, Organisational Identity, and Multiple Identities
It seems many have agreed with the view that the identity of a person is inherently fluid (Cornelissen et al., 2007; Du Gay, 1996; van Zoonen, 1998). Different from essentialism, in reality, the identity of an individual is not automatically constructed but formulated within various structural and individual dynamics. Thus, it can be seen that a given external environment can change a person's identity, but such change is not a complete alteration of identity. Rather, it is likely to be much closer to the blending of various identities within oneself.

The idea of multiplicity can be traced back to Plato's Republic and Phaedrus. Plato observed that individuals tend to have a certain inner conflict because sometimes they desire different things at the same time. The struggles between multiple identities were also observed by Freud, and he suggested that psychological health could be achieved by achieving balance between different identities (Engler, 2013). While Plato and Freud were primarily concerned about inner psychological conflicts, Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory and subsequent studies have focused more on the interrelations between the external environment and an individual's identification process. According to social identity theory, people come to formulate multiple identities by reflecting their association with a specific group (Cornelissen et al., 2007; Haslam & Ellemers, 2006). After establishing a new social identity within a group, individuals begin to reflect intergroup behaviour and establish a sense of self-esteem when their in-group performance is superior to that of their out-group performance. Social identity theory argues that such changes in individual behaviour should not be interpreted as 'dehumanisation' or 'deindividuation', but as 'depersonalisation' (Hogg, 1996). The experience of social identity is not a loss of 'essential' identity but is a change of context within the multiple levels of one's identity.

The concept of organisational identity in Business and Management studies is also very similar to the above idea of group behaviour and multiple identities. Such views have been applied to explore how employees can be encouraged to have an organisational identity, which is often a core driving force of organisational development (Haslam & Ellemers, 2006). It is believed that once individual employees come to have an organisational identity, their desires for self-development will be linked to the development of the organisation.

However, we need to consider the fact that great differences remain between individual employees under the same organisational environment. Van Zoonen's (1998) view on organisational identity shows individual differences during the identification process and reflects the importance of subjectivity within the socialisation process. Van Zoonen's idea of organisational identity is a negotiating process between structures and subjectivity (see Figure 1). While an organisational identity reflects structural imperatives, it also reflects individual tastes and subjective factors. From this perspective, an organisational identity cannot simply be built under restrictive organisational power. Van Zoonen's flexible organisational identity model allows us to identify the high level of subjectivity in the identification process within an organisation.
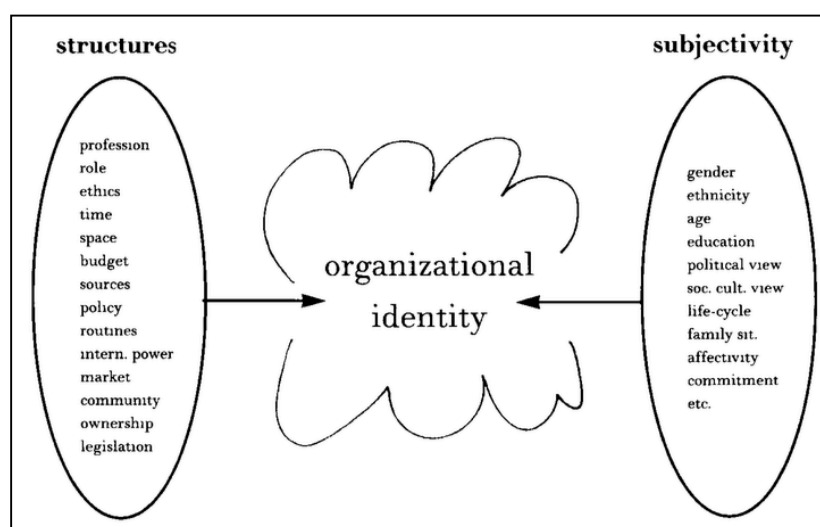
Figure 1: Organisational Identity in Journalism (van Zoonen, 1998, p. 137)

This process by which an organisational identity is established can be also applied to other types of social identities, such as professional identity. By continuously negotiating and balancing between newly emerged social identities, individuals aim to have a better quality of life.

Experiences of Multiple Identities by Korean Television PDs

The primary subjects of the current study are television PDs (Producer-Director) of the light-entertainment genre in South Korea. Due to the cooperative nature of the broadcasting system, PDs establish their career more or less by working as an employee in an organisation (either full-time, part-time or freelance). Regardless of a specific organizational type (terrestrial broadcaster, cable television company, or independent production company), it is fair to say that most PDs in the same genre experience analogous career stages to become a Main PD (see Figure 2). From the Main PD stage, they are believed to have specialised skills and knowledge, and are able to produce their own programme with a relatively high level of autonomy from idea incubation through to post-production.

Figure 2: Typical Process of being a Main PD

Based on my in-depth interviews with Main PDs, I will observe how a PD comes to formulate his or her multiplicity throughout the career development process. After entering into the labour market, the multiple selves of a PD are not automatically formulated; rather, their multiplicity is constructed through the career development process itself as PDs experience dynamic socialisation processes both within and outside of their organisations. As a result, PDs typically have multiple desires based on their multiple identities. My aim here is not to generalise a concept of PD identity, but to create an analytical framework of multiplicity, which has the capacity to consider both the specificity of creative labour and the paradoxical nature of creative autonomy.

From 2012 to 2014, 23 interviews were conducted with 16 Main PDs working in the light-entertainment genre in South Korea. To reflect the diverse nature of the Korean television industry, interviewees from all four types of PD employment were recruited: terrestrial broadcasters, cable broadcasting companies, independent production companies, and freelancer PDs. All interviewees have debuted as a Main PD with their own programmes and the average length of career was 14.4 years.

1) Individual Idealism about the PD Job (Before Entering the Role)

The majority of my interviewees shared that they had an interest in the PD position from a very early age. Some interviewees became interested in broadcasting through their experiences as an ordinary viewer, but a few PDs were able to observe the television production process directly via others in their family and social circle. For instance, the father of Interviewee SP (Main PD at a cable broadcasting company, 24 years of career) worked as a senior make-up artist, allowing Interviewee SP access to one of the most privileged terrestrial broadcasters from his childhood.

Also, there were many interviewees whose interest in a broadcasting job had arisen through the practical experience of producing an amateur programme in further education, including not only universities and colleges but also private institutions (so called 'Broadcasting Academies'). Interviewee OJ (Freelancer Main PD, 15 years of career) graduated from a media college where he had opportunity to experience the attractiveness of the audience reaction towards a programme.

> It was an amazing experience to express my thoughts and social endeavour through video content. I made a documentary film about a disabled professor in my school. The professor was unpopular and students hated him. But surprisingly, after the screening of my film, I heard that many student audiences burst into tears. You know what, then everything has changed. The professor became such a star. It was literally a thrilling experience. And I realised that I wanted PD to become my life-long job.
>
> Interviewee OJ

The majority of interviewees stated that they had certain idealism about the PD role before entering the labour market. In particular, many identified the fact that it is possible to have a huge impact on both audiences and the world as one of the most valued elements of the PD role. Interviewee JP (Main PD at a cable television company, 13 years of career) expressed his subjective idealism in describing the ultimate goal of a PD.

> I know this sounds silly, but my everlasting goal is to make a programme that has a good impact on global audiences. It would be enough even for just a few seconds; if everybody in the world could see my programme…it is my final goal.
>
> Interviewee JP

In the later career stage, this kind of idealism is very likely to be linked to pressures on viewership ratings. Also, since PDs have such an idealistic notion of delivering their own creative ideas through a programme, they have a tendency to seek individual satisfaction in their work. With these ideals, PD candidates willingly invest considerable amounts of both time and money in preparing to become a PD. However, at the same time, they also have a different sense of idealism concerning the prospect of a stable job with a good wage that is able to bring them a good quality of life. Indeed, many have contended that the attractiveness of creative work lures people into the cultural/creative industries (for example, Ursell, 2006). However, from my interviews, I found that most PDs had a very practical approach to pursuing a career that is able to fulfil all their ideals.

2) Emergence of an Organisational Identity (AD to Ordinary PD stage)
It is fair to say that almost all PDs in the same genre experience a similar process of long-term on-the-job training as an AD (Assistant Director) after entering a broadcasting organisation.

Regardless of organisational types, PDs in their early career stages start to learn the skills and knowledge of a PD through an apprenticeship-like training system (so-called *Doje*) during the AD period. Typically, in *Doje* training, a new recruit is assigned to an immediate superior (usually a senior PD) and the superior takes responsibility for the training. At this stage, since many ADs are in a strictly controlled working environment, new recruits learn not only the basic skills of programme making but also reflect the implicit knowledge and culture of the given organisation.

The majority of my interviewees agreed that they were disillusioned when they realised they would not be able to create a great television programme immediately. Many of them stated that they were very frustrated with their marginal roles during the initial career stages. In most cases, an AD's life is expected to be very busy and challenging due to huge workloads and poor working conditions. However, many interviewees emphasised that their disappointment at the early career stage was not about the heavy workload but their inability to produce an actual television programme. For many respondents, their first moment of receiving feedback about their first opportunity to edit something to be actually aired, which is typically a 30 second trailer for a programme, was a vivid memory. Interviewee JL (Main PD at a cable television company, 14 years of career) explained her experience of such a moment:

> At first, I was swamped with a workload that was too heavy. But one day, they offered me a chance to make a short trailer. After editing it, their feedback was much greater than my expectation. That thrilling moment, like ecstasy…it was my main driving force. I can't forget the moment.
>
> Interviewee JL

Interviewees also explained that they were truly happy when their first video was shown on air (even though it was very short). Interviewee EK shared her experience as:

> The most memorable moment…it may be the very first moment that I saw the trailer I made was actually on TV. It was truly amazing. Although it was a really short trailer, it was just a wonderful feeling that audiences would have watched the trailer that I filmed and edited on my own!
>
> Interviewee EK

Through such experiences, PDs start to have a tendency to identify themselves with their work. During the editing process, PDs naturally express their own styles and preferences: however, this does not mean that PDs want to show their own 'essential' identity through editing; rather, they desire to have confirmation from colleagues and seniors that their style of making a video is acceptable at a professional level.

Having received such feedback, PDs become very sensitive to reactions to, and feedback on, their work. With the desire to receive positive feedback, PDs start to learn the shared aesthetic criteria of producing a programme within a given organisation. After identifying the 'right' way to make a video clip for audiences within an organisation, PDs begin to internalise certain shared standards in the field. However, from my interviews, it appeared that such phenomena should not be understood as the disappearance of individual idealism; rather, the tendency to conform could be identified as a temporary postponement of individual tastes and preferences in order to achieve an opportunity to do a 'real' thing at a later date (producing their own programme).

By using the model of organisational identity created by van Zoonen (1998, p. 137), the emerging organisational identity of a PD can be illustrated as in Figure 3. Despite some early disillusionment, their initial idealistic notions of the PD job do not completely disappear and this is maintained within the individual. As seen in Figure 3, the fluid nature of their organisational identity is always subject to negotiations between structures and subjectivity; consequently, their organisational identity shifts in accordance with both environmental factors and personal matters.

Figure 3: The construction process of the Organisational Identity of a PD

3) Emergence of a Professional Identity (Main PD stage)
In the Korean PD labour market, the debut as a Main PD is known as 'Ip-bong' (입봉). The length of time it takes to become a Main PD varies (from three to ten years) according to different genres and organisations. Interviewee HJ shared that it takes much longer for PDs in a bigger company to debut as a Main PD due to congestion of personnel.

Once debuted as a Main PD, individuals come to have relatively high levels of professional authority with full responsibility for a programme production. Although most Main PDs are working as employees within an organisation, sufficiently professionalised Main PDs are typically expected to be freed from direct organisational supervision, which means that they are believed to have the proper level of knowledge and skills to make a programme.

As a Main PD, PDs begin to perceive their colleagues as competitors and the gaps between individual PDs become larger. Thus, PDs must build a positive reputation within their field for excellence and uniqueness by creating a successful programme. Interviewee SL (Main PD at a cable television company, 8 years) explained his first experience as a Main PD:

> After moving to a new organisation, I needed to demonstrate my ability to make a programme efficiently and well. There are certain moments that we need to build trust within the organisation. At times like that, we do not try uncertain or unique ideas or experimental things. We should demonstrate the reliability of our performance first.
>
> Interviewee SL

It could be argued that such an experience reflects the subordinated nature of contemporary creative labourers who find themselves forced to conform to a given structure; however, many

of my interviewees viewed it as another rite of passage through which they could achieve the desired level of creative autonomy as a professional PD in a longer-term. To attain creative freedom once a certain degree of trust had been constructed between themselves and the organisation (and the industry as a whole), it seems that they were willing to set aside their own preferences. Interviewee BM (Main PD at a cable television company, 10 years) called this kind of mind-set 'dualistic':

> It's a dualistic attitude. If I make a programme that leads to a higher viewership rating, I can produce what I want for at least one programme. I'd like to keep this kind of balance throughout the rest of my career. This is an attempt to raise the possibility of making a programme that I like.
>
> Interviewee BM

During interviews, it appeared that PDs strongly desire to achieve a great level of creative autonomy in the future. To do so, many interviewees said that there were times when they should make a programme for an organisation that did not fit with their own style. Although the organisational identity becomes most salient at such moments, it should not be assumed that individual and professional identities have been completely subsumed. Many interviewees stressed that it was important to preserve their individual idealism even in such environment, as it is the primary driving force for maintaining and developing their creative capacity.

From this perspective, the three simultaneous identities of a Main PD can be identified: a *creative self* who constantly pursues individual enjoyment in creative work; an *employed creative labourer* who attempts to successfully acquire a good level of creative autonomy within the organisational environment; and a *creative professional* who desires to protect his or her creative autonomy and professional discretionary rights over production process by maintaining high ratings.

Again, the interrelationships between these different identities are subject to change according to structural and personal factors. From this perspective, a PD's multiple identities are also fundamentally fluid. PDs learn to balance various factors across their multiple selves to achieve a good level of creative autonomy (see Figure 4).
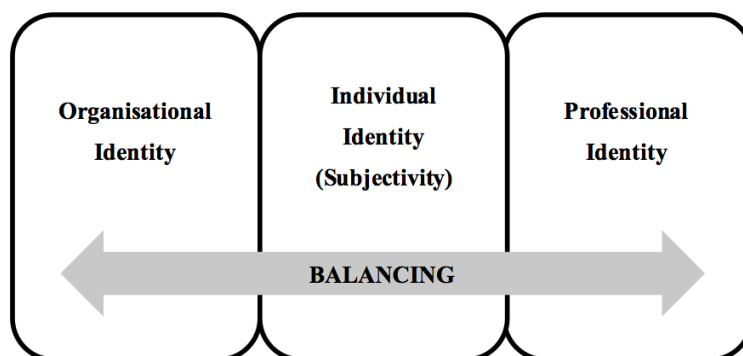

Figure 4: The Three Identities of a PD

Concluding Remarks
: Proposing a New Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy

Based on the idea of the multiple identities of creative workers, a new analytical model of creative autonomy can be suggested. As seen above with the case of television PDs in South Korea, the multiple identities of creative labourers are not formulated automatically but constructed throughout the career development process. Given the degree of variety in the creative industries, it may not be easy to generalise the path of a creative career, but Jones' (1996) articulation of the four stages of a project-based career appears to provide a model of the typical career path of creative work. Jones identified the career stages as: *beginning, crafting, navigating,* and *maintaining*. After entering into the job market (beginning), creative workers acquire necessary skills and knowledge through long-term on-the-job training (crafting). By the navigating stage, creative labourers continue the development of specialised skills to establish a positive reputation within their field. At the maintaining stage, creative labourers should not only act as a trusted professional but also maintain a good balance between their professional, organisational, and personal lives. With the case of a PD's career trajectory, each career development stage and its relationship to each type of identity can be mapped as in Figure 5.
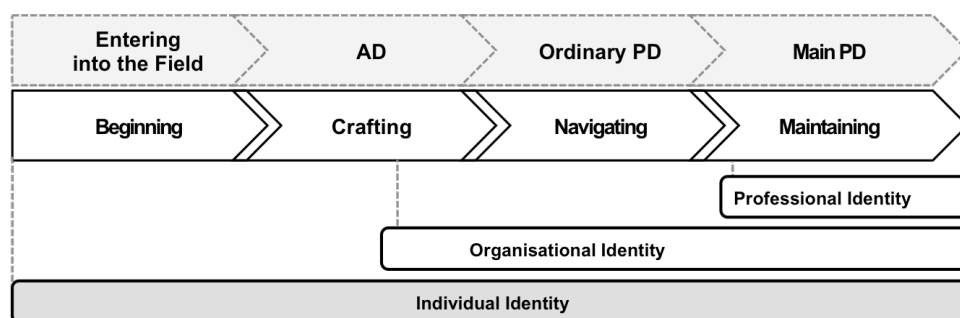

Figure 5: The construction process of multiple identities of a creative labourer

Since each identity respectively reflects individual creative ambitions (individual identity), organisational needs (organisational identity), and professional standards of the quality of a programme (professional identity), PDs become to desire different things at the same time during the creative production process. In doing so, the level of creative autonomy is negotiated by balancing the multiple desires of a creative worker has as a creative self, as an employed labourer, and a creative professional (See Figure 6). Consequently, a creative labourer comes to bring various values into their creative production process (both cultural and market values) by negotiating the level of creative autonomy within the organisational and industrial environment.
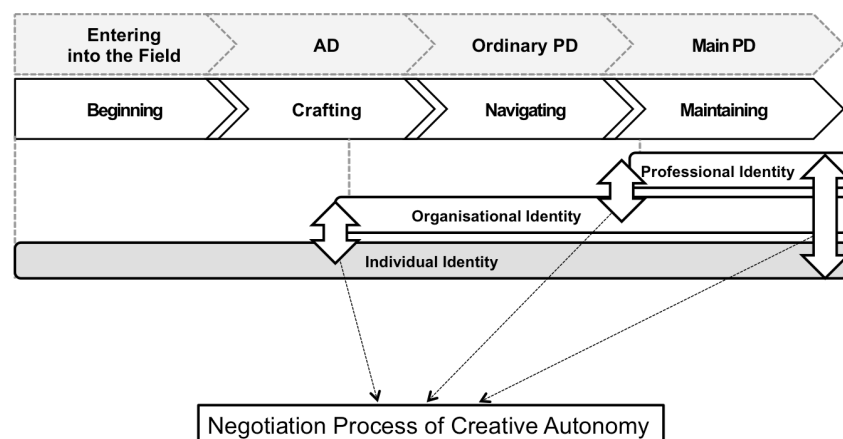
Figure 6: The analytical framework of creative autonomy

Through this new concept of creative autonomy, we become able to understand continuous innovation and creative development within today's highly commercialised creative industries. Although many have argued that individual creative workers subsume the value of their work to the given industrial structure, the core value of the creative industry still relies on individual creativity and intrinsically motivated creative labourers. If we are able to expand our view beyond the fixed image of creative work as artistic labour, and to recognise the various desires that creative labourers have in their work, we will be able to understand the industry and the nature of the creative production process through a more realistic and practical lens. As such, I believe we may then be able to identify the possibility of co-development of individuals, organisations, and the whole industry.

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Creating Community Engagements between People with Disability and the Local Community through Digital Storytelling

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Abstract

The International Federation of Social Workers adopted a new global definition of social work in 2014. Although promotion of social cohesion and respect for diversities was included in the new definition, social work practices for promoting cultural citizenship were still under developed in Japan. Since the 1990s, community arts organizations in Australia have developed community engagement projects for people with disabilities through digital media production, such as digital storytelling, film making etc. It is important to develop collaborative methods between social workers and artists to promote cultural citizenship as social inclusion for minority groups such as immigrants and people with disabilities.

With the aid of social workers and artists working in disability care fields, iPad digital storytelling workshops for people with intellectual disabilities were organized in Fukui, Japan from 2013 to 2014. The digital media training programs for human service professionals and social work students were organized in Sydney, Australia and Fukui, Japan prior to these workshops. During this research project, we conducted interviews with participants to understand the ways in which people with disabilities and the local community interact with each other through digital storytelling. This paper explores two key questions. Firstly, we examine how digital storytelling can be employed for community engagement between people with disabilities and the local community and how it can help them achieve cultural citizenship. Secondly, we investigate how we can develop social work practices for people with disabilities through digital storytelling.

Keywords: People with disabilities, digital storytelling, social work, digital media.

Introduction

A new global definition of social work was adopted by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) in 2014. IFSW is a global organization for social work professionals, which comprises 116 national associations. IFSW was granted Special Consultative Status by the United Nations[1]. Although promotion of social cohesion and respect for diversities in terms of cultural citizenship was additionally included in the new definition, social work studies on a practical level in terms of cultural citizenship are still in a developing area. Since the 1990s, community arts organisations in Western countries such as the UK, Canada and Australia have developed community engagement projects for migrants and people with disabilities through digital media projects. It is important to develop every aspect of the collaboration methods used between artists and social workers to promote notions of cultural citizenship for social minority groups.

This paper discusses the practice-based research methods for community cultural development projects carried out in Fukui, located in northwest Japan. Fukui prefecture is a regional area quite important to Japan because of its textile and mechanical industries, rice production and agriculture. Funaki, the onsite researcher, organized: 1) a visits to community arts organisations in Sydney, Australia; 2) the iPad Digital Storytelling (DST) workshops for people with autism spectrum disorder and their family in Japan. This research focuses mainly on two areas: First of all, the analysis of the effectiveness of community arts and cultural development through digital storytelling, promoting community engagement and community participation with people of disability in Japan; Secondly, this study examines how use is made of digital storytelling for social work practices with people of disability and their families to enhance their cultural citizenship.

Research Methods

For our research project, in 2012 and 2013 we conducted a week's visit to community arts organizations in Sydney, Australia. Funaki, with the financial support from the Unveil foundation, was the research coordinator for visits with social workers in Fukui. Japanese social workers received DST training by community artists in Sydney. An intensive DST training workshop was coordinated by the researcher in order to give social workers a chance to learn how to facilitate DST workshops for social minority groups. Secondly, with the aid of disability social workers in Japan, iPad digital storytelling workshops were organized or people with autism. Two DST's were created in August and October 2013. Finally, the exploratory research included interviews with the participants, this included a person with autism and his mother, and these were conducted by a social worker in 2013. The coordinator conducted the interview with the social worker. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to allow informants to speak freely, not only about their impression of the workshops but also their subjective values and the perceptions of community engagements between people with disabilities and the local community. The interviews lasted about an hour and were conducted in Japanese. They were filmed and edited by the coordinator.

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[1]http://ifsw.org/get-involved/global-definition-of-social-work/ accessed 22nd April, 2015.

Interviews were transcribed and analyzed thematically. Participants were fully briefed at an information session about this project and were able to watch the interviews and read the analysis documents of the researchers before the presentation. Written consent was obtained from the participant and his mother before the project commenced. I also conducted participant observation as a coordinator for the showcase event and interviews. This observation gave me valuable exposure to the communities sentiments as well as informal information that was shared among the participants, this proved to be invaluable as a foil to the more structured research.

This paper will not represent the perception of community engagement between people with disabilities and the local community through the use of digital media in Japan. The aim of this exploratory study is to bring about a new conceptual basis for social work practices with people with disabilities through the use of digital storytelling (Harrison, 2007:74).

A New Global Definition of Social Work

In this new definition, one will see two major changes from previous definitions. First of all, the social work profession's core mandates did not recognize problem solving in human relationships, but focused on the promotion of social change, and social development. Therefore, the participatory and person-centered approach is reflected in the study, with an emphasis on "social work that engages with people and structures to address life's challenges and enhance wellbeing." In this definition, social workers are encouraged to promote community-based practices as collaborators and facilitators by working with people rather than for people.

Secondly, promotion of social cohesion and respect for diversities was included in the new definition in terms of creating cultural citizenship. Social work in Western discourses respects the rights of people including civil and political rights, socio-economic and cultural rights, especially the conceptualization of social justice as a distributive justice that focuses unconsciously on the class division of societies (Hölscher 2012). Theories of the recognition for inclusive classless justice of people with disabilities criticize such a limited understanding of distributive justice (Young 1990). Frazer (2008) argued that the aim of social justice is for everybody to be able to participate equitably and equally as full partners, interacting with others and as fully recognized members of society in participatory parity. In order to achieve this participatory parity, it will be important to require a just distribution of rights, opportunities and resources, as well as equal recognition of status that is fair, while allowing people with disabilities a political voice (Hölscher, D. & Bozalek 2012). The internal status of the hierarchies among race, ethnicity, gender, disability etc., has been underestimated in the discussion of the revised global definition of social work. In this sense, the promotion of cultural rights and citizenship will be a significant issue in social work studies within the recognition of equal rights for the disabled and minority communities.

Community Arts and Community Cultural Development (CCD) in Australia

I have been researching social work and community development practices with social minority communities, such as migrants and refugees, or people with disabilities in Australia since 2005. I visited many ethnically diverse organizations and non-government organizations in NSW and Victoria, which engage in community rights and social services for these communities. Since the 1990s, community arts organisations in Western countries such as UK, Canada and Australia have developed community based cultural development projects for

migrants and people with disabilities, promoting the idea of cultural citizenship. It is important to develop the collaborative methods between artists and social workers, promoting the notion of cultural citizenship for social minorities. These projects are often referred to as Community Arts or Community Cultural Development (CCD) projects. The chief funding body for these outreach initiatives in Australia are the Australian Council of the Arts. The program is currently called the Community Partnerships program. Badham (2010) analyzed the characteristics of Community Partnership programs. She argues that CP promotes collaboration with non-arts organizations (such as health, welfare, education, and housing). Community Partnerships focuses its support in a number of specific areas, which include regional Australia, disabilities, young people, cultural diversity, emerging communities, indigenous people, remote Indigenous communities, and specific critical social and cultural issues requiring attention. Secondly, CP recommends an entrepreneurial model with self-generated revenue sources. Artists in CP are expected to be at the service of a community and become a CD practitioner. Practices are more about community building rather than creative outcomes (Badham 2010: 93-94). This model attempts to build long-term projects promoting self-reliant inclusive and resilient communities.

Another recent trend in Community Arts and CCD practices in Australia is the use of digital media. In the 1990s, notions of community arts and culture expanded to include practices in new media using the Internet as a tool for social inclusion. Since 2000, community arts and cultural development organizations in Australia have promoted community engagement with the use of digital media such as Digital storytelling, short filmmaking, and theatre production. Shea (2011) argues that this movement towards digital technologies welcomed the initial phase of a merger between community arts and media arts. Scholars in media studies argued that the use of ICT and new media (digital media) in the everyday life of citizens enables unconventional expressions of participatory culture and promote a cultural citizenship in a globalized society (Burgess, J. et al 2006; Mouri 2011).

For example, from 2011 and under Creative Director Alison Richardson's leadership, the Beyond the Square project, based in Western Sydney, NSW Australia organized a number of community arts and cultural development programs, with digital media for people with disabilities. Beyond the Square provides a chance for people with disabilities to create their own short movies or digital arts productions, not only as a way to learn digital literacy, but also as a way to speak up and be heard in Australian society. These initiatives contributed to breaking the stereo-typed image of diverse or disadvantaged communities among local people. This digital media project attempted to develop new cultures and promote social change by people with disabilities and underrepresented groups, and was called Community Cultural Development. Digital storytelling which often includes the personal narratives of people, can provide opportunities not only for people with disabilities but also for socially marginalized groups such as pensioners, women, indigenous people, victims of gender and racial abuse, and can effectively reconstruct a community engagement with disenfranchised groups (Hartley and McWilliam 2009). Also, several showcase events of digital media production within the local community created a space for listening and dialogue with the more mainstream aspects of Australian society.

Another example of this are the digital media projects by CuriousWorks in Western Sydney, which have attempted to focus not only on ethnic minorities, but on diverse minority communities including Indigenous people, people with disabilities and disadvantaged young people. CuriousWorks' mission is to enable communities to tell their own stories powerfully and sustainably and reshape the systems of cultural production in Australia through innovation

at the intersection of art, education and technology. More importantly, CuriousWorks tries to establish long-term, multi-faceted partnerships with communities rather than short-term, ad hoc relationships (Funaki, 2011). These case studies showed that ICT and the use of digital media had great potential to empower social minorities and promote community engagement between cultural minorities and the mainstream majorities. These insights inspired me to consider the ways in which both social minorities and the mainstream majorities are able to grow together through an interactive and inclusive use of digital and emerging social media.

In Japan, there have also been digital media projects to facilitate a community engagement between migrants and the local community, examples are the Hyogo, Shizuoka, and Kanagawa prefectures (Shiobara 2011; Yoshitomi 2008). A number of digital media projects using digital storytelling have also been started for migrant youth and people with disabilities in the Mie and Gifu prefectures (Ogawa et al 2009). However, these digital media projects have not been implemented as standard social work practices in Japan yet.

Digital Storytelling Workshops with a Person with Autism Spectrum Disorder

As there are a number of usages of Digital Storytelling, what does it mean in the context of this project? Digital storytelling (DST) here means is a two to three minute video clip, which combines photo images, and sounds with a storyteller's voiceover. Typically during these intensive workshops, each participant speaks freely and addresses their personal stories, in so called 'story circles' before creating a DST in the computer, or a tablet-type device like an iPad. This kind of digital media program was started in the USA in 1994. The Center for Digital Storytelling in California directed by Joe Lambert was the primary leading organizational force. DST is currently practiced around the world in many different contexts, such as community cultural development with migrant youth, health research with cancer patients, as well as social work and education in the UK, the USA, Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India (Burgess 2006; Hartley and McWillam 2009; Lenette 2013; Ogawa and Tsuchiya 2014; Salazar 2011).

In August of 2013 a Digital Storytelling (DST) workshop was organized with a person with autism in Fukui by Mr. Shoichi Fujita, a social worker from Fukui. Funaki (the researcher) was the coordinator for this program. The participant's name is Ken (a fictitious name), a 19 year old with autism. He graduated from a special needs high school in Fukui in 2012. At the time he was looking for a job in the local community. This workshop was organized in August and October 2013 at his house, and under the facilitation of the social worker. He used iMovie on an iPad with the aid of the social worker. He spent about several hours discussing the topic he would like to create with the social worker before creating his DST. Ken wrote down the script and chose the pictures himself. They created two digital stories using the iPad. Ken said in the interview after the DST workshop that it took so long for him to think about creating his story and choosing his pictures and music (especially in the first DST), but was happy with the results. The title of his DST was 'My Dream' (a 6':30" production) about his favorite things and hobbies. However, with the second DST, Ken got used to the process and finished far earlier than the first production. The title of the second DST production was 'Fukui Marathon Running Tournament Story' (a 2 minute production), which expressed his motivation and passion about marathon running. Showcase events were organized for his group work sessions among self-help groups and care groups in December 2013.

The Positive benefits of DST were expressed by the participants. First of all, the process of DST promoted a self-representation for the participant and created self- empowering narratives about his own life.

Ken (the person with autism), said:
> I was very happy to express my favorite things in this movie. Very good expression. This is a cool movie like a movie preview. I would like to create this kind of movie again.

His mother, Mariko, said;
> I was very surprised to know his motivation and expression to enjoy his life for the first time though DST.

According to his mother's interview, his motivations to practice running became much stronger after deciding to participate in the DST workshop.

Secondly, the participant became far more positive and active especially with family and friends, after experiencing the showcase event.

Ken said;
> Though I was a little embarrassed when I heard my friends laughing during my showcase. It made me very happy because I am a comedian. I would like to show this movie to other friends and friends' family.'

At the showcase event among his friends and the self-help group, he was so confident about his DST that his friends and their parents were very proud of his achievements.

Mariko said;
> He was very happy not only to show this production to his friends but also to see their positive attitudes. I believe it brought him more confidence in his life. After participating in DST, I realized he changed his attitude towards his self-help group meetings. He tries to express his own feelings and opinions very positively and actively now, and his confidence has grown.

She additionally said;
> His digital stories are just like small documentaries. His documentary is very small and amateur, not like a professional TV one, but I believe it has a powerful message and the possibility to empower other people with disabilities to explore digital media production.

Thirdly, community arts and cultural development through digital storytelling was very effective at promoting community engagement and community participation for people with disabilities from a social work perspective.

Shoichi, the Social Worker said;
> After facilitating DST with Ken, I felt our relationship has changed positively. For example, when Ken is participating in group work meetings for social skills training, it is becoming far easier for both of us to communicate. Moreover, after he finished the showcase event among other young people with disabilities he was able to enhance his self-expression and narratives, not only to me but also to other friends with disabilities.

> Additionally, Ken's self-expression in this showcase event influenced the attitudes of other people with disabilities. The other participants in the self-help group felt more confidence in expressing their feelings and ideas as well.

Shoichi recognized the effectiveness of DST as self-expression and confidence building not only in the process of group work settings, but also in boosting Ken's confidence and daily life. Ken started a FaceBook page with the aid of his sister after creating his DST and updates his hobbies, such as painting and family events regularly on it. He makes use of FaceBook as an engagement tool with his friends and the greater community.

Mariko said;

> I feel like making my DST as well after seeing my son's DST. I would like to give my advice and ideas for raising a child with a disability to the parents who are worrying about parenting a young child with a disability. I have discussed parenting with the childcare professionals and felt achievement for it. I want to create my DST with messages to other parents who have a child with a disability.

Her words led to a new project for iPad DST workshops, helping professionals and careers learn the necessary skills in October 2014. Mariko created her own DST and also learned how to facilitate DST workshops. Our project shows that showcase events among friends give an opportunity to celebrate the success of a person with a disability. However, in our case study, it is fair to say that the effectiveness of community engagements between people with disabilities and the local community was very limited because of the ethical concerns and possible prejudices in society at large.

Shoichi, Social Worker, said;

> DST would be a great tool for promoting self-expression, confidence and personal narratives for people with disabilities in society. However, it is just as important to create a space for people to accept the thoughts, feelings and values of the participants in a tolerant atmosphere beyond the DST projects.

Ochiai (2012) analysed the three stages of intercultural literacy through a case study of a digital media project with young migrants in Kobe, and argues that young migrants need a comfortable place/space (called 'Ibasho' in Japanese) outside of school to be accepted as new comers through a dialogue with those who understand them. To facilitate an expression of their messages and concerns with their new home and host society. The process of making DST's and the showcases would create comfortable places 'Ibasho' for people with disabilities. It is important to explore how to create this comfortable space/place for participants in Japanese society, through alternative models of digital storytelling that fit with Japanese culture.

In Japan one of the leading research projects in the field is called 'Media Conte' organized by Professors Ogawa Akiko and Yuko Tsuchiya (Ogawa and Tsuchiya 2014). Media Conte is a collaborative workshop specifically for digital storytelling, targeting the marginal voices of society. However, in their workshops vulnerable participants such as people with disabilities seemed unable to voice what they desired to say in their individual situations and were not encouraged to voice their own stories.

Conclusion and Future Issues

In the field of social work, Lenette (2013) discusses the benefit of DST for the support of women from refugee backgrounds in Australia and argues that self-representation through DST has the potential to produce positive and enabling counter-narratives, both on an individual level and in the broader community. She also discusses the ethical concerns and limitations in the use of DST. Practitioners need to very carefully consider the full realm of implications in terms of privacy, be respectful in the use of recorded narratives, and be open to the needs of the story tellers. As Lenette pointed out there are many ethical concerns. Other studies in Japan looking at social minority issues, such as migrants or people with disabilities have shown that there are risks in showing personal stories among local audiences, who may express conflicting views, show little empathy, or are not interested in digital media production (Funaki 2014). Dreher, an Australian scholar in media studies, talks of the politics of speaking, saying that representation is necessary, but that there is a limited strategy framework for multicultural media. She also argues that the politics of listening across cultural differences is an under-explored but important area (Dreher 2008). We have to be especially concerned about the question whether and how showcase events can create a safer space for community engagement between people with disabilities and the local community at large and be aware of the need to promote a cultural citizenship for people with disabilities in the community.[1]

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A Litho-Anthropological Study on Jade's Mythological Narration and Chinese Cultural Origins

Juan Wu

Abstract

Based on the recent scholarship by Chinese literary anthropologists' on mythology and jade ideology, this paper attempts to trace the conceptual premises, integrated paradigm and methodological innovation of Chinese literary anthropology, elucidate the inner logics of the jade theory, introduce the integrated function of jade in the material and spiritual resource possession and distribution, exam its relation with the Chinese cultural origin and demonstrate the necessity and capacity of inter-disciplinary interpretation, especially the probability and potentiality of mutual interpretation between the "Great Tradition" and the "Small Tradition" of Chinese literary anthropology.

Key words: Litho-Anthropology; Jade Mythology; Cultural Origins; Chinese Cultural History

Introduction

Max Weber once pointed out that, "The supreme gold of social sciences is not to pursue the construction of new ideas or new concepts, but to make efforts in understanding the cultural meaning of concrete historical links". (Weber, 1999: 60) In May, 2013, at the international symposium on literary anthropology held at Shaanxi Normal University, Ye Shuxian, the leading scholar of Chinese literary anthropology, proposed an innovative jade-oriented theory that held that Chinese jade functions not only as a material symbol of civilisational origin, but also as a centripetal force that promotes the development of prehistoric multi-cultures toward the integrated civilization of the Central Plains of China. This proposal was followed by a heated debate, a debate also informing this essay. In terms of tracing the origin of Chinese civilization, what is the theoretical innovation of the jade-oriented theory? What is the value or significance of this proposal in the systematic exploration of Chinese civilization origins? This paper attempts to introduce the conceptual premises of this approach, an integrated paradigm and the ensuing methodological innovations for Chinese literary anthropology, It further elucidates the inner logics of the jade-centered theory, examines its relation with the exploration of civilization origins and illustrate the inter-disciplinary interpretation capacity of Chinese literary anthropology.

Conceptual Premises: Theoretical Innovation of "Myth-history"

Based on Ye's 30-year-long research on literary anthropology, the proposal of Jade theory didn't come out of a vacuum. This innovative theory has its ideological foundation in the developments of Western mythology and literary anthropology. Regarding myths, scholars from different fields have different views even on a working definition, with more than fifty definitions (Doty, 2000: 28-30). Sarah Allan defines myths more narrowly as "stories of the supernatural" (impossible in natural, not cultural reality) in *The Heir and the Sage*. (Allan, 1981: ix). In her later work, however, Allan sometimes uses another definition of myth, "sacred narrative" and considers it as necessarily linked with "a religious context" (Allan, 1981: 126) since Alan Dundes distinguishes "sacred" from "secular and fictional and associates myth with all forms of religion." (Dundes, 1984: 1). But defining a myth as "a sacred narrative explaining how the world and man came to be in their present form," (Dundes, 1984: 1) Dundes also applies "myth" to such topics as child archetype (Dundes, 1984: 244-255) and George Washington (Dundes, 1984: 336-342), which surely enlarges the scope of myth beyond religion or the supernatural.

In lieu of Allan's seemingly narrow definition，Birrell opts for William Doty's 'eclectic synthesisation' (Doty, 2000: 28-34) and insists on viewing myth as "a human experience that must be understood on its own terms and in its own right with its own autonomy" (Birrell, 1993: 4-5). Mark Lewis，however, criticizes Birrell's view as "incoherent" and "illusory", because there exist no grounds for seeing myths as an autonomous realm，while myths should rather be historicized "within its own culture," where its "place(s) and meaning(s)" (Lewis, 2009:553-554) may vary over time in accordance with its interest and utility for communities which keeps telling them in one way or another.

Quoting classicists and mythologists like Walter Burkert, Georges Dumezil and Geoffrey Kirk，Lewis defines myth then as any traditional tale with secondary，partial reference to something of collective importance，where "traditional" means that it has no identifiable author but appears in several sources and further develops over time. These stories dramatically express the ideology under which a society lives, reflect on the elements and tensions that form a society and justify the rules and traditional practices without which everything in a society would disintegrate. Myths thus belong to and serve to define particular groups. As the groups change across time，the form of the myths and their uses will likewise change，or the danger exists that those stories will simply be forgotten. (Lewis, 2009: 549)

Drawing on the notion of "mythistory" from Joseph Mali's *Mythistory: The Making of a Historiography* (2003), some scholars have vigorously pushed forward the focal point of literary anthropology. In *The Heir and the Sage*, Sarah Allan contends that, "Ancient Chinese literature contains few myths in the traditional sense of stories of the supernatural but much history." (Allan, 1981: ix). In fact, the Chinese tradition does not even have a word for myth and the term *shenhua* (borrowed from the Japanese translation for myth, *shinwa*) did not exist until 1902 when Liang Qichao uses it in one of his essays on "new historiography" (Liu Xicheng, 2006: 19). At the time when mythology is introduced into China at the beginning of the last century，while "the problem of myth for western philosophers is a problem of interpreting the meaning of myths and explaining the phenomenon of myth-making", as Allan remarks. "The problem of myth for the sinologist is one of finding any myths to interpret and of explaining why there are so few." (Allen, 1991: 19) Utilizing Claude Levi Strauss's structural theory and methodology in her analysis of the foundation and succession myths of early Chinese dynasties, Allan demonstrates that "history, as it appears in the major texts from the classical period of early China (fifth - first centuries B.C.)，has come to function like myth." (Allan, 1981: 10) Referring to this sort of "historical myth-or mythical history" (Allan, 1981: 12) as "legend"，Allan concludes that the legend types (whether archetypes or stereotypes) in Chinese thought have affected Chinese politics and literature throughout history. (Allan, 1981: 145) Allan's argument that history functions like myth in early China goes hand in hand with a rather postmodern recognition that historical narrative is by nature mythical and thus functions as a sort of "mythistory".

Western literary anthropology traditions and its conceptual redefinition of mythology exert tremendous influence on the Chinese scholar. Ye Shuxian groups scholars of literary anthropology into roughly five categories: archetypal critics (N. Frye, J. Vickery)，New Historicists (S. Greenblatt), anthropologists (F. Poyatos, L. Portis Winner)，anthropologist-writers (S. Diamond; L. Eiseley)，and Chinese scholars (Fang Keqiang). (Ye Shuxian, 1999: 28-33). This classification is neither all-inclusive nor strictly categorical, but rather for the convenience of discussing literary anthropology from both sides of literary criticism and anthropological studies and both sides of western theories and Chinese practices.

An Integrated Paradigm: "Mythological Image" and "Mythical China"
Although influenced deeply by the western interdisciplinary studies，the Chinese literary anthropology school is deeply grounded in the native land and offers some novelties and

nuances. The initial development can be traced back to the early 1980s, when a number of scholars, with Yuan Ke foremost among them, made the abundance of Chinese myths clear to mythologists and sinologists alike. In fact, as early as in 1933 Chinese scholars had started to question the validity of the prevalent view that myths in China are scarce, fragmentary and unsystematic and they rejected such a view as "a profound mistake" or "a false proposition" (Yuan Ke, 1993: xi) and argued instead that "despite their protean and contradictory forms，Chinese myths are more reliable documentary evidence of a primitive and archaic oral tradition in the world of myth." (Yuan Ke 1993：xii). For the new generation of Chinese scholars, the problem of myth is no longer why Chinese myths are so far and few in between, but how to recover lost myths and advance comparative mythology through up-to-date approaches.

In the 1980s, a younger generation of scholars emerged, especially the new Chinese literary anthropology school led by Xiao Bing and Ye Shuxian, who applied archetypal theories and cultural anthropology to the rediscovery and reconstruction of Chinese mythology. Supported by archaeological findings over the past few decades and mythological theories like those of Mircea Eliade and Roland Barthes, this school differs from earlier scholars such as Mao Dun and Yuan Ke who confined myths to the realm of literature. Instead, it propagates literary anthropology and advocates a paradigm shift in Chinese mythology，to treat myth as the cultural gene，social code and psychological source from which literature，art，philosophy，religion, politics, education，law，etc. all sprang.

In the first place, Ye Shuxian's conceptual reinterpretation of "history" is triggered not only by the post-modern views of history, such as New Historicism, but also by the prolonged debates between Yigu (School of Doubting Antiquity) and Gushibiau (School of Defending Antiquity) in Chinese history studies. The Yigu movement of the 1920s,' the historicisation of myths carried out by the literati of the Zhou and Han dynasties, has been the main explanation for the "death" of myth in ancient Chinese texts. The leading scholar, Gu Jiegang, put forward the "pile-up theory" and regards all history recorded by ancient myths as nonsense. He thinks what myths record is merely the later generations' authoritative narration. The Doubting Antiquity School's denying the historical significance of myths has its grounds in the scientific conception of history in China's modern history studies, which keeps alert for the authoritative narration in history records. However, the Doubting Antiquity School, failing to realize the dialectical relation between the truth and the falsehood in myths, thus completely denies the myths' possibility and capability of narrating history. In contrast to the above two schools, the Chinese Literary Anthropology School holds a rational and impartial view towards myth, believing that myth enjoys priority in narrating and interpreting history. In the meantime, while "eighty years ago the School of Defending Antiquity scholars adhering to the tenet of historical positivism，tried to revert ancient Chinese history to myth or false history," this school rather expects "an anti-movement" that from myths and legends interprets the lost clues of ancient history，or histories with a multitude of "marginal narratives." (Ye Shuxian, 2009: 20-26) In other words, myth is in no way the entirely accurate account of authentic history, yet it takes much more efforts to penetrate the fantasies in myths and perceive authentic history or even the threads leading to an authentic history.

In the second place, in the 1980s, with a high self-awareness of tool reforms, Ye not only introduced myth archetype criticism in Chinese literary studies, but also applied the approach to the re-interpretation of Chinese classics. The introduction and practice of myth archetype criticism in literary studies is a breakthrough for the conceptual innovation of "myth". Myth archetype criticism becomes the inter-cultural and interdisciplinary gene of the subsequent development of Chinese literary anthropology. In the *Lao Tzu and Chinese Mythology* (Ye Shuxian, 2005), *Cultural Analysis of Chuang Tzu* (Ye Shuxian, 2005), *Cultural Interpretation of Shijing* (Book of Odes) (Ye Shuxian, 2005), Ye not only reveals the ideological thoughts of literary texts, but also illustrates the literary expressions of philosophical ideas, which were integrated and incorporated simultaneously by the decoding of "mythological images". In *The Hero and the Sun* (Ye Shuxian, 2005) and *Chinese Philosophy of Mythology (Ye Shuxian, 2005),* the approach of literature-philosophy's mutual interpretation, with the "mythological image" as the core value, opens up a broader cross-cultural horizon and exhibits the capacity of theoretical innovation.

In third place, besides being motivated by the history-interpreting function of "mythological images", Ye calls for a "Mythical China" (Ye Shuxian, 2009: 33-38) that contains a holistic understanding of Chinese culture，the code of which encompasses even the structure of religion. *Totem of Bear* (Ye Shuxian, 2007), is a case in point which illustrates the complicated and intimate relationship between myth and history. The close association or the intimacy between myths and history is related to a special type of myths — the Genesis myth which exists and plays an important role in all nations' mythology. The Genesis myth is about the creation of the universe and man and thus contains some essential information about cultural origins. Ye's systematic research on the totem of bear marks a breakthrough of viewing historical elements from the perspective of myths. In *Totem of Bear*, manifest multi-evidences relating to the bear totem in ancient myths (the name of the Empire, pattern narration, fold legends, etc.) and shows the great capability and promising potentiality of myths to record and reveal history. Thus, the history of myths is presented for clarity.

By elucidating the deep connection between myths and philosophical thoughts and historical facts, Ye successfully does away with the narrow limitation of myths and consciously regards myths as the common source and archetype of the humanities of modern principles, like literature, history and philosophy. Mythology is redefined as the integrated origin of civilization. Via the aid of the totem bear, Ye displayed history and reason in myths, which shed light on the dialectics of mythical narratives. By discovering and consciously adopting the underlying relation between "mythology" and "history", Ye reveals the dialectics of mythical narratives, which can be seen as the accomplishment of a Chinese syllogistic view of history: from believing in antiquity to doubting antiquity, then from doubting antiquity to interpreting antiquity.

Methodological Innovation: "Quadruple Evidences" and "Little/Great Tradition"
"Literature" and "philosophy" in myths are connected through mythological images, while the reproduction of authentic history in myths relies on the concept of "mythistory", a term adopted by Ye. Although it has its theoretical roots in Western mythological research, it is still closely

rooted in Chinese native materials. Given mythology is multi-faceted and also the "prototype" that constructs Chinese civilization, Ye even uses the concept "Mythological China" to generalize the self-expression of Chinese civilization. Owing to the activation of myths' multi-interpretation capacity and the penetrating understanding of the relations between mythology and history, "Myth history" offers methodological support for Ye's deep exploration of the origins of the Chinese civilization.

Furthermore, this school follows the Levi-Straussian logic of mythical thought and contends that myths "derive their meaning as part of a system" and "their structural relationship can, to a certain extent be decoded" (Allan, 1991: 125). Based on Wang Guowei's "Dual Evidences" (canonical texts and excavated documents) and Rao Zongyi's "Triple Evidences" (canonical texts, excavated documents and material objects) for textual criticism, this school proposes and advocates "Quadruple Evidences"，seeking evidence from not only canonical texts and excavated documents but material culture, a narrative of objects and icons (Ye Shuxian, 2010: 1-8) and intangible heritage, which was usually studied by folklorists and ethnologists. (Ye Shuxian, 2011: 87-90) Such methodology of quadruple attestation，however ambitious, theoretically surpasses previous scholars' practices，whose versatile expertise was primarily based on early Chinese philosophy and history, etymology and archaeology (e.g. ritual bronzes oracle bones，bamboo slips).

At the international symposium on literary anthropology held at Shaanxi Normal University in May 2013, Chinese literary anthropologists borrowed and adopted a pair of Western anthropological terms, the "Little Tradition "(the folk/unlettered kind) and the "Great Tradition" (the elites/literate), which were coined by Milton Singer and Robert Redifield when they studied the orthogenesis of Indian Civilization in Madras city, now known as Chennai. In their view, tradition consists of the inherited practices and opinion and conventions associated with a social group for a particular period. This also includes attitudes of the people, durable interactional patterns and socio-cultural institutions. The Great tradition is associated with the elites, literate and reflective few who are capable of analyzing, interpreting and reflecting cultural knowledge. The Great Tradition is a body of knowledge which functions as the beacon light of knowledge. In contradiction to this, the Little Tradition comprises belief patterns, institutions, a knowledge including proverbs, riddles, anecdotes, folk tales, legends, myths and the whole body of folk-lore of the people and /or the illiterate peasants who imbibe cultural knowledge from the great tradition. The unity of civilization is reflected in the perpetuation of the unity of worldview of both the folk /peasant and the elites or the literati through cultural performance and their cultural products. Cultural performances are institutionalized around the structure of both Great and Little Tradition.

Chinese literary anthropologists redefined the "Little Tradition" as the cultural tradition marked by metal and language characters and the "Great Tradition" as the cultural tradition before the appearance of characters, metals and nations (Ye Shuxian, 2011: 8). On the basis of this redefinition of tradition, the Chinese literary anthropology school integrated jade into its objects of study, i.e., the literary textual evidence, the material evidence, the unearthed archeological evidence, and the anthropological evidence, were thought together to propose

that jade, as the material symbol of civilization origin, functions as a centripetal force that leads a path from the prehistoric multi-cultures to the integrated civilization of Central Plains. This proposal gave rise to heated debate. Thus, the theoretical innovation and the inner logics of the proposal should be exam to decode jade mythology and the origins and characteristics of Chinese civilization.

Jade-oriented Theory: Mythological Exploration of Civilization Origin
In the early 21st century, Ye not only promotes the integrated methodology of "Quadruple Evidences" and the redefinition of the "Little/Great Tradition" in Chinese literary studies, but also applies them to the re-interpretation of Chinese jade cultural heritage. Ye uses the early antique jades as a kind of "Object Narrative" to explore the literature and culture, which is the natural extension of his "Quadruple evidences"; as his research on the literary anthropology has developed from the literature texts to the culture texts, the early jades also transferred from the "material evidence" of multiple evidence of the literary anthropology to the material symbol of civilization origins, which makes "jade" an new alternative to bronze and deeply connected to the logical progression of literary anthropology and civilization exploration. Ye confirms that the "Great Tradition" identifies jade as the source of the "Little Tradition" related to bronze, which for the first time identifies the relative pre-existence of jade in time. Ye explicitly places early jades in the context of Chinese civilization exploration in papers including "My Stones"[J] (*Ethnic Arts Quarterly*, 2012(3)), "Mythological Analysis of the Origins of Chinese Jades— Taking Jades of Xinglongwa Culture as an Example "[J], (*Ethnic Arts Quarterly*, 2012(3)), "Shun Issued Jades to Tribe Leaders after the Abdication from Yao: the Myth History of the Two Legendary Rulers" [J], (*Ethnic Arts Quarterly*, 2012(3)), and in the "Mythological Analysis of Chinese Civilization Exploration— Interviews with Ye Shuxian" [J], (by Liao Mingjun, *Ethnic Arts Quarterly*, 2012(3)). He continued this line of thinking at the above named 2013 symposium.

Ye's mythological mode of exploring civilization origins has its distinctive characteristics and unique approach. Before analyzing its uniqueness, we can take a look at how it complements those traditional modes of academic research. Magic treasures appear in almost all mythological narrations relating to the ancient heroes or kings. As the luster and color of gold obsessed the Greek and Roman writers, the beautiful jades, jade cream and jade flowers obsessed those Chinese writers. (Bernstein, 2008: 1-6) Jade is valued and has been worshiped continuously so that Chinese civilization has for several-thousand-year experienced a "Jade Age" right from the beginning of its formation. Gold has had a history of around 3000 to 4000 years, while jade of around 7000 to 8000 years, twice that of gold. (Liu Jinhua, 2007: 26). Though the economic value of some other natural resources, such as gold, silver, bronze and iron, are emphasized as well in these narratives, none of them could compete with jade in the way that it is closely connected to the origin of Chinese civilization.

With the increase of archeological discoveries, exploration of civilization origins is obliged to connect as many verified Chinese civilization forms as possible on its timeline. Previous civilization exploration tried to specify the exact time, but what numerous archeological discoveries now offer is the chronological development of civilization. The search for an exact

time stops being the sole pursuit of civilization exploration. Scholars also devote themselves to exploring the underlying driving forces of the prolonged evolution of Chinese civilization. To explore the origin of civilization, various theoretical approaches have been proposed, including the "oasis theory" (R. Pempelly), the "two revolutions" theory (V. G. Childe), the "unequal distribution of resources theory", the "population pressure theory" (M. J. Harner) and the "religion forces" theory (T. Earle). Likewise, the mythological method, providing the theosophical concepts, is actively trying to search for the underlying forces that promote the birth of civilization. The jade-as-god model, offered by jade-oriented ideology, shares two commonalities with other theoretic approaches: firstly, what is invoked in civilization is material (jade); secondly, the social distribution or configuration of material resources implies conceptual and spiritual resources.

Besides, the jade-oriented theory enjoys obvious advantages. Instead of separating the material and spiritual resources, it integrates them as the combined forces of civilization's origin, which can be analyzed by Marxism's separation of materials and spirits. According to the jade-oriented theory, the fight for spiritual resources goes along with striving for material resources. This theory considers both the material and the spiritual, which results from the unification and fusion of mythological thoughts. Ye points out that, at the very beginning of civilization, humans must have undergone an era when man and god were equal and that the sacred and the secular were not divided. This means, the jade-oriented theory does not only bring us to the start of civilization, but also presents the possibility of the integration of the material and the spiritual. Going beyond the confusion of spiritual factors, the exploration of civilisational origins is enriched by the input of the archeology.

Theoretical Structure and Psychoanalysis of Jade Mythology
In order to grasp the archeology of Chinese civilization's core value that is implied in the jade-oriented theory, it's necessary to analyze the theoretical structure of the jade-oriented theory. This includes the spiritual and conceptual analysis of jade — the core of jade myths. The following analysis is the induction to and explanation of the inherent logical structures underlying the jade-oriented ideology.

Jade, as a natural mineral, enjoys certain characteristics that are superior to other minerals. Firstly, it's formed in extremely harsh conditions, which makes it rare and special. Secondly, it has special physical properties, such as, hardness, color and luster, and touch. Numerous phrases and idioms in *Shijing* (Book of Odes), including "a gentleman is as gentle as jade", "a gentleman always wears jade", a gentleman shall cultivate his morals the way jade is sculpted — by "cutting, polishing, carving and rubbing", and the concept of "jade virtues": all these are related to jade's physical properties. However, Ye explains them as the reflection of the great tradition of "jade-as-god". And the reason why jade is respected in the Little Tradition of Chinese civilization lies in the jade myths of 5000 years ago. "Jade myths" are particular to Chinese mythology, and the mythological mode of thoughts provide a multi-dimensional panoramic view of the origin of Chinese civilization.

Ye's psychoanalysis of jade is interpreted on the back of mystical witchcraft and magic in

comparative religious studies. Chinese jade, together with the Western "hierophany" — gold and Lapis Lazuli — enjoys a holy and sublime status in the early civilization. The earliest "jade as god" reference appears in the great tradition of the mythological world. Ye analyzes six jade myths — "The Yellow Emperor plants jade" and others. — that start from "the legendary Chinese ancestor Yellow Emperor and ends with the three wise rulers of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties." (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 23). The analysis, stretching 2000 years, is the transition period from Great to Little Tradition. Ye "interpreted the little tradition of characters by the knowledge of great tradition" (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 13), and verified the great tradition by the little tradition.

All of the six myths listed by Ye show jade's sanctity and function of connecting man and god. To be specific: "Yellow Emperor's planting jade", recorded in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, shows that jade can increase the power of gods or ghosts and protect a gentlemen from evil (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 14); the story that a jade article made Yu the Great the ruler of the country, as recorded in Shang Shu and *Records of the Grand Historian*, shows jade's honorable status in the secular world (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 16-17); Qi of Xia going up to heaven with the ring of jade in his right hand and semi-circular jade wearing around his waist shows that semi-circular jades and jade wearing are all holy media that connect man and god (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 19); according to *The Yizhoushu*, Zhou, the last emperor of the Shang dynasty, burned himself together with jade, which implies that jade can be smelted (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 20); Jiang Ziya got semi-circular jade and the Duke of Zhou talked to the ancestors though a jade sacrificial vessel, which shows that jade conveys mythical information (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 21); King Mu of Zhou visited the Yellow Emperor's Palace and received a jade bough and jade leaf, which hints at the fact that the Yellow Emperor's Palace may be the palace where the worship of god with jades is performed (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 22). In the previous interpretation of mythological stories, Ye re-interpreted both the Great and Little Tradition under the guide of the "jade-as-god" concept and presented the multi-dimensions of jade myths.

With the aid of two scholars (Charles de Brosses and F. M. Muller) from the comparative studies of religion, Ye confirmed the mythological association between "jade" and "god", points out that the Great Tradition of regarding jade as god has potentially dominated the Little Tradition of "jade is virtue", and, more importantly, he suggests the method of searching for the driving force of regarding "jade as god", that is, the "supernatural power" in myths (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 25). The eternity concept in the jade-as-god theory is the Chinese version of the pursuit for eternal life in mythical mode of thoughts. The association of water as the source and the color similarity with the sky provides mythical logic for jade's holiness. Holy narratives, Nüwa (a Chinese goddess) repairing the heavens with "five-colored stones" jade being the essence from "the combination of heaven and earth", intensifies jade's holiness by integrating both water as the source and the color similarity. The pursuit of jade and the privilege of "worshiping god with jade" bred the beginnings of early Chinese civilization. Jade, which integrates the material resources and spiritual ideology, becomes a holy symbol that attracts various power groups, invoking the birth of Chinese civilization.

Archeological Jade Antiques and Jade Mythological Concepts

Jade mythology can be the key to understanding how Chinese civilization came into being in its particular fashion as based on excavated prehistoric jade articles. The inclusion of the story of jade can expand these mythological studies which used to be constrained to the domain of language characters and textual studies. Such more inclusive research can be conceived of having multi-principle perspectives, and includes archeology, religious studies, anthropology and petrology.

It was mentioned above that Chinese literary anthropologists adopted a pair of Western anthropological terms and redefined the "Little Tradition" as a cultural tradition marked by metal and characters and the "great tradition" as the cultural tradition before the appearance of characters, metals and nations. According to the redefinition and based on the unearthed jade articles, Ye Shuxian retraces the cultural identity drive of the Chinese civilization(s) to five mythological concepts, whose chronological order is as follows:

1) The birth of jade mythology: represented by the Xinglongwa Culture in the north and the Peiligang Culture in the Central Plains. The belief that "jade is heaven" and that "jade is god" is fundamental to the creation of Chinese identity. This is the embryonic period of core values, which appeared around 8000 to 7000 years ago. The two Cultures respectively produced jade and turquoise articles.

2) The mythological concept of "unity of man and god" which formed on the premise of "man-and-god communication". To communicate with the heaven or god under the help of jade was the source of Chinese rites-and-music culture. This happened 7000 to 6000 years ago, represented by the appearance of Huang (semi-annular jade pendant), which was one of the 6 musical instruments recorded in Rites of Zhou. Evidences can be found in Hemudu Culture, Yangshao Culture, Daxi Culture, Hongshan Culture etc.

3) Totem worship which is represented by mythological animals, such as the dragon, turtle, snake, frog, cicada and silkworm. It were 6000 to 5000 years ago, and was represented by Double-Dragon-Head Huang of the Hongshan Culture.

4) The Mythological geographic concept which is characteristic of "Tian Xia (land underneath heaven)" (5000 to 4000 years ago). In later the classic, it is described as "Yu the Great's remains" (Shu: Establishment of Politics); or "Yu the Great's land" (*Classic of Peotry: Lesser Court Hymns – Xinnan Mountain*) , "nine-state island", "holy state" etc. In the rubirc The Fourth Year of King Xiang's Reign of Zuo Zhuan, the writer stated, "Yu the Great's remains are boundless. On the map, we see it as a nine-state island".

5) The Mythology of holy kings or holy people which is represented by Yao, Shun and Yu the Great. (5000 to 4000 years ago). The predecessor was jade statue in the shape of a holy man that was able to communicate with god or heaven. After the Shang and Zhou dynasties, people re-created the ancestral mythology of the five kings which began with the Yellow Emperor. Such mythology is represented by Taosi Culture and Longshan Culture. (Ye Shuxian, 2012: 23-25);

In the age when *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Songs of Chu* came out, the Little Tradition of literal narratives merged. The Great Tradition, as its coding basis, was very influential. Thus, the study of mythical texts on jade should draw more on the unearthed archeological and anthropological findings.

VII. Conclusion

The origin of a civilization is more than simply making a chronological table and arranging various cultural inventions in order, but it involves exploring the core values formed along with the birth of this civilization, especially the cultural features particular to it. Jade theory, initiated by the Chinese literary anthropology school, attempts to illuminate jade as the gene of Chinese culture and the potentiality of mutual interpretation between the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition". This leads to the following conclusions:

First of all, jade theory illuminates that jade as a major gene of Chinese culture plays an integral function in material and spiritual resource possession and distribution, reveals Chinese cultural integration and continuity in a panoramic manner and demonstrates the necessity and capacity of inter-disciplinary interpretation. The critical link between mythology and cultural origin lies in the special cultural factors that mould their ideologies. Looking at pivotal cultural elements, we can better approach the core values of a specific society through the interaction between materials and concepts, thus exploring those identity factors that help unify these multi-elements. Jade mythology can be the key to approach the question how the Chinese civilization came into being in its special fashion. At the turning point to becoming a civilization, jade articles function as the bonding material that integrates the Central Plains and the surrounding areas. Such bonding was both material (from the mining, exploitation, transportation, exchange to the processing and distribution of jade) and spiritual (the cross-region spread and unification of jade's mythological concept). The long-term interaction of material and spiritual demand finally brought to the eve of Chinese civilization (the era before the Bronze Age) its core values: jade as holy, jade as treasure, and jade ware as the sign to communicate man and heaven (man and god).

Secondly, jade theory reveals Chinese cultural continuity in a panoramic manner. From the historical background of "worshiping the heavens with jade" to the gold medals inserted with jade in the Beijing Olympics, from the "virtue of jade" emphasized by Confucian morals to the "fortune of jade" acquired by jade business and trade, from being buried minerals in the primitive age to the symbol of the sublime in the later civilization age, from its natural reserved, modest and mild properties to humans' quarreling and fighting over it, jade has gone through helping to create Chinese civilization through various gestures. The continuity that Chinese civilization consists of has two related layers of meaning: first, Chinese civilization never relented from ancient times to today and still enjoys a vital energy, impressing Western scholars; second, there is a structural continuity of belief, ritual, politics and economics within the Chinese civilization system, which Tu Weiming calls "the continuity of being". He then introduces a peculiar omnipotent and omnipresent Chinese concept "Qi" (air) to explore the particularity of Chinese thoughts. He raises a question about the origin of "Qi", "in what sense do the most unintelligent substances, such as stones, and the most intelligent embodiments, such as the heaven, consist of the same thing – Qi?" (Tu Weiming, 1981: 6) Here, "stones" and "heaven" listed exactly correspond to jade and the "jade-as-god" ideology in the jade oriented theory. Thus, jade theory enjoys potential in the illumination and interpretation of the continuity and integrity of Chinese philosophy, the inner logic of the underlying ideology and its derivative traditions.

Thirdly, Jade theory offers an alternative for the motivation and genetic study on Chinese

rituals, which are peculiar features of the Chinese civilization. Jade as source of civilization has not only confirmed the typical jade type of different civilisational ages, but also revealed the most essential particularity of the Chinese jade ritual. To figure out the motivation or spiritual resource of the rituals, which is verified via various material evidence, including unearthed sacrificial pottery, jade and bronze vessels, one should probably resort to the mythological mode of thoughts of the Chinese ancestors. According to the jade theory, the source of rituals lies in the ideology of regarding jade as god – "worshiping the heaven with jade". Jade theory, when combined with the "Asian-American Shamanism" theory initiated by Kwang-chih Chang, could further elucidate the study of Chinese civilization. On the basis of Peter Frost's "Asian-American Shamanism", Kwang-chih Chang put forward the "Asian-American Shamanism as the basement" theory and the Maya-Chinese continuum theory. He believes that the re-construction of "Asian-American Shamanism" can be extended to the east of the ancient world, especially China, instead of being limited to the Central and South American region. Since ancient China shares many similarities, such as religion and arts, with Central and South America, they could be placed in the same category of Shamanistic Civilization. (Li Hongwei, 2003:18) The "Asian-American Shamanism" theory provides a solid conceptual foundation and spacious interpretative room for the jade theory, which is correspondingly reflected, verified and echoed not only in the jade-ritual obsession but also the conceptual logic of the "worshiping the heaven with jade" to " jade as god" ideology.

Fourthly, jade theory demonstrates the necessity and capacity of inter-disciplinary interpretation, especially the probability and potentiality of mutual interpretation between the "Great Tradition" and the "Small Tradition". The prolonged history of jade mythology can be verified by the unearthed prehistoric jade articles, which expand the mythological studies from the textual-constrained domain to the mutually-related and multi-dimensional evidence of archeology, religion and anthropology. This integration is not confined to the research patterns of all related natural principles in empirical archeology, but also extends to the integration of different views and methods of empirical natural principles, social principles and interpretive humanities. With the deep involvement in civilization exploration, jade theory is characterized by the empirical rigour and analytical methods of the social sciences (the sociological analysis of the way of jade) and the interpretational features of the humanities (here the "spiritual archeology" of the jade-as-god view). The integration of jade-as-god ideology, the unity and integrity of Chinese jade rituals, the richness and the continuity of the Chinese civilization are mutually reflexive and interpreted by both the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition". If cultural continuity is tan outward feature of the formation of Chinese civilization, the transfer from "jade-as-god" to "virtue-of-jade" is the conceptual thread passing through the Great and Little Traditions. And the transformation of "worshiping the heaven", a mythological view, to rituals set as political rules, shows that both traditions share the same ideological regulatory structure.

The litho-anthropological approach to jade myths and the origin of Chinese civilization demonstrates why the Chinese still give priority to jade today, rather than to other materials, It allows researchers to transcend the pitfalls of having to "make up history" or to "prove the reality of history". To avoid these extremes, jade theory can go a long way and needs to be

examined further internationally. Combined with further pervasive spiritual archeology and the study of solid unearthed materials, its theoretical probability and potential can thus be demonstrated on a more substantial level.

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"Every picture should be unique." A Conversation with Wang Wenlan

Holger Briel
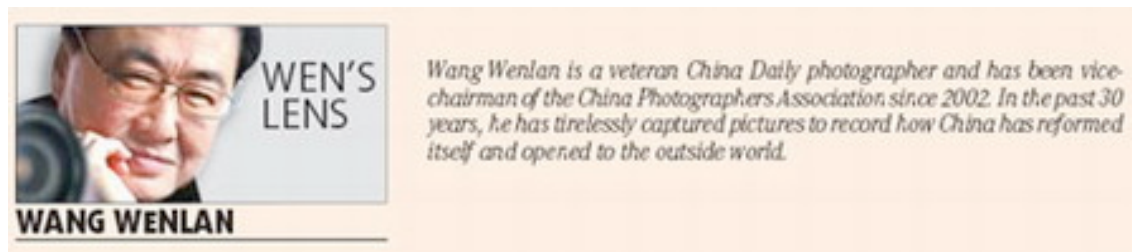
(© *China Daily*)

Wang Wenlan does not really need an introduction. One of China's most respected photographers for over 30 years, he has worked as a photojournalist for *China Daily* since it commenced publication and where he is Assistant Editor-in-chief and Senior Photographer. He has been the Deputy President of the China Photographer's Association since 2002, an Editorial Member of *Photo China*, *People's Photography* and the *Philharmonic Magazine,* and a Consultant for *Chinese National Geography.*

Among others, his awards include the National Top 10 Photographers Award (1986), the 1991 National Top 10 of Portraiture Photographers Award, the National Good News Awards and the Golden Award of National Photography (both in 1987), the 1995 Academy Contribution Award for Chinese Photography and the China Journalism Award in 2002, 2003 and 2004. He has sat on juries too numerous to mention and has published and edited over 15 books and exhibited in many national and international exhibitions, including "Strolling on the Square in National Art Museum of China (1985), "Portrait" in the National Art Museum of China (1996); "The Kingdom of Bicycles" in the Pingyao International Photography Festival (2005); the Philharmonic in Gulangyu International Piano Art Festival (2008) and the 2015 Exhibition of his bicycle images in Los Angeles.

His subjects are his homeland, its people and its rapid metamorphosis over the last decades. While he has taken photographs of all the main politicians of the last decades and official pictures at the Beijing Olympics, his true calling is the photographic representation of ordinary people and their daily life struggles in a changing land. His love of the bicycle is no coincidence. Like no other means of transport, it captures the essence of China and the bicycle's changing role from main transport of the masses to an auxiliary means only speaks to the monumental changes taking place in China even today. One of his latest projects, if one could really call it that, is the project**,** "China - 30 Years of Reform", presented on *China Daily*'s website, in which he masterly juxtaposes images of today with those of 30 years ago having the same topic and adds commentary to them. His work goes far beyond normal photography and with his lifelong dedication to fearlessly capture the changing fortunes of China, he has become one of the foremost chroniclers of Chinese culture (see samples below).

I caught up with him in the Summer of 2015 during a week-long *China Daily* trip for foreign correspondents and press photographers to Shanxi. The interview was begun during one of the bus journeys and was then verified in writing after the end of the trip.

1. Wang Wenlan, you have been with China Daily for many years. In particular, I was very impressed with your project, 'China 30 Years of Reform' How did this project come about? How did you choose your photographs and why?

Wang: I used to take pictures with borrowed cameras because we only had film cameras at that time and film was very expensive. So, most of the pictures I took were about myself. I didn't start learning photography until I came to China Daily. The year 1976 was a turning point for me. In the years between 1966 and 1976, I thought people from other parts of the world lived similar lives to us. But after three State leaders passed away in 1976, we suddenly realized that wasn't true. We began to learn about new things after the reform and opening-up policy in 1978. The year 2000 seemed too far away at that time but now it's 2015. Therefore, an idea came to my mind. I wanted to take a series of photographs showing 30 years of reform. I work for *China Daily* and as a result, I have access to witness changes in the daily lives of both the most senior authorities and the ordinary people. I believe photographs are not only about light, shadow or beautiful things. They are more a record of history.

2. How do you see the relationship between photographs and captions or text?

Wang: In my opinion, photographs should firstly be expressive and trigger thoughts. We need to capture the image, words and the moment. As for captions, we need to cover the five Ws [Who, What, When, Where and Why]. The real talents of an excellent photographer are how to let the photograph speak for itself and how to help it speak better. Photographs lose their expressiveness if too much attention is paid to captions or text. The best photographs are those that can't be replaced by captions.

3. Would you agree that we now interact more with our environment via visual media? Do you think this is a good development?

Wang: There are so many languages and characters in the world. But one common language is "vision" — be it rolling vision, video; or still vision, pictures. It can be communicated across cultures. It is more convenient and straightforward, so I think visual media development is a good thing.

4. How would you define your ethics of photography?

Wang: I capture the moment in one click. I don't process the picture too much afterwards. This is my bottom line.

5. What is your philosophy in taking photographs? What makes a photograph an exceptional one?

Wang: Every picture should be unique. However, it is very difficult to do this. A photographer may spend his entire life trying to capture a unique work. Such photographers and works are very rare but we have to strive for that against all odds. We first should not copycat or imitate, but look for differences. I like things that pass away immediately, or things that are changing. Something that is not yet born, or undergoing changes, such as a child. I also like something about to vanish. In a nutshell, the moment of change.

6. Would you share one or two stories about creating some of your famous images?

Wang: It's very difficult to take really good pictures, such as ones like the Kingdom of Bicycles that I took. There were very few automobiles in China at that time and bicycles were like floods

in the streets. One day, I was riding along Chang'an Avenue and I thought I need to shoot pictures of more bikes. It was in 1991 in Shanghai, when I shot the Kingdom of Bicycles.

I saw a similar news picture then, and I asked locals where the photographer shot that picture. A Shanghainese told me it was taken at a railway crossing. I therefore chose to shoot from the angle of an overpass. I decided to shoot at morning rush hour. The crossing let bikes go when there were no trains. I took the moment of traffic. It's true that there were minivans and buses in the traffic and the structure of the picture is not the best balanced. But that moment when I clicked was the most balanced. We won't see such a scenario in a city again. Multilevel traffic and viaducts have completely taken the place of bikes. The moment is gone.

7. In the light of recent advances in digital photography and the Internet, how do you see the future of press photography? Would you recommend the profession of press photographer to young adults?

Wang: With the development of the Internet, digital cameras and mobile phones, I think anyone with a mobile phone can be a news platform or be called an amateur news photographer. Photographers online have walked out of the dark film room to "daylight". You can stimulate any kind of light with the help of a computer, and this change of technology has freed photographers and the results can reach viewers quickly. Meanwhile, this has pushed news photographers into a corner, because if you don't have very special images, the amateurs will replace you.

Future young news photographers need to study more. They should be scholars who care about politics, economics, social issues — who like sciences and the arts. Only then can you be expressive when you shoot pictures. This will help your picture gain depth. Ordinary people would say, "I have something", yet a news photographer can say, "So do I, and mine is better", this is what differentiates you from others. Such versatile skills of professionalism are what future news photographers should demonstrate.

8. From your experience, are there more images taken in Asian countries than in the West? If this is true, how would you explain this phenomenon?

Wang: I've been to the five continents in the 40 years of my career. But the aim of the trips was not shooting pictures overseas but broadening my eyesight, learning other ways of thinking, and storing that for the presentation of the lives of the Chinese. If you habitually take pictures of one country, you'll get lost. I need to jump out to look like a bystander. Only then can we not miss the great moments.

9. What do you think of selfies?

Wang: I take selfies too, sometimes. I think selfies are a kind of positive narcissism. I took selfies when I was young and I want to capture some moments with myself as the topic.

10. Do you use post-production tools? If so, what and why? If not, why not?

Wang: If I think the exposure metering is allowed, I am not using post-production tools. I crop pictures but only very rarely. I normally retain the photographs as they were shot originally.

Examples from 30 Years of Change:

Fighting the Cabbage Wars

Affordable Leisure

(all images © Wang Wenlan)

Admittedly, there is still much poverty in China. But in general its people do have more money and can enjoy more leisure.

By one index, namely the money spent on food in a family's total expenditure, China has seen a major difference in the last three decades. Called by economists the Engle coefficient, it has come down in urban China from 57.5 to 35.8 in percentage terms, and in rural China, from 67.7 to 43.

Nowadays each urban resident would use around 14 percent of his or her total spending to chase cultural, entertainment, and sports interests, as reflected by data released by the National Statistics Bureau.

In real terms, it is 1,200 Yuan ($163.54) on average. But in Beijing and Shanghai, it means every person would spend, not including the purchase of gadgets, 2,500 Yuan a year. That, in Mao's time, could be equivalent to a young worker's 10 years' wages.

(http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/30years/wangwenlangallery.html)

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R13QZqw60iU

Steve Stroud (*Los Angeles Times*) on Wang Wenlan, 2015

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEB3ADALK94

Biographical information (http://www.photoint.net/phers-1-253.html)

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2001   "The Flashing Moment" ,Peking University Press

2001   "China Journal", Zhejiang Photography Press

2004   "Days on Bicycles",China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing

        Corporation (CFLACP)

2006   "Vibrant Asia", China Book Co.

2007   "Horizon", China Renmin University Press

2007   "Coincidence", China Renmin University Press

2003   Edited "Focus of 100 Photographers on SARS", CFLACP

2008   Edited "Focus of 100 Photographers on Snow Line", CFLACP

2008   Edited "Focus of 100 Photographers on Earthquake" ,CFLACP

2008   Edited "Focus of 100 Photographers on China", CFLACP

2008   Edited "Focus of 100 Photographers on the Olympics", CFLACP

2009   "Trifles of Family and Nation", Nanfang Daily Press

Exhibitions (sample)

1985   Strolling on the Square in National Art Museum of China

1996   Portrait in National Art Museum of China

2005   The Kingdom of Bicycles in Pingyao International Photography Festival

2008   Philharmonic in Gulangyu International Piano Art Festival

2008   Life in Movement in Beijing Seasons Place

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