the iafor

journal of cultural studies

Volume 3 – Issue 2 – Autumn 2018

Editor: Holger Briel

ISSN: 2187-4905

iafor

The IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies
Volume 3 – Issue – 2

IAFOR Publications

IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies

Published by The International Academic Forum (IAFOR), Japan
Executive Editor: Joseph Haldane
Managing Editor: Elena Mishieva
Publications Manager: Nick Potts

IAFOR Publications
Sakae 1-16-26 – 201, Naka Ward, Aichi, Japan 460-0008
IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies

Volume 3 – Issue 2 – Autumn 2018

ISSN: 2187-4905
Online: jocs.iafor.org

Cover: hans-eiskonen-136929-unsplash

IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies

Volume 3 – Issue 2 – Autumn 2018

Edited by: Holger Briel

Table of Contents

Notes on Contributors:

Christina Belcher is a Professor and the Chair of the Department of Education at Redeemer University College, in Ontario, Canada. She has formerly worked in New Zealand, Australia and Trinity Western University in British Columbia in Teacher Education. She is active on many committees and boards involving educational issues, and she seeks to explore wonder, truth, justice, and reconciliation within academia. Her work has been widely published in areas of worldview, higher education, culture, children's literature, and the impact of technology and media on literacy and society.

Holly Crossen-White is a Lecturer in Public Health. Her PhD led her to develop an interest in digital archives and how people engage with the past. Her research within this area has highlighted how objects and imagines from the past are a powerful way of connecting individuals with their community and in the process enhancing their feeling of well-being.

Richard Fisher began his professional career as a registered nurse. He worked in primary care before moving into higher education, working in a number of UK universities. His sociology based PhD focused on relationships between nurse prescribers and others. Latterly he has focused on research with people who have dementia.

Ann Hemingway is Professor of Public Health at Bournemouth University. She is an experienced researcher working on cross disciplinary international funded research projects. Ann currently has two grants with the European Commission across five different countries focused on improving health and well-being and reducing inequities in health across different age and income groups. From 2013 to 2017 Ann was funded through the EU Marie Curie funding stream on a project looking at influencing life styles specifically to increase cross discipline and academic and industry partnerships. Ann has been invited to join a World Health Organisation evidence advisory group and is an active mentor in relation to developing a research career for ECRs particularly in relation to cross disciplinary research team development.

Anna-Marie Jansen van Vuuren is a GES post-doctorate research fellow within the Department of Journalism, Film and Television at the University of Johannesburg. She is an emerging researcher in the field of South African Cinema, with a keen interest in historical films, myth and "Afrikaner identity". Anna-Marie completed PhD in Creative Writing, Screenwriting and Film Studies at the University of Pretoria, which consisted of writing a feature film screenplay whilst her thesis centred on the ideological representation of the hero in South African Anglo-Boer War case studies. Her current research includes the history of South African cinema; the role of representation and ideology within South African Film identities; and the role of landscape in film. Anna-Marie is also a film critic and since 2008, she has been serving as RSG Radio Current Affairs (SABC)'s special film correspondent. In the latter capacity she won an *ATKV-Mediaveertjie* award in the category "Best Insert for a Radio Journal and Current Affairs Show". She also regularly gives specialist commentary on online media platforms such as *Litnet*, *Bioskoop.co* and *Netwerk24* (Media 24). In 2014, she headed up the jury for the Independent Mzanzi Film Festival in Pretoria, and, in 2017, she formed part of the jury for the Cape Town International Film Festival.

Median Mutiara is a PhD candidate at Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University, Japan. She is currently working on her dissertation, exploring sensorial experiences of Indonesian migrants' life and work in 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) jobs

in rural Japan. Over the past two years, she received two research grants from Fuji Xerox Co. Ltd to examine migrants' integration and religious practices in Japan. Her research interests include ethnic minorities, social justice, and (sensory) ethnography in migration contexts.

Angela Turner-Wilson is currently a Senior Lecturer in Public Health at Bournemouth University, Dorset, UK. Dr Turner-Wilson graduated with a Bachelors degree and then a Masters from the University of London in the 1990s. She worked as a senior specialist nurse in the field of public health for the UK National Health Service, Dorset Health Authority, before moving into her first academic post at the University of Southampton. She then moved to Bournemouth University 12 years ago during which time she completed her PhD. Her expertise lies in health promotion and communicable disease control in both past and present societies. Her research areas are concerned with concepts of well-being, particularly in relation to material culture, and she has interest in national and international issues concerning health and equity.

Paweł Zygadło is an Associate Professor in the Department of China Studies, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University. He earned his PhD in Philosophy from the National Chengchi University in Taipei in 2013 and then went on to work in mainland China. His research interests include Chinese philosophy, Chinese pragmatics, socio-cultural psychology and intercultural communication. He authored one book and several journal articles. His most recent research project *The Concept of Face in Contemporary Chinese Society*: *Theory and Practice*, funded by Research Development Fund of XJTLU, examines the adaptation and meaning of the notion of Face (*lianmian*) in 21st-century Chinese society.

Editorial

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the *IAFOR Journal of Cultural Studies* Volume 3 Issue 2. The issue showcases the breadth of Cultural Studies today, with contributions on China, Japan, Indonesia, England, South Africa and the USA. Going beyond the geo-cultural dimension though, it also addresses issues of (multi-) disciplinary history and development. A number of contributions address and challenge recent moves in cultural studies theory and attempt to realign older theories with newer developments. This is far removed from any kind of revisionism or the nostalgic hankering for an imagined community; rather, it highlights the fact that while theory and its applications move on, something is always lost when new regimes of thought come in. As such, it amply demonstrates Adorno's wish to be at one with fallen theories, but only in the moment of their fall.

The issue opens with Anna-Marie Jansen van Vuuren's *Challenging the Mythical Boer Hero Archetype in Anglo-Boer War Short Films*, a text on four recent South African films on the Anglo-Boer war. After a short introduction on the history of Boer filmmaking in South Africa, it then takes a closer look at recent films on the topic. Jansen van Vuuren comes to the conclusion that these films represent a culture change in Boer filmmaking: rather than cementing the Boer hero legend further, as traditional films had done before, these films deconstruct this myth through a wide range of cinematographic tools, including humour.

In their *Interdisciplinary Working Relationships of Health Care Staff in Late 20th Century Britain: A Cultural Study of Practices from the Past and Implications for the Present*, Angela Turner-Wilson, Richard Fisher, Holly Crossen-White, and Ann Hemingway consider the changing culture in the British Health Care system through the lenses of oral history interviews with recently retired British health care workers. It becomes clear that the felt cohesion, the "family-feeling", is memorialised as having been much stronger in the past. It is also interesting to read that, perhaps unsurprisingly, doctors have a much weaker memory than "lower" health care workers of the strict and often hurtful hierarchies at work in 1960s British hospitals.

The next text also takes past experiences as its starting point. Christina Belcher's thought-provoking *Culture Through Children's Picture Books*: *A New Kind of Reading or A New Kind of Child?* is a study of children's picture books through the last 30 years. She postulates that a number of rewrites of these books have significantly changed the goalposts. If 30 years ago, these texts propelled the western nuclear family into the centre of the narrative, nowadays, this family has broken up. Authority has often shifted to children themselves, with adults on playing the court jester. She also questions whether the adaptation of such books for TV or film is always positive. As an example she cites films on autism, which portray autistic children as super heroes while neglecting to mention the serious challenges such children face on a day-to-day basis, something texts are much better at. Lastly, she decries the intrusion of technology as a desirable fetish into recent children's picture books, leading to a de-personalisation and the advocacy of a technological determinism potentially detrimental to children's well-being and healthy development.

Median Mutiara's *Managing Boundaries between (Dirty) Work and Church Life for Indonesian Migrants in Japan* engagingly discusses the bifurcation of social roles among the Indonesian-Japanese immigrants in Japan of today through careful choice of attire and personal hygiene.

Reminiscent of the special status Sundays have enjoyed among many disenfranchised groups of Christians throughout the centuries, Mutiara demonstrates that this kind of work-church split does still exist among communities today, but also shows that these kinds of behaviour are not solely based on religious rites; rather, they have striking repercussions for the performances of and in social strata as well.

The last text, *Cultural Particularism and Intercultural Communication*: *The Case of Chinese Face* by Paweł Zygadło invites us to reassess the notions of face-saving and face-losing in Chinese society. Based on cultural and anthropological thought by Boas, Mead and others, it puts out a challenge to a superficial and misunderstood multiculturalism and argues for a close reading of cultural texts. It then goes on to do so via the practical analysis of the concepts of face-saving and face-losing in contemporary China, using case studies as a tool.

Holger Briel
Editor

Challenging the Mythical Boer Hero Archetype in Anglo-Boer War Short Films

Anna-Marie Jansen van Vuuren
University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Abstract

According to Roland Barthes, archetypical myths and folktales were used in the past to order chaos and gain insight into life. At present, it is mostly the media that represent certain ideologies and therefore directly or indirectly "give an insight" into the lives of the citizens of that society. Therefore, this article will focus on the role of the archetypical representation of the hero archetype in short films; and how this ideological representation "gives one an insight" into the society in which these films were created. The case studies selected for this article are three short films set against the backdrop of the Anglo-Boer War: *Commando* (2009), *Bloedson* (2013) and *Adventures of the Boer War* (2011–2014). The author uses narrative analysis combined with open-ended interviews conducted with the creators of the selected short films to analyse their intention to construct the hero archetype in a specific way. At the end of the article her argument is that these three case studies use avant-garde techniques to challenge the traditional way that the Boer hero is represented in Anglo-Boer War films. Through representing this archetypical hero in a different way, the filmmakers are demonstrating to us how South-African society has changed since the fall of Apartheid, although one does see in popular culture that some white Afrikaner are still yearning for their so-called "age of innocence".

Keywords: representation, ideology, South Africa, Boer, war, zombie, historical film

Introduction

> "*Pictures, as history, are exceptionally effective because, although words lie flat and dormant to some readers, it is difficult to miss messages carried in a motion picture*"
> Browne, 1983, p. vi

Film, and more generally narrative, plays a fundamental role in the creation, dispersal and negotiation of ideological meaning between the filmmaker and the audience. This could especially be witnessed in the films produced in the 1960's and the 1970's in South Africa, because most of these films were made with either a pro- or an anti-apartheid stance (Tomaselli, 2013). In the 1960's, seven feature films set in the time period of the Anglo-Boer War[1] were released (Le Roux & Fourie, 1982, p. 71). Also known as the South African War, this armed conflict between the British Empire and the Boers[2] from the Transvaal and the Orange Free State occurred from 1899 to 1902 (Pretorius, 2009a, p. 2). But why did so many filmmakers choose to portray the Anglo-Boer War instead of other historical events in the Afrikaner's history?

The answer to this question might be traced to the roots of the South African film industry. The first South African "talkie" (films that made use of dialogue), *Sarie Marais* (1931) narrates the story of a Boer prisoner of war during the Anglo-Boer War (Jooste, 2013, p. 16). More than ten years later, the "strong and courageous Boer" became the figurehead of the myth of white Afrikaner identity and later the cornerstone for the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology from the late 1930s until the end of Apartheid (Jansen van Vuuren, 2014). One of the key reasons for this emerging myth was the Boer republics' struggle for freedom and independence from the British. This struggle in turn was used in white Nationalist propaganda as a metaphor for their struggle to preserve the national identity of the white Afrikaner people in South Africa as a whole (Pretorius, 2009, p. 4).

Therefore, starting with *Sarie Marais* (1931), followed by the film *Moedertjie* in from the same year, Afrikaans language films were used to propagate Afrikaner Nationalism (Jansen van Vuuren, 2014; Maingard, 2007). South Africa became a republic on 31 May 1961, and with this the white Afrikaans government managed to shed the shackles that bound them to "the antagonistic British Empire" to whom they had lost the war (Botha, 2012, p. 50). This was then the ideal time to celebrate their victory in gaining their independence (through gaining a republic) on film.

---

[1]Worden (1998, p. 144) argues that the term South African War "is now acknowledged by historians as more accurately reflecting the fact that many other South Africans were caught up in the conflict." Pretorius (2009a, p. ix) explains that the "South African War" is a contemporary name that was adopted in the 1960's by British and English-speaking South African historians. Pretorius acknowledges that the term has merit as it describes where the war was fought, and it recognises that the entire South African population was affected by the war: "In the past, mistakenly, the war was seen as a clash that only involved the Boers and the British. Now we recognise that black people played an important part in this war and they were deeply affected by it." However, he criticises the term "South African War" for disregarding the involvement of Great Britain, "the party all historians now agree had a major share in causing the war" (Pretorius, 2009a, p. ix). There does not seem to be a single name for the war that is fully acceptable to the exclusion of all others, but for this article the author will use the term currently used by most South African scholars, that is the Anglo-Boer War.

[2]The ancestors of the *Voortrekkers* (the white settlers who moved from the Cape Colony from 1835 to 1845 as a rejection of the British policies) who established two Boer republics in the north of South Africa (Pretorius, 2009a, p. 2).

Botha (2012, p. 51) argues that the Nationalists also used film to visualise their ideal of "the true Afrikaner": "This idealistic conservatism was characterised by an attachment to the pastoral past, the ideals of linguistic and racial purity and to religious and moral norms. "In this time the South African film industry was producing musicals, adventure stories, comedies, wildlife and romantic war films whilst the country was experiencing a stormy socio-political era, "since the introduction of a regulated subsidy system in 1956, the Nationalist government and big business collaborated to manipulate local filmmaking. Ideology and capital came together to create a national cinema that would reflect South Africa during the Verwoerdian regime of the 1960s" (Botha, 2012, p. 51). According to Botha the government, under leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd, realised the potential of a white Afrikaans dominated industry to influence the growth and spread of the Afrikaans language and culture.

The filmmakers specifically used the Anglo-Boer War as the setting for their films, because the war is seen as the so-called "age of innocence" of the white Afrikaner (Krog, 2007). The Anglo-Boer War films of the 1960's and 1970's told stories of willing Boer Heroes fighting their counterparts in a very traditional storyline. Therefore, Afrikaner Nationalists used these films, at a time when Black Freedom Fighters and other opposition groupings led a struggle against the government to remind white Afrikaans people of the suffering their ancestors went through to protect their land in the Anglo-Boer War (Botha, 2012, p. 51). This reminds one of what an ideology can achieve: "Born in a context of suffering, it elevates certain ideals to an end that, in time, begins to exert an absolute attraction for people. It subtly draws a false image of reality before their eyes, an illusion from which images of ideological opponents are generated" (Lambrechts & Visagie, 2009, p. 76).

However, in 1994 South Africa became a democratic society and the white Afrikaans Nationalist Party was replaced by the ANC. This became a time when artists and filmmakers had more freedom to challenge the status quo (P. De Jager, personal communication, March 12, 2014). In 2012, *Verraaiers*, the first commercial feature film made about the Anglo-Boer War since the end of Apartheid, was released. In this film, the writer and producer, Sallas de Jager, and executive producer, Piet de Jager, openly challenged the myth of the pure and innocent Boer fighting for their land in a just manner.

In *Verraaiers* (2012), one of the protagonists, a Boer commander named Commandant van Aswegen, gets branded as a traitor after he signs a peace treaty to prevent his family being sent to a concentration camp. At the end of the film the Boers execute van Aswegen and his sons-in-law after being found guilty of treason (S. De Jager, personal communication, February 26, 2014). Scholars applauded the film for challenging the preconceived ideas about the Boer and cinematically redefining historical identities (Browne, 2013, p. 449). According to Nel (2010, p. 2), "generations of Afrikaners have developed myths to legitimise their identity and foster a sense of belonging in South Africa." Browne (2013, p. 450) explains that with *Verraaiers* the producers tried to reimagine that myth: "There appeared to be an attempt to unlock long-secured memory chests and reveal that which, for many Afrikaners, could be distasteful and awkward truths."

There have also been other films that challenged the traditional myth of the Boer Hero. Three of these will be the focus of the remaining article. The author used narrative analysis to deconstruct the overall mythical pattern of their stories. Stokes (2003, p. 67) states that narrative, among other things, "conveys the ideology of a culture." Therefore, analysing a film's narrative gives one an insight into the creators as well as the consumers of its content (Reid, 2008, p. 207). To test the findings of narrative analysis, interviews were conducted via

e-mail with the directors of *Commando*, *Adventures of the Boer War* and *Bloedson*. The author chose these films because apart from the fact that they are the only known short films within an Anglo-Boer War setting produced in post-1994 democratic South Africa; they all seemed to breakaway from the stereotypical portrayal of the Boer War Hero that audiences became used to between the period of the 1930's to the 1980's.

Cinematically Redefining Historical Identities in Selected Anglo-Boer War Short Films

Commando

Commando is a short film made by English South African Stephen de Villiers in 2007, as part of the MNET EDIT competition in which the pay-TV channel MNET awarded a select few film students a budget to produce a 17-minute film. The protagonist of the film is a young soldier, Deneys Reitz. Reitz, whose father was the state secretary of the Transvaal, enlisted for the war when he was 17 years old (Smuts, 1929, p. 1). He wrote a journal that would later become the base for the book *Commando* whilst in exile in Madagascar. In the words of Smuts[3] (1929, p. 2), "these memories were written in the intervals of malaria and transport riding."

The opening title of the film reads: "The following is inspired by true events" (*Commando,* 2008). In an e-mail to the author, De Villiers (personal communication, August 26, 2015) contextualises the film's opening statement by saying that although the film is strongly based on the events described in the book, he did take some poetic license when adapting the story to a screenplay. The film's exposition shows Reitz and three of his band of Boer brothers packing up camp. Reitz fetches something from the horses that are grazing a bit further on. When he returns, he witnesses two of his friends getting shot and killed by British soldiers (De Villiers, 2008).

De Villiers (personal communication, August 26, 2015) states that although brotherhood and the relationships men forge while at war were strong themes of the book, he found the parts of the story where Reitz was alone to be the most interesting material. Therefore he used these moments to create a narrative where the hero needed to undergo and overcome a number of mythic challenges. "His journey became one of separation and isolation. Only once he had overcome the challenges before him and received the gifts (elixir of the gods) would he be capable of reintegration as a more whole, authentic individual (S. De Villiers, personal communication, August 26, 2015).

These statements immediately draw to mind the works on mythology of Vladimir Propp, Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell. Joseph Campbell interpreted Jung's theories on psychological archetypes to establish his theory on Hero myths, "those myths that attribute inferred events to legendary or historical personages" (Segal, 1999, p. 33). Campbell also coined the term "monomyth" to explain narratives that display the same essential pattern in which the mythological hero departs on a journey, overcomes many obstacles, undergoes a supreme ordeal, and returns with a treasure or elixir (Campbell, 2008). Christopher Vogler appropriated the latter monomyth to form the Hero's Journey; a structural pattern that many screenwriters use in plotting their screenplays (Vogler, 2007, p. xxvii). De Villiers is one of these screenwriters, "I approached the story of the short film very much from a mythic or hero's journey perspective. I have read both Campbell and Vogler's seminal works on myth and it

[3] Jan Smuts also led a Boer commando during the Anglo-Boer War. As leader of the South African Party he would later become a prominent South African and British Commonwealth statesman and prime minister of the Union of South Africa.

became something of my bible going into the writing and indeed production of Commando" (S. De Villiers, personal communication, August 26, 2015).

As constructing filmic stories on the mythic Hero's Journey model has become somewhat of a standard in screenwriting, this may lead the reader to ask why *Commando* would fit into a study of counter-narratives. It should be emphasised that De Villiers' *Commando,* with its theme of reconciliation, broke away from the previous Anglo-Boer War films where the narrative was mostly focused on a Boer Hero leading his group of men in fighting a war where only one could be the victor (Le Roux & Fourie, 1982).

Commando tells the story of Reitz wounding a British soldier, Vivian. Reitz shows the soldier mercy and Vivian repays the favour by giving him his jacket as a gift. During Reitz' darkest time in the film, when he is ill and without shelter during a storm, a mythical mentor figure finds him and nurses him back to health. The mentor appears to be a Zulu traditional healer or perhaps even a sangoma[4]. After his recovery, Reitz thanks the mentor. He replies to Reitz by quoting Aristotle, "The antidote to fifty enemies is one friend" (*Commando,* 2008). In these words, the mentor figure sums up the entire thematic premise of the film and breaks away from the stereotypical "hero-" and "shadow" archetypes one has come to identify with war films. De Villiers (personal communication, August 26, 2015) says that it was important for him to make the Aristotelean statement. At the time when he made the film, he was, in his own words, a "21-year-old left wing student with liberal humanist beliefs," who always found his own fascination with the war challenging. At the end of the film, the audience sees Lord Vivian, forty years later, visiting Reitz at the South African High Commission in London, to return Reitz' old gun that he left behind in the field with the wounded soldier (*Commando,* 2008).

De Villiers (personal communication, August 26, 2015) chose to portray the mentor character as a black sangoma, a choice he felt could be read as counter-hegemonic "in a society where race is such a distinctive factor". Deneys Reitz (2010, p. 182) wrote in his autobiography that whilst the commando was cornered on top of a hill with foul weather and British soldiers approaching, the group of men stumbled upon a hunchback living in a small shack. He led them down the hill on a secret path. De Villiers (personal communication, August 26, 2015) explains that when he read this part of the original book, the scene struck him as being dramatic and archetypical: "When drawing in the mythic energy of the scene, I could not help but visualize a mythical, mysterious "sangoma-esque" character a character who defies convention."

According to De Villiers (personal communication, August 26, 2015), the mentor character is not *definitely* a sangoma: "He has traits of western influence, like wearing an old dilapidated top hat. This is a man who might have been educated at a university abroad, we do not know. The point is he could perhaps be counter-hegemonic on both fronts." The black "sangoma-esque" mentor end up the "elixir" in mythical terms for the hero, Reitz. The advice of a black character being regarded as the "treasure" for the white hero is not the type of situation one would previously have seen in an Anglo-Boer War film.

Adventures of the Boer War

Kevin Kramer, the writer and director of the short films known collectively as *Adventures of the Boer War*, created these films when he was only fifteen years old. At the time he was in high school and busy studying the British colonial period. Kramer is North American and has no ancestral ties to the Anglo-Boer War. In an e-mail from Kramer he states that he loved Lego

[4] Traditional African healers steeped in tribal ways and ancient wisdoms.

characters and just wanted to use them as characters in short films with a similar style as the American "*F-Troop"*. The latter is a series from the sixties that was set at a desolated army post during the American civil war. The series relied on character-driven humor such as verbal and visual pranks as well as slapstick, burlesque and physical humor. (F Troop, IMDB 2003). When the author asked Kramer why he decided to set his films against the backdrop of the Anglo-Boer War, he merely replied: "It has never been done before," (K. Kramer, personal communication, Augustus 7, 2015).

The series *F-Troop* frequently changed and adapted historical facts, events and people to fit into their own comical stories. According to Kramer (personal communication, Augustus 7, 2015) he tried to use the same formula in his films. Therefore, in the opening title of his first film he already states: "The story taken place tells of the Past (sic). Its characters portrayed are fictional (sic). It deserves no place for hate (sic)," (*Adventures of the Boer War – Recruiting Tards,* 2011). It almost seems as if Kramer wanted to put a disclaimer at the beginning of his films, because he suspected a backlash about his satirical dance with history in the film.

Thus the author regards it as a good decision of the filmmaker to use Lego figures to tell his stories, as it fits the tongue-in cheek style of Kramer's films. It also adds a bit of a fantasy element to the characters. It is worth noting that he used Lego-animation for his films about four years before the Hollywood *Lego-movie* (IMDB 2014) popularized the use of these toy characters in films.

In his first films Kramer represent his main characters, who are mostly British soldiers, as idiots who get captured or caught out by the Boers. However, he does not really spare the Boers either. He mostly uses the Boer characters as anonymous sidekicks that serve as villains or enemies for the British. And in most of the storylines Kramer's purpose is to show how funny or naïve the characters' deeds are at times of war (*Adventures of the Boer War: Recruiting Tards; The Thing;* 2011).

Kramer (personal communication, Augustus 7, 2015) emphasizes that he only made these films for comical effect, and not to serve some form of propaganda. According to him he really tried to steer clear of true historical events: "*Yes, war is a horrible thing, but it happens in history, and whatever atrocities happened in that war I wanted to REALLY avoid and show a different side of a war not many people are familiar with. The show is literally a pop culture reference to something,"* (K. Kramer, personal communication, Augustus 7, 2015). Kramer did not explain in the e-mail what the "something" is that he is referring to in the former statement, however, as he already mentioned the satirical sitcom set during the 1860s Wild West, the author concludes that it is a popular culture reference to *F Troup* (1965–1967).

Bloedson

Bloedson was one of the thirteen short films that were produced in 2013 as part of the talent development initiative of the *Silwerskermfees*; a local film festival hosted annually by the pay-TV channel, *Kyknet*. It is the first Zombie film that has ever been produced in the Afrikaans language (Pienaar, 2014).

Abercrombie and Longhurst (2007, p. 305) write that "texts are thought to represent some form of external reality more or less accurately." However, many audience members complained on

Kyknet's [5] website that the film *Bloedson* (2013) did not give an accurate portrayal of the "conservative", "loyal" and "religious" Afrikaner (Pienaar, 2014). In the latter horror apocalypse film, Boers fighting in the war turned into zombies.

The film's narrative centres on two brothers who are fighting on different sides of the war. Dirk, a *bittereinder*[6] Boer soldier is being chased by his older brother, Brink, a *hensopper*[7] and bounty hunter for the British. He turned against his fellow Boers when Dirk married the woman that he loved (*Bloedson*, 2013). The title literally means "Blood sun" and it refers to the sun witnessing all the blood that gets spilled; but not because of the "bloody war", as one would initially think, but rather because of the bloodthirsty zombies (*Bloedson*, 2013).

The filmmakers had a definite theme in mind and a goal, namely to break a pre-established myth. One of the directors, Albert Snyman (personal communication, May 4, 2015), explains that he has constantly been irritated with the way the Afrikaners have represented themselves. According to him the cultural grouping that calls themselves Afrikaners have inherited an image of how their ancestors looked like and behaved, "and beware if you try to cross or change that perception" (Snyman, personal communication, May 4, 2015). He feels that the later generations of this group do not have the right to decide how their ancestors behaved: "The Boer has become a mythical figure, almost like a zombie. There is this idea about them, and it feels like this idea is becoming more like a myth, whilst with all the Hollywood Zombie films, the myth of the zombie is becoming a lot more real" (Snyman, personal communication, May 4, 2015).

The opening scene of the film already grabs the attention of the viewers and makes them aware of the fact that the filmmakers intend to challenge this myth. Similarly to *Commando*, *Bloedson* is set up in a way that makes the viewer think that it will be just another traditional war tale. It opens with a traditional Boer funeral with the minister and small congregation singing the Afrikaans hymn *Nader my God* (Nearer to God). The suspense begins to build when the corpse twitches. The shocked minister leans over to look inside the coffin. He is then devoured by a flesh-eating zombie (*Bloedson*, 2013). From this moment forward, the role of the traditional antagonist in an Anglo-Boer War film told from an Afrikaner perspective (that is, the British Empire exemplified by the British soldier) has now been taken over by Boer Zombies that will attack *both* Boer and Brit (Pienaar, 2014). With this cinematographic trick, traditional loyalties are erased in the film.

Hall (1980, p. 171) argues that film codes or messages might be encoded or decoded in different ways depending on the filmmakers or the audience. He explains that a reader of a text may have a preferred understanding of that text depending on his/her own positioning on a certain topic or ideology (Hall, 1997, p. 172). In the case at hand, the general Afrikaans audience did not enjoy *Bloedson*. According to Snyman (personal communication, May 4, 2015), they received many messages from disturbed viewers in which they expressed their discontent with the film. One reviewer states that together with the Great Trek, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Border War, the Anglo-Boer War is one of the most deep-rooted phenomenon in the

[5] Kyknet is the Afrikaans Pay TV channel on DSTV. Owned by Multichoice, it is currently the biggest commercial broadcaster in South Africa. Short films like Bloedson that are produced for the Silwerskerm film festival is usually broadcasted on Kyknet. Users usually comment online on the schedule, and their comments on the time of *Bloedson's* first screening, are the ones that Chris Pienaar (2014) refers to in his film review.
[6] A Boer soldier that fought until the "bitter end" of the Anglo-Boer War (when many of their fellow Boers had already surrendered).
[7] A derogatory term for a Boer soldier that surrendered. It literally refers to a man that puts his "hands-up".

Afrikaner psyche, and that challenging these historical parts of their identity is most likely to result in stirring up emotions:

> With Bloedson, the Anglo-Boer War, that holy cow of contemporary Afrikaans culture, upheld as the epitome of Afrikaner pride – is re-envisioned as a zombie apocalypse. The filmmakers question tradition, pride and its value in a contemporary society. Bloedson satirises Afrikaans culture and history like few other South African films dare to, with a blatant disregard for old-fashioned Afrikaans sentiment (Pienaar, 2014).

Although *Bloedson* is intent on mocking the horror genre and its conventions, it still contains the essential elements to make it a zombie film. Snyman (personal communication, May 4, 2015) explains that zombie films are usually more about how people react towards the half-dead creatures. The zombies are catalysts that invoke the survival instincts of the characters and test how they will react in extreme situations. It usually ends up with the characters turning against each other.

> I think the way that Afrikaners react towards each other in South Africa can be compared to a Zombie film. We never stand together, and we usually split into groups. Some run away and some blame the government, or any other party that they can point a finger to – instead of searching for the faults amongst ourselves (Snyman, personal communication, May 4, 2015).

Snyman states that the worst kind of Afrikaner are those that simulate ostriches by putting their heads in the sand and pretending that nothing is wrong, "so that they can continue to braai (barbecue) and watch rugby" (Snyman, personal communication, May 4, 2015). And he admits that, to his shame, he suspects he is also one of them. Here Snyman contextualises many scholars' viewpoint that the media not only construct and shape identities but also awaken audiences to new perspectives of themselves (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 2007, p. 177).

Media representations are also related to the power relations of a society (Wasserman, 2008, p. 247). By attacking the mythical image of the Boer, Snyman and his co-director, Louis Pretorius, were attacking one of the core beliefs many Afrikaners had of themselves. "*Bloedson* was a mockery of the idea that all Boers are perfect and that the myth of the Boer would drown or perish the moment it gets put in a modern context or setting, that is, faced with a Zombie, he would not survive" (Snyman, personal communication, May 4, 2015). Snyman himself seems to be the true example that even identity – that sense of self arrived at through a range of psychological, cultural and social processes – is subject to historical change:

> I am proud to be Afrikaans and from childhood I have been in love with the idea of the "Boers": real men that could trek across the mountains and carve a new world from rock. But now I am older and wiser and I know that image is not as perfect as the beautiful sketches that always used to hang on the wall of our school's history classroom (Snyman, personal communication, May 4, 2015).

Snyman dared to dismantle that image with this film.

Conclusion: Counter-hegemonic Narratives for a New Era

This article aimed to show that unconventional counter-narratives in short films can shift accepted ideological and historical identities. Where "living on a farm" used to be the material base for "Boer identity" in South Africa, the social grouping that speaks Afrikaans and subscribes to Afrikaner culture, has always represented the Boer-figure as a mythical hero. As ideological paradigms have always shaped the intellectual content of represented images, it seems that the Apartheid government tried to use these Anglo-Boer War films from the 1930's onwards to promote the Afrikaner Nationalism Ideology. However, even after South Africa became a democratic society it seems that Afrikaners still prefer to hold on to the idea of the mythical Boer Hero archetype that can represent their "age of innocence" – that time before Apartheid when they were still fighting for a cause that was just; their land, freedom and identity. This view connects with the main theories of mythology and the view that myth originates and functions to satisfy a need on the part of individuals or a community.

Although the Anglo-Boer War was used as the backdrop of many films that made use of the Boer myth when trying to construct an Afrikaner Nationalist identity, a small number of films made in the period following 1994 have tried to challenge that cultural construct; most notably films like the feature film *Verraaiers* (Traitors) and the short films *Commando*, *Bloedson* and *Adventures of the Boer War*.

Writer-director Stephen de Villiers' film *Commando* represents an episode in the life of the Boer soldier Deneys Reitz "more or less accurately," and he does deviate from the traditional representations by creating a story that is spurred on by the theme of reconciliation as well as a black mentor figure that literally voices the story statement "the antidote to fifty enemies is one friend."

The short films *Adventures of the Boer War* is not made from a Boer or British perspective, but rather from a North American satirical gaze that pokes fun at the various sides that fought against each other in the war. The director, Kevin Kramer, uses humour in his films to criticize war and the deeds it makes one do.

The Zombie horror film *Bloedson* literally slaughters the holy cows of the cultural grouping that are still associated with the myth of the traditional, heroic and pure Afrikaner by showing Boers turning into zombies and devouring each other. From the brief analysis and interviews with the filmmakers, it seems that if the media construct identities through the representation of "myths", these short films have paved a way for challenging these myths and redefining the Boer hero identity on film.

References

Abercrombie, N., & Longhurst, B. (2007). *The Penguin dictionary of media studies*. Suffolk, England: Penguin.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies* (A. Lavers, Trans.). New York: Hill and Wang. (Original work published 1957)

Botha, M. (2012). *South African cinema 1896–2010*. Bristol, UK: Intellect.

Browne, R. (2013). Verraaiers: A reflection. *Critical Arts, 27*(4), 449–453. https://doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2013.828396

Browne, R. B. (1983). Foreword. In P. C. Rollins (Ed.), *Hollywood as historian: American film in a cultural context* (revised ed.) (p. vi). Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky.

Campbell, J. (2008). *The hero with a thousand faces* (3rd ed.). Novato, California: Joseph Campbell Foundation: New World Library.

De Villiers, S. (Producer & Director). (2008). *Commando* [Motion picture]. South Africa: MNET.

Giliomee, H. (2004). *Die Afrikaners:'n biografie.* Tafelberg.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation. Cultural representations and signifying practice*. Londen: Sage.

IMDb. (2003). *F Troop (Series Description).* Retrieved from http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0058800/

IMDb. (2014). *The Lego Movie*. Retrieved from http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1490017/fullcredits/

Jansen van Vuuren, A. (2014). *From 'cavalier'to 'traitor' – unmasking the hero in two Anglo-Boer war feature films*. Paper presented at the 6th Global Conference on Storytelling: Global Reflections on Narrative, Lisbon, Portugal. [PDF document]. Retrieved from http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/probing-the-boundaries/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/vuurenstorypaper.pdf

Jooste, R. (2013). *Representing history through film with reference to the documentary film Captor and Captive: Perspectives on a 1978 Border War incident.* (Master of History thesis). Retrieved from SUNScholar.

Kramer R. (Producer), & Kramer, K. (Director). (2011). *Adventures of the Boer War: Recruiting tards* [Motion picture]. New York, USA: KTV Studio.

Krog, A. (2007). *The myth, the general and the battlefield*. Paper presented as a Seminar presentation, Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch.

Lambrechts, L., & Visagie, J. (2009). De la Rey, De la Rey, sal jy die Boere kom lei? *Litnet Akademies, 6*(2), 75–105.

Le Roux, A. I., & Fourie, L. (1982). *Filmverlede: Geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse speelfilm*. Muckleneuk, Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika.

Maingard, J. (2007). *South African national cinema.* Oxon: Routledge.

Nel, R. (2010). *Myths of rebellion: Afrikaner and countercultural discourse.* (Master of Arts in Media Studies thesis). Retrieved from OpenUCT. https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/10634

Pienaar, C. (2014, May 28). *Boerezombie Apocalypse – Bloedson*. Retrieved from http://slipnet.co.za/view/reviews/afrikaanse-horror/

Pretorius, F. (2009). *The A to Z of the Anglo-Boer War*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

Reid, J. (2008). Representation defined. In P. J. Fourie (Ed.), *Media studies. Volume 2: Policy, management and media representation* (2nd ed.). Cape Town: Juta & Co.

Reitz, D. (2010). *God does not forget: The story of a Boer War Commando*. Tucson, Arizona: Fireship Press.

Rosenstone, R. A. (1995). *Visions of the past: The challenge of film to our idea of history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Segal, R. A. (1999). *Theorizing about myth*: Univ of Massachusetts Press.

Smuts, J. C. (1929). Preface. In D. Reitz (Ed.), *Commando: A Boer journal of the Anglo-Boer War*. Great Britain: Faber and Faber Unlimited.

Snyman, A., & Pretorius, L. (Directors). (2013). *Bloedson*. [Motion picture]. South Africa: Kyknet.

Stokes, J. (2003). *How to do media & cultural studies* London: Sage.

Tomaselli, K. (2013). *The cinema of apartheid: race and class in South African film*: Routledge.

Vogler, C. (2007). *The writer's journey: Mythic structure for writers*. USA, Michael Wiese Productions.

Wasserman, H. (2008). Media and the construction of identity. In P. J. Fourie (Ed.), *Media studies. Volume 2: Policy, management and media representation (2nd ed.)* . Cape Town: Juta & Co.

Woodward, K. (2002). *Understanding identity*. London: Arnold

Corresponding author: Anna-Marie Jansen van Vuuren
Email: ajansenvanvuuren@uj.ac.za

Interdisciplinary Working Relationships of Health Care Staff in Late 20th Century Britain: A Cultural Study of Practices from the Past and Implications for the Present

Angela Turner-Wilson, Bournemouth University, UK
Richard Fisher, Bournemouth University, UK
Holly Crossen-White, Bournemouth University, UK
Ann Hemingway, Bournemouth University, UK

Abstract

Interdisciplinary working is a common phenomenon in healthcare in many countries throughout the world, yet the United Kingdom cultural history of this employment model appears to be under-researched. A pilot study was therefore undertaken that sought to obtain insights into this form of working in clinical environments during the latter part of the 20th century in Britain. The participants were all retired British National Health Service (NHS) professionals. An oral history approach was used, and in addition participants were also encouraged to handle old historical medical objects dated to the time period under review. Three of the themes that emerged from the narrative data analysis, "hierarchy" "altered hierarchy" and "the family", are discussed, and the authors review how these concepts acted as enablers, and sometimes barriers, within interdisciplinary working. The authors also question whether, in recent times, there has been a change to the sense of "belongingness" that some of these ideas seemed to nurture. It is asked if, in the modern setting, some healthcare staff feel insecure as they no longer believe they are as supported, or as accepted by their interdisciplinary colleagues. The paper concludes by considering if the ideology of a "healthcare family" could speak to those currently engaged in clinical work today.

Keywords: culture, health care, history

Introduction

In 1967 the British government commented on the organisation of medical activities within the National Health Service. A report noted that it was "obvious that the chairman of the executive committee (an experienced medical clinician) would need to work as closely with the chief nursing officer …" as possible (Ministry of Health, 1967, p. 59). The comment highlights that interdisciplinary working was becoming an established part of practice by the latter part of the twentieth century in the United Kingdom (UK). This is a pattern of working that is not dissimilar to other parts of the world, such as the United States, where the idea of collaborative working and its benefits appears in twentieth century health care rhetoric (for example see Baldwin, 1996). Modern historical healthcare literature addresses interdisciplinary working during this period, but there is less emphasis on the underpinning cultural day-to-day practices. The researchers in this study sought to redress this by developing a study that would provide a platform to speak from for those who lived through these times. An oral historical approach was adopted that allowed participants to share their insights and emotional journeys of interdisciplinary working from the late 1960s onwards. The authors will highlight some of the findings that emerged from this process, and in particular look deeper into some of the cultural themes that came out of this work.

Background

Interdisciplinary working is a common approach in many healthcare systems today (for instance, Eaves, 2002) and it is therefore unsurprising that there has been some interest in this field through historical studies. If we turn to the British evidence, for example, Hall's (2005) work considers professional cultures within the history of interdisciplinary groups. Reeves, MacMillan & van Soeren, (2010) postulate a similarity between modern interdisciplinary working practices and ancient medieval craft guilds. Some authors have explored the working practices between two distinct professions, such as nurses and medical doctors. Price, Doucet & Hall (2013) discuss the historical social positioning of these two disciplines, whilst MacMillan (2012) review the role of Florence Nightingale and her influence regarding interdisciplinary working, particularly in regard to medics. Along a similar theme Crowther's (2002) paper looks at the working relationship of British doctors and nurses during the 19th and 20th centuries. There are also those authors who have contributed to historical understandings of interdisciplinary working, but from the perspective of a single profession. Sweet & Dougall's (2008) work on community nursing, Billingham, Morrell & Billingham's (1996) insights into health visiting (part of public health nursing in Britain), Parker & Dowding's (2011) discussions regarding nursing auxiliaries, as well as Ardern's (2005) text on the role of the nursing sister are a few examples. Personal narratives also exist. Practitioners who worked during the 20th century in the UK healthcare system such as Cox (2005), Graham & Orr (2013) and Bayer & Oppenheimer (2002) all talk about their experiences. However, when interdisciplinary working is mentioned, it is usually woven into the overall story. This review appears to suggest that there are not many attempts to capture personal stories which are directly associated with interdisciplinary working in the British clinical environments from the 1960s onwards.

Research Question

Using narratives gathered from retired health care practitioners, the researchers in this study chose to undertake a pilot study to investigate professional roles and working boundaries in UK health care during the late twentieth century.

Aim and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this study were to:

- Gain insights from a group of retired health care workers relating to their professional roles and interdisciplinary working practices during the latter part of the 20th century.
- Use old medical objects to enhance communication between the participants and the investigators, and to act as triggers for personal memories.
- Collect data using structured, open-ended interview questions.
- Identify themes and patterns that emerged from the interview material.
- Propose interpretations that further inform the historical cultural study of interdisciplinary health care working practices in the late 20th century, and consider whether these findings can offer insights into current healthcare delivery.

Methodology and Methods

Two approaches were adopted for this cultural study. The first was grounded in oral histories. Reinharz (1992) suggests this method can liberate the narrators, allowing them the means to express ideas that may not be preserved in traditional writings. As such, it can be regarded as a method that creates a new social history (Boschma, Scaia, Bonifacio, & Roberts, 2008). It is well suited to this research as it allows for, as Peniston-Bird (2009) highlights, the capture of details relating to daily life and experience.

The second method was closely aligned with the field of visual studies and was based on the assumption that the use of images within a research methodology can, "act as a medium of communication between the researcher and participant" (Clark-IbáÑez, 2004, p. 1512). Harper (2002) has argued that the inclusion of visual items alongside the traditional research interview has the potential to create different forms of information. In his work he has a particular interest in photo-elicitation, but it can be proposed that the idea of object-elicitation sits equally well within this approach. In object-elicitation the participants are invited to use their sense of vision, but they may also touch and even smell the items which, in Harper's (2002, p. 13) words can, "connect core definitions of the self to society, culture and history". Dobres (1995) adds that objects can act as a reference point for individuals to grade themselves and others in terms of competence and adherence to group standards.

In addition, as a result of museums and art galleries looking for new ways to engage the public with their collections, there is an emerging body of research that looks at how interacting with heritage objects can benefit individuals, see for example Ander's et al (2013) work. Indeed, much of this work reflects research into the value of object handling to particular patient groups such as those who require longer periods of time in hospital settings. What the findings indicate is that objects are "containers of memory" (Mack, 2003) and handling these objects can "trigger memories in ways that other information-bearing material do not" (Camic & Chatterjee 2013, p. 67). Moreover, there is increasing evidence that handling objects can increase an individual's sense of identity (Ander et al., 2013). If this is indeed the case, then holding items related to a professional context may potentially not only elicit memories of the past, but also stimulate recollection and reflection upon roles within interdisciplinary teams. Hence this study adopted the use of historical medical objects such as the type previously used by interviewees within their everyday practice.

Clearly the approaches rely on the memory of the participants, and it is also clear that there exists some tension between memory and the creation of individual and collective histories (Confino, 1997). Memory is known to be unreliable and subjective, yet it provides us with the means to travel back into our own past. It offers a closeness to events that is often absent in official documents. Davis & Starn (1989, p. 5) sum this up by stating, "the private sphere and the practices of everyday life define and conserve alternatives to the official memory of public historiography". Thus different memories offer different perspectives on the past.

Ethical, Legal and Professional Matters

Institutional ethical approval for this study was obtained from the researchers' university and from the hospital research department. Individuals who expressed an interest in volunteering for the study were informed that the ethical reviews had taken place, and were provided with a participant information sheet which highlighted, amongst other things, that participants could withdraw from the study at any time without giving any reasons. All participants signed a consent form prior to taking part in the study and this included an agreement for verbatim quotations to be used within publications. A health and safety risk assessment was also completed.

Sampling

Purposive sampling was adopted as this study addressed a specific group within the population (Polit & Beck, 2004). Five participants, who were all retired members of hospital staff and had worked in health care during the 20th century, agreed to participate. The sample was small, but as this work was a pilot study, and the investigation assumed a constructivist position, it was deemed appropriate (Teijlingen van & Hundley, 2001; O'Leary, 2004).

Interviews and Objects

The interviews were conducted in non-clinical rooms at the hospital which was a convenient location for the participants who lived locally, and it provided easy access to the old medical object archive. Data was collected by using structured and open-ended interview questions with the latter allowing the interviewer to change the order of questions as the discussion progressed (Bowling, 2002). Participants were invited to look at or handle a number of small old medical objects which were, for health and safety purposes chosen from the hospital archive by the researchers. The same items were used for every participant. The participants were asked to select one item that they could particularly associate with during their working lives. The old medical objects (all estimated to be about 30 to 60 years old) included:

- Inhaler Device (marked Dr Nelson's Inhaler) (ceramic, cork stopper)
- Syringe (spinal) (glass)
- Surgical needles (metal) and needle holder(metal) and carrying case(wood)
- Soap (boxed)
- Kidney bowl (metal)
- Instrument sterilisers (steam and chemical) (metal)
- Bandage (wrapped in cellophane)
- Surgical operating instrument (metal)

The data analysis began by summarising the categorical data. Then, in order to adopt a more nuanced analysis and to explore greater complexities within the data, printed transcriptions of the interviews were scrutinized using a thematic approach. The transcripts were read several times and annotated to show how recurring themes emerged from the data. Themes were compared between transcripts, adopting the approach of constant comparison as identified by Silverman (2000). This, it is argued, helps to enable the researcher to convey a sense of meaning about the observed world.

Findings

The five participants (all retired) had been employed by the NHS from the 1960s onwards. They came from a range of specialisms. One of the two doctors had worked in surgery, whilst the other in anaesthetics. Two of the nurses had medical backgrounds. The final participant had held a number of clinical posts in health care. In relation to the selection of the old medical objects most participants chose different things, although an instrument steriliser was selected by two different participants. When the participants were asked who mainly used the object they had selected, they all reported that it was only used by their profession.

The analysis of the interviews revealed a number of themes which included:

- Hierarchy
- Altered Hierarchy
- Family

Hierarchy

The idea of hierarchy was presented in a discussion when Participant 1, a nurse, focused on a Dr Nelson's inhaler. This equipment consists of an earthenware vessel which was used for inhalation purposes post anaesthesia, and on ear, nose and throat wards (see figure 1). The participant noted that she did not ask why when requested by senior staff to administer treatment using this equipment. She stated that junior or student nurses did not question the justification for treatment, but accepted that it was necessary. Some doctors, she noted, may only have spoken to a student nurse once they were in the third year of training. She went on to paint a picture of strictly controlled environments, both on a physical and psychological level. Examples of this were the ways in which a student nurse might be permitted (or required) to speak with, what one of the participants termed, the "all powerful matron" during a ward round, although this did not happen at any other times. Psychological control was demonstrated by the use of ritual humiliation of junior staff such as being shouted at by more senior colleagues. Importantly, reference was made to the control exerted over students' off duty time which she referred to as "not having holidays". This retired nurse explained that, "everybody knew their place", stating there was strict acknowledgement of seniority among the nursing staff and students. Junior students were often taught by their senior student counterparts. However, this nurse revealed that students and junior nurses were not entirely powerless in this process and some rebelled against the system.

Participant 4, also a retired nurse, recalled a, "pecking order" in which the junior doctors would tease junior nursing students. For this nurse, an old steriliser (see figure 2) evoked memories of student nurses, of whom there were many, cleaning the wards and treatment rooms, rolling bandages, recounting how surgical instruments were boiled in similar appliances. This participant remarked that "you knew your place, and you were happy with that".

Figure 1: Dr Nelson's Inhaler (Authors' own photograph)

Participant 3, who began her working life as a dental nurse, was then employed as a cardiographer before changing to become a health care assistant had a different recollection of hierarchy in the British NHS. She recalled a matron living in a flat at the hospital. The hospital acted as a home as well as a work environment. In one discussion the participant noted that there were demarcations in the dining arrangements for staff. Specifically, the tables reserved for heads of departments had tablecloths, but those for other members of staff did not. It was noted that people ate in separate groups. Participant 1 remarked that medics ate separately, and food was served in order of seniority. When she was not on duty Matron's meals were served in her flat. Even at Christmas time (December 25), a cooked turkey, traditional fare for the patients and staff at this time of the year, would be carved by a senior doctor. In the example given here a pathologist performed this ritual.

Altered Hierarchy

The other two participants in this study, both retired doctors, offered a slightly different perspective on interdisciplinary working practices at this time. Generally the medics appeared to have more positive views concerning the hierarchy that was in place, compared to their subalterns. Participant 2 was a surgeon, whilst participant 5 was an anaesthetist. The surgeon, who during the interview selected old needles and needle holders from the archive, recalled that hierarchy changed over time. The particular equipment, he stated, would have been used, "by my boss, when I was a houseman (junior doctor)". He related hierarchy to the tasks performed by individual types of professionals, remarking that whereas in the early stages of his career it was usually junior doctors who assisted the surgeon, it was latterly nurses who assumed this role. The anaesthetist, who chose the syringe noted that the de facto locus of control often did not lie with the expected professional and sometimes he had needed permission from the theatre sister to carry out certain activities.

Interestingly, during the interviews the surgical instrument steriliser was chosen twice (see figure 2). This might simply reflect the specialisms of the participants, or that this was an item was common to both surgical and medical settings. However, instrument sterilisers were an important part of working life during this period (see for example Newsom & Ridgway, 2014), and that appears to have been the case for two different health care groups of staff in this study, a qualified nurse and a health care support worker. Although not his first choice, a medic also looked at a tall upright sterilising container for surgical instruments and noted the importance of it. Given its role in the hierarchy of the health care settings the medic may not have felt entirely comfortable directly relating to an item that might, for this profession, merely represent a cleaning instrument. Nevertheless, it shows that objects such as this one did connect all three healthcare groups.

Family

A theme which emerged from the data may be explained in part by feelings of nostalgia. Nevertheless, participants either mentioned "family" or alluded to a form of camaraderie within the workplace environment. Participant 1, holding the Dr Nelson's inhaler (see figure 1) noted her happy memories of being a nursing student, stating that, "this object reminded her of bedpan cleaning, and emphasized the camaraderie that grew from these activities". Later she remarked that, "fellow students often lent support to each other". She also recalled Sunday tea on the ward with cup-cakes. The other nurse, participant 4, likened the ward environment to a family where the ward sister was seen as, in her words, "a mother". She felt people trusted each other, morale was good and although people worked hard there was, as this participant noted, "plenty of job satisfaction". She continued that people worked in well-established teams for periods of two to three months at a time.

Figure 2: Surgical instrument steriliser and surgical instrument (Authors' own photograph)

Further, she remarked that initially in her career hospitals were much smaller in size, commenting that such an environment was, "all much more like a family."

Participant 3 noted this family atmosphere, recalling that there was "a lot of compassion and concern at that time." She offered the example that, "a consultant put his arms around me" when she had become upset. She further amplified the "family" theme by explaining that, "pre-1960s sisters did not marry, therefore (there were) a number of older sisters on the wards. They would spoil other people's children and buy them presents." At Easter time (a holiday period around the months of March or April), "everyone received an Easter egg." The participant also noted how consultants and their families would visit patients and staff on the wards. A slightly different perspective on this theme was given by the anaesthetist (Participant 5), who remarked how teams would often socialize across disciplines, undertaking a bridge climb in Sydney for example.

Conclusion

In these extracts from the interview data, it is possible to see themes which demonstrate how the perspectives of people delivering health care have altered since the middle of the 20th century. Whilst recognising that no claims can be made regarding representation or generalisability, it is evident that for the participants in this study, working life is remembered as having a greater sense of belonging than appears to be the case in the early 21st century. This is despite working in a more rigid hierarchical setting.

This poses questions for health care providers and for society at large. First, it can be asked whether the picture painted by these recently retired health care workers shows a "true" representation of the changes in "belongingness" as described by Somers (1999, p. 16) as "the need to be, and perception of being involved with others at differing interpersonal levels ... which contributes to one's sense of connectedness (being part of, feeling accepted, and fitting in), and esteem (being cared about, valued and respected by others), while providing reciprocal acceptance, caring and valuing to others" and identified by Levett-Jones & Lathlean (2008) as being an important factor in student nurses' experience of clinical practice. Second, did the apparent formal social and professional order of health care in earlier times enable the efficient working of clinical areas? Third, if this is the case, it can be postulated that a diminished formality has led to a lessening of feelings of security (and being cared for) within the health care "family". If this is so, is it possible that an estrangement within the healthcare family has contributed to some of the poorer aspects of care delivery seen in the UK in recent years? For example, a catalogue of events highlighting a number of problems within a British health care establishment was described in the Report of the Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust Public Inquiry (The Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust, 2013). This triggered a range of responses from professions such as the UK General Medical Council who wrote that there should be closer collaboration between themselves and the UK Nursing and Midwifery Council (General Medical Council, 2014). This can be seen as an echo of the plea from the 1960s report.

It might then be proposed that the idea of a health care family (with elements of a secure and comfortable structure) is once again fostered. It is recognised that social connections can lead to improvement in health and wellbeing, which in turn is related to positive social behaviour (Seppala, Rossomando & Doty, 2013). The social construct of the family (in its many forms) represents one of these connections. Families, Moullin (2012) argues, can create an inter-dependency on each other which produces "inoculations against social problems, or exclusion" (Moullin, 2012, p. 515). Issues which are, it is suggested, present in team work. Given the

interest in Britain through, for instance, the NHS England National Quality Board (NHS England, 2017), the reintroduction of the healthcare family might reignite that sense of togetherness, creating stronger bonds and reducing barriers between the various professions. For example, a less experienced healthcare member of staff may be more at ease discussing an aspect of patient care with those from other professional disciplines if they felt these people were a closer part of their professional, social and cultural identity. Of course such thinking would not be in isolation, but sit alongside existing ideas, such as those proposed by Baxter & Brumfitt (2008) in their discussion concerning overcoming professional differences. Perhaps, then, the ideology of a health care family could offer a powerful addition to this field of work.

This study contributes to understandings of professional roles and working boundaries during the latter part of the 20th century. The two different interviewing techniques applied helped build up a detailed picture of working life during this time, and the use of old medical objects added an extra dimension to the method and findings. By listening to the voices from those who had first-hand experience of interdisciplinary working in the past, the study revealed a number of insights, including the idea of the health care family, albeit in a strongly structured framework. The significance of this work lies not only in its contribution to cultural historical narratives, but also in its ability to broaden our thinking about how we address current challenges within the care sector. Indeed, further work on the idea of the health care family past and present is recommended.

Limitations

The research was limited by its small number of participants, and its qualitative methodology means the findings are not generalizable. Nevertheless, these results may be useful to inform understandings and further studies into the culture of working environments both past and present.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to acknowledge Sue Mellor from the Royal Bournemouth and Christchurch Hospitals NHS Foundation Trust, UK, who supported this work, and Associate Professor Francis Biley, deceased, who was an inspiration to us all and is greatly missed.

References

Ander,E.E., Thomson, L.J.M., Blair, K., Noble, G., Menon, U., Lanceley, A., & Chatterjee, H.J. (2013). Using museum objects to improve wellbeing in mental health service users and neurological rehabilitation clients. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *76*(5), 208–216. https://doi.org/10.4276/030802213X13679275042645

Ardern, P. (2005). *The nursing sister*. London: Robert Hale.

Baldwin, D. C. (2007). Some historical notes on interdisciplinary and interprofessional education and practice in health care in the USA. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, *21*(S1), 23–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/13561820701594728

Baxter, S. K., & Brumfitt S. M. (2008). Professional differences in interprofessional working. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, *22*(3), 239–251. https://doi.org/10.1080/13561820802054655

Bayer, R., & Oppenheimer G. M. (2002). *AIDS doctors: voices from the epidemics: an oral history.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Billingham, K., Morrell, J., & Billingham, C. (1996). Reflections on the history of health visiting. *British Journal of Community Health Nursing*, *1*(7), 386–292. https://doi.org/10.12968/bjch.1996.1.7.7536

Boschma, G., Scaia, M., Bonifacio, N., & Roberts, E. (2008). Oral history research. In S.B. Lewenson & E.K. Herrmann (Eds.), *Capturing nursing history: A guide to historical methods in research* (pp. 79–98). New York, NY: Springer.

Bowling, A. (2002). *Research methods in health*. Maidenhead: Open University.

Camic, P. M., & Chaterjee H. J. (2013). Museums and art galleries as partners for public health interventions. *Perspectives in Public Health, 133*(1), 66–71.

Clark-IbáÑez, M. (2004). Framing the social world with photo-elicitation interviews. *American Behavioural Scientist, 47*(12), 1507–1527.

Confino, A. (1997). Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method. *The American Historical Review, 102*(5), 1386-1403. https://doi.org/10.2307/2171069

Cox, N. (2005). The operating room. *British Journal of Perioperative Nursing*, *15*(4), 170–174. https://doi.org/10.1177/175045890501500403

Crowther, A. (2002). *Why women should be nurses and not doctors– some nineteenth-century reflections.* Manchester: UK Centre for the History of Nursing.

Davis, N. Z., & Starn, R. (1989). Introduction. *Representations. 26*(Special issue memory and counter memory), 1-6. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928519

Dobres, M. A. (1995). Gender and prehistoric technology: on the social agency of technical strategies. *World Archaeology, 27*(1), 25–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1995.9980291

Eaves, D. (2002). The International Association of Forensic Mental Health Services: Working toward interdisciplinary and international collaboration. *The International Journal of Forensic Mental Health, 1*(1), 3–5. https://doi.org/10.1080/14999013.2002.10471156

General Medical Council. (2014). *April 2014 update on the GMC's work to address the Francis Recommendations.* Retrieved from http://www.gmc-uk.org/about/23442.asp

Graham, M., & Orr, J. (Ed.) (2013). *Nurses' voices from the Northern Ireland troubles*, Harrow: Royal College of Nursing.

Hall, P. (2005). Interprofessional teamwork: Professional cultures as barriers. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, 19(*S1)*, 188–196. https://doi.org/10.1080/13561820500081745

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, *17*(1), 13–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860220137345

Levett-Jones, T., & Lathlean, J. (2008). Belongingness: a prerequisite for nursing students' clinical learning. *Nurse Education in Practice*, *8*(2), 103–111. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nepr.2007.04.003

MacMillan, K. M. (2012). The challenge of achieving interprofessional collaborations: Should we blame Nightingale? *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, *26*(5), 410–415.

Mack, J. (2003). *The museum of the mind: art and memory in world cultures*. London: The British Museum Press.

Ministry of Health. (1967). *First report of the Joint Working Party on the organisation of medical work in hospitals.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Moullin, S. (2012). Why progressives should be pro-family. *The Political Quarterly*, *83*(3), 512–519. https://doi.org/10.3109/13561820.2012.699480

Newsom, S. W. B., & Ridgway, G. L. (2014). The history of decontamination in hospitals. In J. T. Walker (Ed.), *Decontamination in hospitals and healthcare* (pp. 20–41). Oxford: Woodhead Publishing.

NHS England. (2017). *National Quality Board*. Retrieved from https://www.england.nhs.uk/ourwork/part-rel/nqb/#pub

O'Leary, Z. (2004). *The essential guide to doing research*. London: Sage.

Parker, J., & Dowding, L. (2011). Past, present and future: From auxiliary to assistant practitioner. *British Journal of Healthcare Assistants*, *5*(12), 615–617. https://doi.org/10.12968/bjha.2011.5.12.615

Peniston-Bird, C. M. (2009). Oral history: the sound of memory. In: S. Barber & C.M. Peniston-Bird (Eds.), *History beyond the text* (pp. 105–121). London: Routledge.

Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2004). *Nursing research: Principles and methods* (7th ed.). London: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Price, S., Doucet, S., & Hall, L. M. (2014). The historical social positioning of nursing and medicine: implications for career choice, early socialisation and interprofessional collaboration. *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, *28*(2), 103–109. https://doi.org/10.3109/13561820.2013.867839

Reeves, S., MacMillan, K., & Van Soeren, M. (2010). Leadership of interprofessinal health and social care teams: A socio-historical analysis. *Journal of Nursing Management*, *18*(3), 258–264. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2834.2010.01077.x

Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seppala, E., Rossomando, T., & Doty, J. R. (2013). Social connections and compassion: important predictors of health and well-being. *Social Research*, *80*(2), 411–430. https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2013.0027

Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook.* London: Sage.

Somers, M. (1999). *Development and preliminary validation of a measure of belongingness*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Sweet, H. M., & Dougall, R. (2008). *Community nursing and primary health care in twentieth century Britain*. London: Routledge.

Teijlingen van, E., & Hundley, V. (2001). The importance of pilot studies. *Social Research Update, 35*, 1–4.

The Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust (2013). *Report of the Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust Public Inquiry.*
Retrieved from http://www.midstaffspublicinquiry.com/report

Corresponding author: Angela Turner-Wilson
Contact email: aturnerwilson@bournemouth.ac.uk

Culture through Children's Picture Books: A New Kind of Reading or a New Kind of Child?

Christina Belcher, Redeemer University College, Canada

Abstract

Children's picture books are anything but neutral. As culture moves ahead, technology within society gives and it takes away. The purpose of this paper is to explore how changes in the foundational patterns of life can be seen through the pages of a picture book, and how patterns of recognized change become harbingers of a quasi-prophetic voice pertaining to the future. Through a modified content comparative analysis coupled with the learning heuristic of epistemological shudders (Charteris, 2014), this paper examines three older children's picture books and their revisions in a later decade. In evidence of the resultant cultural changes, questions emerge. What view of culture, both past and current, do children's stories portray? How has writing in a picture book changed the perception of child and adult relationships? Results consider the perception of the family/child relationship, and what is now perceived to be a typical family life. This investigation reveals some interesting ground to be held as part of an overarching narrative, not just through the historical evidence of picture books, but within the larger fabric of hope and direction for future readers who may experience a cultural worldview that encourages them to become the stories they tell.

Keywords: picture books, modern, post-modern, tech-fictive, family, culture, worldview

Introduction

Picture books are not neutral. They display the life of humans and how they live in the world. It is not surprising that researchers have been interested in the field of children's picture books as narrative vehicles that represent change in culture, and form a particular kind of literary history. Research on picture books has included themes of social interest such as family (Belcher, 2008, 2010; Heath, 1982; Johnson, 1999); culture (Owens & Nowell, 2001); social issues (Dyches, Prater & Heath, 2010; Johnson, 1999); education (Wolfganger & Sipe, 2007); and currently, media and narrative/special needs (Maich & Belcher, 2012; Maich, Belcher, Sider, & Johnson, 2015; Belcher & Maich, 2014). The common thread in all the above research lies in examining how picture books written in a specific time, history and culture, engage current life.

Picture books engage culture in modern, postmodern, and what I call, "tech-fictive" modes of writing, because in my knowledge, this style of writing has not met the criteria of other forms of children's literature. For the purposes of this study, these modes are defined in the following way.

In the modern story, there is a beginning, middle and end that presents a logical conclusion. The setting is relatable to daily life. Modern stories, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, relate to, or are characteristic of the present and immediate paste of modern American family life. Such stories may unfold in a traditional story form (beginning, middle, end), or model conduct, such as the binary opposites of good/evil, or moral aspects found in original fairy tales. This mode is representative of the bedtime story, (Heath, 1982), where parent and child have central stage. Being read to paves the way for early literacy for a child at home, and fosters a love of shared reading (Fox, 2001).In the post-modern story, the narrative engages a social issue and has two audiences (adult, child). Two stories run parallel. The adult identifies one, and the child relates to the other. The largest difference between modern and post-modern story is what Gergen (1994) refers to as the "abandonment of the traditional commitment to *representationalism*; the assumption that there is (or can be) a determinant (fixed or intrinsic) relationship between words and world." (p. 412). Gergen goes on to add that in post-modern writing, "the language of values all but vanishes from serious debate" (p. 413). However, this does not imply that post-modern thought discourages moral deliberation. Rather, it can serve to provoke it by engaging relational discourses and promoting a reflexive stance linking to broader cultural and historical context.

In what I have coined the *tech-fictive* mode, the child is guided to see technology as something to be desired. Humor, satire, irony or parody often abound in such writing. Images are more prolific than words, and words may relate more to the slang of the time than "proper English". These books subversively create desire or appetite in the reader. The story does not have to be deep or invasive. The "setting" includes a virtual realm that is technologically alluring.

Picture books are significant. As humans, the stories of our youth stay with us, engaging us to live and view the world in certain ways. They are not only intellectual experiences, but heart forming experiences as well. Naugle (2004) declares that every story is read through the lens of a worldview:

> A worldview, then, constitutes the symbolic universe that has profound implications on a variety of significant human practices. It digs the channels in which the waters of reason flow. It establishes the hermeneutic framework by

> which texts are interpreted. It is that mental medium through which the world is known. Human life in its variegated aspects, so it seems, proceeds "kardioptically" – out of a vision of an embodied heart living in the world. (p. 27)

The books in this study re-engage former ideas of an author, and subvert these into a modern parody or third-person representation. I consider modern and later narratives of three comparative examples of six picture books in this study. The first engages children's author Anthony Browne and a story he first authored in 1977 and rewrote again, twenty years later in 1998. Two other examples explore former best-selling texts by modern authors (Margaret Wise Brown and Laura Numeroff) and their representation by a current contemporary author (under the pseudonym, Ann Droyd).

As this engagement moves from modern story to tech-fictive mode, changes in interaction within readings emerge. Implementing a modified comparative content analysis based on investigation of characters, time/setting, culture and audience, I explore areas of change from the original telling of the story. I then probe this content using the heuristic for teacher learning of "*epistemological shudders*" (Charteris, 2014), which includes a process that intentionally critiques what is said in a text to consider what is omitted or not said.

Where the original authors saw children's literature in the frame of a bedtime story where children were read **to**, it is now possible for children to view a story independently or online and essentially be read **at.** The human supports of a shared reading that involved questions and pause do not exist in cyberspace, and young children do not often question what is read to them without invited discussion. In encountering these changes, philosophical questions arise as to what it means to ***engage*** a narrative, what values the narrative may represent or omit, and what view of being human for the future may be acquired from the reading of the text.

Engaging Story

Since it would not be prudent to assume the chosen texts have been previously read by the audience of this paper, introducing the texts with short descriptions involving context and content for the reader is included to further meaning-making from this study. Books reflect the culture of the author who holds the pen, providing a social lens for the decade in which they were written.

Narrative #1: *A Walk in the Park (1977) by Anthony Browne*

Context. *A Walk in the Park* (1977) centers on two adults, two children and two dogs. The illustrations represent differences in appearance and voice, but not in personhood. Both families in the narrative are Caucasian. Adults and children are neatly attired. The children have similar haircuts, reflective of the rock-style celebrity haircuts in Britain in the early 1970's. Language in the text is distinctly different between the adults, including a cockney accent and a more refined Victorian style of speech. The book represents a common, foundational event in life; the occurrence of parents, children and dogs enjoying a walk in the park.

Content. The text bridges aspects of the modern and postmodern story. It has a modern story map, but includes the social issue of poverty and affluence. Characters Mr. Smith, Smudge, (his daughter) and Alfred, their dog, encounter Mrs. Smythe, Charles (her son) and Victoria, their dog, in the park. Both Smith and Smythe recognize their "place" in society, avoiding eye

contact and sitting on opposite ends of a bench. The children, however, edge closer to each other and go off to play together. The dogs, running free, do the same. From my decades of use of the book as an educator across elementary and university education, I have noted that adults will relate to the social-political issues raised in the story clearly, but children will commonly first identify with meeting a child in the park, watching dogs play, and enjoying each other's company. Even as the adults avoid each other, the children become friends. Charles gives Smudge a yellow wildflower, which she keeps and takes home. A new kind of story is pollinating here – that of double audience. The child and the adult are both readers, and both view the story from their own positions of maturity and social intelligence.

Narrative #2: *Voices in the Park (1998) by Anthony Browne*

Context. Written in the late 1990s, *Voices in the Park* presents a post-modern critique on social interaction. The characters are the same, (two dogs, two adults, two children) but they are portrayed as *Voices* in the text. Society, in the 1990's, became more aware of social issues, and less aware of people or their interactions within that frame of issue. There was a "name it and claim it" approach to recognizing social ills. Illustratively, the characters are no longer children, but are represented anthropomorphically. This story continues to present social class issues, but in a much more disillusioned and divisive way.

Content. *First Voice*, (Mrs. Smythe), begins the story, not Mr. Smith, as in the original story. Her pedigree Labrador, Victoria, is mentioned before her son. Mrs. Smythe relates arrogantly to the people in the park. Mr. Smith is recognized as a "frightful type". Charles talks to a "rough-looking child". The tone of aggression is introduced. The dogs occupy the central place in illustrations of the walk, rather than the main characters.

Second Voice, (Mr. Smith), is out of work, and has become discouraged with scouring the employment ads in the newspaper. The dog is featured as being the first character addressed by the adult, when Mr. Smith says that he wishes he had his energy. He reads the paper looking for a job.

Third Voice, (Charles), is bored at home. Mrs. Smythe says it is time for their walk. He wishes he was enjoying himself as much as the dogs playing in the park. He is invited to play, even though he thinks at first that it is unfortunate that the invitation comes from a girl. Her skills amaze him. His Mommy catches them talking together and Charles must go home. Charles leaves wishing his new playmate would be there next time.

Fourth Voice, (Smudge), notices her Dad has been really "fed up" lately, and was pleased that they could take Albert to the park. She observes that Voice 1 was angry that the dogs were playing together, and refers to her as a "silly twit". The children and the dogs play together. Smudge felt really, really, happy. Charles picked a flower, a poppy, and gave it to Smudge. When he had to go he looked sad. Smudge kept the flower and made her Dad tea. Smudge is the only character, besides the dogs, who is portrayed as happy.

Social issues are purposefully brought to the front of the illustrations, showing change in language and tone. In many scenarios, views and perspectives are framed in a politically correct way. For example, the position of opposing characters on a bench to show distain between the rich and poor, or the symbolism of the flower to engage friendship. Social norms are prominent. The story shows more animosity to "difference". The distrust, disillusionment, and fear of others in the postmodern age is evident.

Narrative #3: *Goodnight Moon (1947/1975) by Margaret Wise Brown*
Context. *Goodnight Moon* is a modern story set in a child's bedroom, where a child tries to avoid going to sleep. The child and an old lady are portrayed as bunnies, reminiscent of the Beatrix Potter books. It is a comforting story and reflects a post-war era where family was treasured above all else. Common nursery rhymes are illustrated on the walls of the room, and a quiet old lady whispering "hush" is present, knitting in a rocking chair.

Content. The child says goodnight to all the objects in the room, and the old lady stays until the child is asleep. This is a very peaceful bedtime story, with a foundational family pattern and modern story mode. Illustrations are in soft pastels, and all concludes as it should, in a peaceful and logical manner.

Narrative #4: *Goodnight iPad: A Parody for the Next Generation (2011) by Ann Droyd*
Context. The *tech-fictive* narrative displays some postmodern trends with a meta-fictive story line. Technology is central. Foundational family norms are askew. Youth rule. The adult Dad behaves like one of the children. Adults diminish as characters and/or role models. The exception is the old lady, who represents the modern character, or wise "outsider". Everyone on the page is an individual, and the only one who interacts with them as a group is the old lady. Language used includes slang expressions and incorrect grammar. A sense of chaos envelopes the reader. On the last page, when the digital devices are removed, a bunny reads a book underneath the covers to a younger bunny with a flashlight. Ironically, it is *Goodnight Moon.*

Content. *Goodnight iPad: A Parody for the Next Generation,* begins with the license agreement, and a pictograph saying "Don't bother reading this. No one does. Just scroll to the bottom and click." The dedication is to "everyone who is as hopelessly plugged in as I am." The characters in this book are a multitude of rabbits. The setting is not a bedroom. It includes a bright, buzzing room with iPads, games (playing Doom and Angry Birds), screensavers – and shows babies with digital screens of rattles, and people texting. Robotic toys are also evident, along with headphones, digital phones, TVs and computer screens. Books are read on a digital device. Central to the room is a huge LCD, Wi-Fi, HDTV with Bose 5.1, six remotes and 3-D. Phones, music and FaceBook are noted, as well as YouTube. All technology is active at the same time. An old woman is trying to sleep. She proceeds to remove a child's iPad as he yells "*nooooooooo."* She announces, "*Okay everyone, bedtime*" – and the adult rabbit in the family (Dad; there is no mother present) says "*do we have ta*?" She then gathers all the technology and throws it out the window. She kisses the bunnies' goodnight and tucks them in to bed. This story is tech-fictive, in that it amusingly highlights the plugged-in world while providing an anxious yearning for engagement in it.

Narrative #5: *If You Give a Mouse a Cookie (1985) by Laura Numeroff*
Context. *In If You Give a Mouse a Cookie,* the main characters are a boy and a mouse. With the natural environment and consumerism becoming of social interest in the Green Movement of the 1980s, this story takes place in nature, and then moves inside as the story continues. A young boy, outside, sees a mouse travelling by and offers it a cookie crumb. This initiates a modern story pattern, where the consequences of actions tend to repeat until they are predictive. For example, each new instance in the story is solved by using the same verbal pattern. The story is for amusement, and this puts it at the beginning of another aspect of postmodern writing – the lure to perplex or amuse.

Content. The boy and the mouse demonstrate a predictive, patterned sequence. The mouse requests a glass of milk to go with the cookie, then wants a straw for the milk, followed by a napkin for his its face, and a mirror to be sure he it does not have a milk moustache. The mouse then sees his hair needs a trim, asks for scissors to cut the hair, and requests a broom to sweep it up. He sweeps every room, cleans the floors, needs a nap, and asks to be read a bedtime story. He then solicits paper and crayons to draw a picture of the story, a pen to sign his name, and tape to hang the picture on the fridge. The fridge reminds him he is thirsty, so he asks for a glass of milk and a cookie to go with it. The cycle resumes.

Narrative #6: *If You Give a Mouse an iPhone: Another Plugged in Parody (2014) by Ann Droyd*

Context. This story begins on the inside book cover with the mouse requesting a cookie to repeat the sequence demonstrated in the original book. The boy says *"I'll tell you what. If you leave me alone for ten minutes, I'll let you play on my phone. But just for ten minutes."* The boy then informs the reader that he knows once he does this the mouse will not be asking for anything at all. This is a meta-fictive, tech-fictive tale. It is both a warning and an invitation that makes disobedience more desirable. No foundational family connections are made. The mouse rules with his technological device. The child (who imitates the adult) follows, and an outcome based on resulting actions occurs.

Content. The boy tells the mouse it is time to put the iPhone away. He has planned an amazing adventure for them in an Amusement Park. The mouse is too engaged with the iPhone to pay attention to him. Adventures arise from the inability of the mouse to be in the present, such as not buckling a seat belt on a ride, and in falling out, opening all the cages in the park. He remains oblivious to what is happening and walks off a cliff into the sea where a dolphin sets him on an island asking *"Is that Minecraft? Can I try?"* The boy takes a boat to the island and says, *"You know that this much screen time can't be good for you, right?"* Then the phone runs out of battery. The mouse totally freaks out and panics. He asks for a charger, and the boy points out that they are on an island with no outlets. Ironically, this reflects current culture, not between people, but between people and their portable technology, without the follow up of "removal of technological device by island".

Change the Story, and You Change the World

> "Stories create worlds. Tell the story differently and you change the world … stories meant business … stories were a way of getting to grips with reality." (Wright, 1996, p. 36)

In the above quote, Wright links stories to coming to grip with reality. In the current digital age, this is an area seldom discussed. Since 2000, portable technology has become more of a social concern across many disciplines (neuropsychology, crime, medicine, and so on) for a myriad of serious reasons. Harris (2011) and Turkle (2011, 2016) voice concern that technology is removing the ability for people to "attend" to others; Twenge (2017) focuses on daily life and the advent of delayed-adulthood and the burgeoning a mental health crisis. When Wright's quote is combined with Naugle's earlier reference to the *"kardioptic"* aspects of a worldview, the stage is set to allow consideration for stories being more than intellectual events. Stories, according to Wright and Naugle, provide mirrors of the world that illustrate to children what they could be, inviting dreams of what they could become. Children discover what they do and do not wish to be like in stories.

Prophetic of the tech-fictive age, in 1995 cultural critic Neil Postman, made the following prediction:

> At some point it becomes far from asinine to speak of the god of Technology – in the sense that people believe technology works, that they rely on it, that it makes promises, that they are bereft when denied access to it, that they are delighted when they are in its presence, that for most people it works in mysterious ways, that they condemn people who speak against it, that they stand in awe of it, and that, in the born-again mode, they will alter their lifestyles, their schedules, their habits, and their relationships to accommodate it. If this be not a form of religious belief, what is? (p. 38).

Postman worried that technology would become a "religious" venue of faith and worship to which someone ascribes extreme, life altering importance. When you change the story, you also change the "*kardioptics"*, or worldview, of the reader, which is the centre of a belief system. When your worldview changes, so do your daily life preferences and presumptions. The tech-fictive mode is mute regarding the spiritual, wise, ethical, caring, and humane side of stories, favoring amusement. Individual narcissism rules.

Discussion: Revisiting Epistemological Shudders

Current society has embraced a digital age, where image surpasses print, and picture books are decreasing in making explicit meaningful, obvious interactions. Social norms once commonly embraced by society (such as the need for manners) are now not specifically discussed in many children's picture books, but may be socially noted by their absence, for example, by omission, or as an epistemological shudder, pertaining to areas of compassion, truth or morality. For example, the rise of wordless picture books allows an independent child/reader to make meaning of any illustrations to suit his/her level of interpretation. However, for most western picture books, a story in that mode is not commonly verbalized or interpreted as shared knowledge within formative educational literacy, unless it is discussed within the classroom. Picture books are increasingly focused on social/political issues; topics that used to be realistically dealt with by adults or in the home. If left undiscussed, each child can have a different interpretation of the same text. Meaning becomes relative to the individual reader, without a shared communal understanding. In North America, the exception to the rule is strand of visual art, where the Japanese tradition of manga work has very much influenced western drawing modes over the last 25 years.

Readers are in a "tech-fictive stage" of literature; a landscape where a new kind of reading is encountered, and a new kind of child may emerge. Adulthood is disappearing in picture books. Children are increasingly appearing as an additional type of independent authority.

The medium is the message, especially in viewing "the other" in our midst, omitting discussion around any discomfort that may exist because of difference or exceptionality. Maich and Belcher have found that technology affects how we today evaluate the misfortune of others, or see people as heroes. Media, via movies in which technology is evident, now shape a view of those "others" that text may find unrealistic. There are many texts today for children featuring autism. While this is to be encouraged, there are certain dangers in this kind of representation as well. Thanks to technology and movie media, those with autism can be virtually represented into a differently perceived and unrealistic tech-fictive persona that removes the truth of discomfort involved in dealing with autism on a daily basis. Movies, for example, can replace

this with a virtual reality of non-difficulty in daily life, even seeing a person with autism as a super-hero that makes such difference more desirable that normalcy (Maich & Belcher, 2012; Maich et al, 2015). Narrative is portrayed via stereotype. Currently, it appears that if a book is rendered to be claimed as "good" it is made into a movie and it is no longer necessary to read the original text. The realistic, daily human angst surrounding the situation or issue is veiled or avoided. Change the text form, yes. Change the world? I shall hold my view on that for a few more years.

Summary of Possible Social Implications:

That Was Then …
Goodnight Moon (1947/1975), portrayed family life between the 1947 Western American post-war and the "baby boomer" era. With little modern technological intervention in the home at the time of the first writing, radio and bedtime stories were a time for families to share time with each other. Extended families lived together or were within proximity of each other, and grandparents were a part of daily life. Elders were portrayed as wise and patient. Books were often illustrated with oral literature that was familiar, for example, fairy tales or fables. Life was simple and sacred.

If You Give a Mouse a Cookie (1985) is a social spoof on raising children (mouse as child, child as parent). Whatever the mouse wants he receives, and the loop of the pattern is repetitive. The chaos in the house from granting the mouse all his requests appears to go unnoticed. The interesting epistemological shudder is that *no one ever says no*, you do not need that right now, despite the chaos this is causing for the host. Family life entered the child-centred, only-give-options zone where youth are catered too.

In *A Walk in the Park (1977), the* 70's era of "rights" and liberation from modern restrictions began to emerge. The story moved from informing character, to reflecting the need for social change in society. Concerns regarding gender norms and roles, consumer interests and distrust within society arose. The worldview of Western American society questioned whether religious life was a good thing. The emphasis changed from the family being foundational to raising the young to peers or social movements informing them, filling the home front void with individual activity or involvement in issues outside of the home. The innocence of childhood was on the wane (Postman, 1994). Adults desired to return to their youth; children desired to become adults. Consumerism targeted the young, while adults had consumerist and class problems of their own. The story moved from the home setting looking out to the outside world looking in. This decade ushered in an end to the age of narrative being central to family structure, which nurtured a bonding of family and child, and understood certain character values and commitments. No one questioned the place of wisdom in the change. Both childhood and adulthood were on shaky ground.

This Is Now …
From 1998 to 2014, stories were not only read; they were altered in order to be seen on electronic and digital media, vicariously listened to on headphones, watched on YouTube, and crafted or re-crafted through other digital technology. Society became inundated with information glut; most of it individually accessed. Families had no need to turn a dial to invite a radio or TV program into the living room. Digital media invited itself, day and night, through a variety of modes, beeping, dinging, ringing and vibrating its presence. Family life was altered.

The re-write of *A Walk in the Park (1977)* to *Voices in the Park (1998)* demonstrated change in how social values were portrayed, and how characters responded. Rise in the popularity of Darwinian creation theory was very much a topic of discussion in 1998, along with the creation/evolution discourses. The main character illustrations became anthropomorphic apes. The choice of image allows the reader to see humans as simply another kind of mammal. The "Voices", are not the identifiable names of the originally illustrated people in the story, removing the humanness of the situation. Each Voice has a different typeset. Each Voice is individual.

Voice One begins with *"It was time to take Victoria, our pedigree Labrador, and Charles, our son, for a walk."* The illustrations, language and subtle differences in staging favor pets over children. Voice One addresses her son the way we commonly address a pet in training: *"Sit", I said to Charles. "Here"*. It is only the dog that is let off the lead to play.

The division in social status is more elevated, without compassionate human-ness, so that difference tends to rule more strongly than similarity. Voice One says *"You get some frightful types in the park these days!"* Voice One, in talking about, and not often to, her son, says: *"Then I saw him talking to a very rough-looking child."* The malaise of distrust and despair provides a shudder that pets are valued more than children. *"Charles, come here. At once." I said. "And come here please, Victoria"*.

The Second Voice, begins: *"I needed to get out of the house, so me and Smudge took the dog to the park."* Outings to the park are escapes, not pleasures. The Second Voice is viewed illustratively, but not heard, thus becoming the helpless family member. The fourth Voice, the child, becomes the caregiver. This is an interesting representation of the end of adulthood, as children and dogs now are the caregivers to adults in human strife.

Third Voice begins *"I was at home on my own again. It's so boring. Then mommy said it was time for our walk."* Third Voice has become reduced to the position of a pet, alone at home, waiting for a walk. When Fourth Voice invites him to play, he responds: *"It was a girl, unfortunately, but I went anyway."* The child in this version is aware of gender having social bias, which was not so in the first version. Third Voice is very lonely. The family has been reduced to individuals being seen together at the same place, but not being present to each other or communicating.

The Fourth Voice, is very positive and compassionate, and is pleased to be going to the park. Fourth Voice is very, very happy in the park when both children and dogs are at play, and recognizes that Third Voice looks sad when he must leave and Second Voice is frustrated in his job-hunting. Fourth Voice puts the flower given to her in water and makes her dad some tea. The symbol of the poppy as the flower of remembrance alerts the reader to loss, and to love, and to things to be remembered and not forgotten, but is easily overlooked.

In *Goodnight iPad: A Parody for the Next Generation (2011)*, the reader is confronted with chaos that has become more comforting and familiar than alarming. The necessity of always *doing* is shown with bright colors, cluttered graphics, and leaves no time for readers (children or adult) to become human *beings*. The old lady is representative of the last generation to know what the world was like without invasive, portable technology. She acts as a harbinger of warning; use technology wisely and you do not have technology using you. The virtual world is more enticing, stimulating and easier to navigate relationally than the real one. Even the author is virtual, with the pseudonym (and pun), Ann Droyd (Android).

In *If You Give a Mouse an iPhone: Another Plugged in Parody (2014)*, the language and chaos are more extreme, and the loss of a sense of family life, is more evident. The lack of traditional literary form is achieved through printed slang and a reduction in print to mere letters to represent words, (for example, DVD instead of digital video disc or device, which derives from mediated communication). The style is written more like a manual than a story, engaging copyright, and so on. Also presented is the addictive nature of technology, and how its removal from society appears to be the only way to escape it. It is now a child's world, regardless of age. Adults, in this case satirically noted by the virtual name of the author of the story, are anonymous, and, therefore, unaccountable for their actions or non-actions, at least from a child's perspective.

Conclusions. Change as Harbinger: A New Kind of Reading or a New Kind of Child?

Change the story and you change the world intellectually and kardioptically.

The nuclear human family as we once knew it is in decline in children's literature. This may be due to many things. Some of these may be cultural (the rise of the latch-key kid in the early 1980s); social (the politicization of issues in post-modernity); due to concerns regarding gender and consumerism in social life, (the dislike of authority, sexual orientation changes, a rising awareness of colonialism); technological (too much in too short a time), or due to the increase in social anxiety and preference for a virtual reality life choice over reality, resulting in a merge of both. There are also positives to many of these scenarios, such as increased accessibility to information, the ability to connect actions and consequences, and the scope of being able to converse with similar minded learners, both near and far away on larger topics of interest.

But the largest common epistemological shudder (I use the word shudder here to describe an undisclosed epistemology for the future that cannot be known as technology advances), will revolve around what will emerge from the move toward tech-fictive story mode if there continues to be a growing inability to "attend" (Harris, 2014); to pay attention to daily life in the present and to those around you as you do so.

Children's picture books, which were formerly written in bedtime story style to teach children about moral binary opposites of taking/giving, good/evil, or needs/wants in life, are no longer as prevalent. It is no longer necessary to write picture books as a compass for learning how to be a person in life, or how to value literacy. Tech-fictive texts mirror a form of entertainment for the individual. Stories for children have embraced areas of parody or amusement *about* family life. "Books" are used more in solitude, often as E-books. Hard-cover children's books are more graphic, and are viewed quickly and independently; read once rather than read *with* someone twice. Adults are often portrayed as simpletons with childish behaviours. The elder characters in contemporary narrative may remind others of reality. It would seem that in many of these texts, parents are dispensable.

Society does have a new kind of story, *representing* a new kind of child. But this is a *virtual* reality, not the reality of daily life in many homes where parenting still occurs. Current forms of tech-fictive story increase a love for all that is technological by making an appeal to amusement. Even the most serious matters (i.e., over indulgence in technology to the harm of relational life), are clothed in humor in order to make what is problematic desirable. At the same time, narratives are negating parts of life that generate moral commitment and deep thinking to harness individual wisdom. Consequences are mute.

The family and its consistent role in shaping what children become, has changed in its representation of what it means to be human – at least in our habitual interactive habits within the covers of a picture book.

The insight that the reader can take from this study is not to read only stories in modern mode. Read and *discuss* stories in a parent/child relationship so that the child can tell the difference between virtual reality and the real grit needed in living a life. And real grit is what we are losing. That is what will change us "*kardioptically*". Sharing a book to explore this omission has become more essential than ever.

References

Belcher, C. (2008). Between the covers: Suffering, trauma and cultural perspectives in children's picture books. *Journal of Christian Education (Australian Christian Forum on Education Incorporated), 51*(2), 41–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/002196570805100205

Belcher, C. (2010). Family portrayal in children's picture books: The elephant in the room. *Teaching with Compassion, Competence, Commitment, 3 & 4*(2 & 1), 51–70.

Belcher, E. C., & Maich, K. (2014, Spring). ASD in popular media: Storied reflections of societal views. *Brock Education, 23*(2), 97–115.

Wise Brown, M. (1947/1975). *Goodnight moon*. New York, NY: Harper Festival.

Browne, A. (1977). *A walk in the park*. London, UK: Hamish Hamilton Children's Books London.

Browne, A. (1998). *Voices in the park*. Auckland, NZ: Doubleday.

Charteris, J. (2014). Epistemological shudders as productive aporia: A heuristic for transformative teacher learning. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods (IJQM), 13*, 104–121. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691401300102

Dyches, T., Prater, M. A., & Heath, M. (2010). Newbery Award Winning books 1975-2009: How do they portray disabilities? *Education and Training in Autism and Developmental Disabilities, 45*(4), 583–596.

Droyd, A. (2011). *Goodnight iPad: A parody for the next generation*. New York, NY: Blue Rider Press.

Droyd, A. (2014). *If you give a mouse an iPhone: Another plugged in parody*. New York, NY: Blue Rider Press.

Fox, M. (2001). *Reading magic: Why reading aloud to our children will change their lives forever*. San Diego, CA: A Harcourt Original.

Gergen, K. (1994). Exploring the postmodern: Perils or potentials? *American Psychologist, 49*(5), 412–416. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.49.5.412

Harris, M. (2011). *The end of absence: Reclaiming what we've lost in a world of constant connection*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishing.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. *Language in Society, 11*, 49–76. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500009039

Johnson, G. (1999). Multiple readings of a picture book. *The Australian journal of language and literacy, 22*(3), 176–191.

Maich, K., & Belcher, C. (2012). Using picture books to create peer awareness about autism spectrum disorders in the inclusive classroom. *Intervention in School and Clinic, 47*(4), 206–213. https://doi.org/10.1177/1053451211424600

Maich, K., Belcher, C., Sider, S., & Johnson, N. (2015). Using children's literature to support social-emotional growth in the classroom: A bibliotherapeutic approach to education about chronic disease. In *Challenges surrounding the education of children with chronic diseases.* (pp. 301–326). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

Naugle, D. M. (2004, June 24). *Renewing integrity: A Christian worldview and educational practice*. Paper presented at the National Faculty Leadership Conference, Washington, D.C.

Numeroff, L. (2010). *If you give a mouse a cookie*. New York, NY: A Laura Geringer Book.

Owens, W. T., & Nowell, L. S. (2001). More than just pictures: Using picture story books to broaden young learners' social consciousness. *The Social Studies, January/February*, 33–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/00377990109603973

Postman, N. (1994). *The disappearance of childhood*. New York, NY: Random House.

Postman, N. (1995). *The end of education: Redefining the value of school*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Serafini, F. (2005). Voices in the Park, voices in the classroom: Readers responding to postmodern picture books. *Reading, Research and Instruction, 44*(3), 47–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/19388070509558431

Turkle, S. (2011). *Alone together: Why we expect more of technology and less from each other.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Turkle, S. (2016). *Reclaiming conversation: The power of talk in a digital age*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Wolfenbarger, C., & Sipe, L. (2007). A unique visual and literary art form: Recent research on picturebooks. *Language Arts, 83*(3), 273–280. Retrieved from: http://www.ncte.org/pubs/journals/la

Wright, N. T. (1996). *The original Jesus: the life and vision of a revolutionary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdman's Publishing Company.

Corresponding author: Christina Belcher
Email: cbelcher@redeemer.ca

Managing Boundaries between (Dirty) Work and Church Life for Indonesian Migrant Workers in Japan

Median Mutiara, Nagoya University, Japan

Abstract

This paper elucidates the boundary management between (dirty) work and religious life for Indonesian migrant workers in Japan. It answers the critical question of how migrants doing physical, dirty work in fish-processing factories navigate the boundaries between work and religious life. The data in this study was derived from fieldwork in rural Japan, through participant observation, sensory embodiment in the daily activities of migrants and interviews. The study suggests that clothing and appearance act as an on-off switch between the "fishy" job and a life with dignity at church. The boundaries between work and church for Indonesian migrant workers in Japan are located and managed via the practices of expelling the foul smells from the body and the working uniform, and by emphasizing the visibility of fashion and branding at the church.

Keywords: dirty work, church, clothing, body, Indonesian, Japan

Introduction

Managing the boundary between work and non-work entails deciding whether to blur or sharpen the boundary of multiple life roles (Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016). In other words, as Ashforth et al. (2000) and Nippert-Eng (1996) argued, it may exist anywhere on the continuum between either complete integration (boundary removal) or complete segmentation (boundary placement) as the two extreme ends. In her conceptualization of boundary placement and boundary removal, Nippert-Eng (1996) did not explain in detail why and how some of these boundaries were placed as they were, or how these boundaries were removed or made more permeable (e.g. through strategies of integration) (Mahmood & Martin-Matthews, 2015). Cruz and Meisenbach (2018) briefly mentioned that, if both roles were perceived as mutually exclusive, individuals would be likely to engage in segmentation behaviors, including having different sets of clothes for work and for personal time. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of empirical evidence to demonstrate in depth how these "segmentation behaviors" are practiced, to elaborate how identity is constructed based on the behaviors entailed in the boundary management. Furthermore, although Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000) mentioned possible work third-place domain transitions, little of the work-life boundary research has included other domains beyond family, such as religious roles. In addition, the number of studies on boundary management of professional office work exceed those of the dirty work.

The negotiation of self-representation and identity in dirty work has attracted researchers' attention ever since Hughes (1958) used the term for the first time. Some of the previous studies have illustrated the diversity of dirty work, including restaurant workers (Shigihara, 2014), social workers (Asher, 2014), butchers (Meara, 1974), border patrols (Rivera & Tracy, 2014), domestic workers (Bosmans et al. 2015), spiritual healers (Drake, 2013), exotic dancers (Grandy, 2008; Grandy & Mavin, 2011), and sex workers (Blithe & Wolfe, 2017). Dirtywork refers to jobs, roles, or tasks that are seen as being disgusting or degrading (Hughes, 1951; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999); such tasks are often undertaken by those at lower levels of the social hierarchy or at the margins of the labor market (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Working in a fish or seafood-processing factory, for example, is associated with smell and dirt, and requires physical bodily contact with dead creatures. Thus, according to the classification of dirty work by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999), such work falls into the category of *physical taint*, as opposed to that of *social taint,* such as being a prison guard or a social worker, or of *moral taint,* such as those tasks related to prostitution. However, Simpson et al. (2012) argued that this conceptualization fails to acknowledge the significance of the body and embodied dispositions; for example, those related to race and nationhood.

The body and embodied dispositions for migrants, for example, experience a double stigma when working in a dirty job. This is because the imagery of dirt and filth are common representations of the "Other"; thus, for migrant groups marked as other by race and nationhood, dirt and disorder are also part of their embodiment (Brah, 1999).Workers doing the dirty work tend to limit their strategies for managing work-life boundaries to cope with the taint of their occupations (Blithe & Wolfe, 2017) by distancing their work from their personal lives, identities and experiences (e.g. Ashforth et. al., 2007; Goffman, 1963; Thompson et. al., 2003). Nevertheless, more accounts of work-life management explain white-collar jobs in the intersection with family or non-work life. In the case of migrants, with embodied stigma and limited resources to represent themselves as social beings, managing the boundary between dirty work and religious life has even more complexities.

Dress and Body

The essence of visibility lies in identification – not just identification in the concrete sense but identification as a way of recognizing the other's existence and accepting his identity" (Lomsky-Feder & Rapoport, 2010, p. 12, as cited in Dekel, 2016). The perpetual negotiation between identity and representation appears in one of the research participants' photograph in Dekel's book which best captures the process of identity formation in choosing clothing and her "hybridity" on parallel life as migrants.

> The photograph features a young woman whose figure is split in two (composed of two photos): one part is elegantly dressed, and the other wears the simple work clothes of a housemaid. […] The artist describes this image as reflecting a dialectic move between the old and the new, which together form a hybrid identity that captures the immigrant's sense of being simultaneously European (foreign) and Israeli (local) and protests the regimenting stereotypical gaze. It also suggests that she can choose whether to deviate from or adopt the ruling norms. (Dekel, 2016)

The photograph shows the stereotypical downward gaze on a migrant. The migrant woman, as of European origin, is used to dress elegantly; however, as a migrant, she is often stigmatized as low class. The old and new identities are also negotiated through how migrants dress.

The photograph also reminds me of a different representation of negotiating the appearance in two realms, as happened to Sri Lankan garment workers between their private and work life. In her book "Juki Girls", Caitrin Lynch looks at how women are negotiating and trying to make sense of how people are perceiving them and what they are trying to convey. As narrated by her, spending all the time in the factory covered her and others with cotton dust. Her hair and clothes had little bits of fabric and thread in them. "And at the end of the day, I would be standing, waiting to leave with people, and all the other people besides me were brushing their hair. […] they were all brushing their hair and getting stuff out." There is an awareness of self in these Sri Lankan migrant workers that they do not want people to stigmatize them by their appearance as garment workers. Here, self-representation not only occurs through clothing, but also in the boundaries between two realms in everyday life, through how someone wants to be perceived and how s/he is visible. There is "a potential for confrontation between two powerful sources of meaning and identity, between home and work, […] a potential collision of values, ideas and roles" (Felstead & Jewson, 2000, p. 115) in the boundaries of those two realms.

Smell

The notion of smell as a symbolic cue to social bonding has long been less valued (Synnott, 1991) and neglected despite its ethnographical observations since the 19th century[1] (Aspria, 2008). Authors such as Walmsley (2005) and Low (2005) have reflected on the difficulties of expressing the nature and meaning of smell verbally, suggesting that this is one reason for the marginal place of smell in social sciences (Zeitlyn, 2014). In fact, smell played a significant role in social categorization; Orwell described the reason for class apartheid in the west in four words, "The lower classes smell" (Orwell, 2001, p. 116). Odor also becomes a statement of one's identity; it is "a boundary maker, a status symbol, a distance-maintainer, an impression

[1] See Largey and Watson's piece, "The Sociology of Odors" (1972) and Howes' The Varieties of Sensory Experience (1991).

management technique" (Synnott, 1991, p. 438). This emphasizes the premise that olfaction functions as a social channel employed by individuals in many ways, including in the judgment of others (Harris, 2007).

In the context of boundary management between physical dirty work and life of migrants, (the smell and dress of) the body is the key channel and social marker which concerns migrants. However, through the readings of the aforementioned, there is a lack of studies elaborating the involvement of the olfactory sense and visibility as shame markers in related occupations of migrant workers. This paper aims to answer the question of how smell and visibility of the body plays its role for migrants – doing *physical* dirty work – in navigating the boundaries between labor and religious life. This analysis will thus allow for the exploration of the ways in which social categorizations operate via visible (dress) and "invisible" (smell) aesthetic senses. In a way, it offers a new view of boundary management and identity formation in the religious domain and the labor life of migrants that has not yet been addressed in the past theory and research on dirty work and boundary management (Languilaire, 2009; Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Kossek, 2016; Dekel, 2016). In other words, the discussion in this paper is the point of departure to shed light on the vague, overlapping sides of the dirty work-life boundary management, body and embodiment, and religion in the context of migration.

Indonesian Migrants in Oarai

Oarai is a small town along the northeastern seashore of Japan, about 100 kilometers from Tokyo. Indonesian migrants in Oarai are predominantly Japanese descendants[2] (*Nikkeijin*) from North Sulawesi (formerly recognized as the Minahasan region). The first arrivals were facilitated by a broker who persuaded them to work in Japan utilizing the 1990 Immigration Act[3]. Although ethnically related to the Japanese, many studies have revealed that Japanese descendants of various nations have been socio-economically marginalized as disposable migrant laborers performing 3-D – dirty, dangerous, and difficult – jobs (Tsuda, 2003), which do not match their qualification levels. They are also subject to social prejudice, both as migrants and as unskilled factory workers, thus reserving them for the lowest levels of the social hierarchy in Japanese society (Tsuda, 1998).

Unlike other foreign migrants who mainly work in dense industrial cities, the Indonesian-Japanese descendants and migrants from North Sulawesi developed an ethnic community in a small and considerably remote town[4]. The total number of registered Indonesian migrants in Oarai is 366 people (2016)[5], but including the unregistered ones as well raises this number considerably. Most of them are employed in fish-processing companies, the products of which are predominantly sold at local markets in the Kanto region. Moreover, what is particular about these people is their long-standing tradition of Christianity, which was inherited from the occupation of the Spanish and Dutch in the past. Their work in smelly fish-processing factories

[2] They are the descendants of Japanese migrants, who had offspring with the local people in North Sulawesi, who came to the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) before or during the Pacific war.
[3] The broker performed various procedures in Indonesia, such as interviewing to confirm births, creating genealogies, arranging the travel expenses, engaging in housing mediation, and other provisions of the necessities of life for the Nikkeijin (Fukihara, 2007). All of the expenses for going to Japan were based on a loan scheme.
[4] The initial path of Indonesian Nikkeijin arrival began when a broker from Oarai, the leader of a company association in Oarai, came to North Sulawesi in 1998 and occurred primarily in three main sub-regions: Manado, Bitung, and Tomohon. From 1998 onwards, the broker introduced 180 Nikkeijin from North Sulawesi to 20 companies in Oarai (Meguro 2005; Fukihara 2007).
[5] Source: Oarai Town Office.

is juxtaposed with their religious life as Christians. Despite working as 3-D workers, some of them also become pastors, preachers, and bishops in the ethnic churches established in Oarai. The establishment of six Indonesian churches in Oarai alone demonstrates their uniqueness. The church and Christianity are inevitably the central focus of their daily lives, and religious values and church systems have been of significant help to them while enduring the hardship of being laborers in Japan (Tirtosudarmo, 2005) for almost two decades. Due to space limitations, I will discuss only the church that has the biggest congregation (around 300 members), which I will call Church B in this paper.

Background

Kaisha

The Japanese word *Kaisha* is often translated as "company" in English. However, Nakane (1997) asserted that, for the Japanese, the term *kaisha* symbolized the expression of group consciousness, conceived of as a house, with all its employees qualifying as members of the household and with the employer at its head (Nakane, 1997). In Oarai, the owner of the Kaisha is called *shachou* (head of the company), and his wife is called *mama-san* (respected mother)**.** This metaphoric "family" extends to the employee's personal family; it encompasses him totally (*marugakae* in Japanese) (Nakane, 1997).

A fish-processing kaisha is run based on the cold chain process. A cold chain is a temperature-controlled supply chain. The steps in processing include transporting the pallets of fish from the freezer to the workstations, thawing, separating and selecting, cutting, cleaning and trimming, and arranging, most of which can only be performed manually by a human workforce. This type of work is manual labor. Because of its restricted time cycle, a large workforce is needed to accomplish the workflow. Once the seafood products are outside of the freezer, they have to be processed and packaged within 24 hours. Thus, the employees have a minimum of a 12-hour working day, and a weekend work schedule with frequent overtime, particularly when there are large orders at the end of the year.

When entering the workspace, a worker has to wear a white uniform[6], with a cap to cover the hair, and gloves. The uniform is similar to a jacket that covers the laborers' casual clothes. Some kaishas require the workers to wear a full-body uniform, while others only require an outer shirt. The workspace is wet most of the time, and the employees' uniforms and bodies are in contact with the melting ice, the innards of the fish, the fish scales, and the smell. Fish processing is one of the dirtiest, most demanding, and smelly kind of job, as indicated in various studies, as many workers have reported that they cannot bear the fishy stench for long (Mathew & Lingam, 1998). The wet, stinking, laborious working conditions, stained uniforms and tainted bodies are what make this a physically dirty job.

Church

Church B is a migrant church that was established in 1998, only several months after the first Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi arrived in Japan. This church adopts the structure of the main synod in North Sulawesi. Thus, this church can be categorized as a migrant church. The system of administration is led by the migrants themselves. In 2007, the church requested a pastor from the synod through a missionary agreement with a Japanese church in Mito. This church was not officially listed in the church association in Japan in May 2017 at the time at

[6] They usually leave the uniform at the kaisha and wash it once or twice a week. Some workers who have more spare uniforms bring them home every day.

which the fieldwork was conducted. At the time of writing, four pastors from North Sulawesi, Indonesia, had served the congregation.

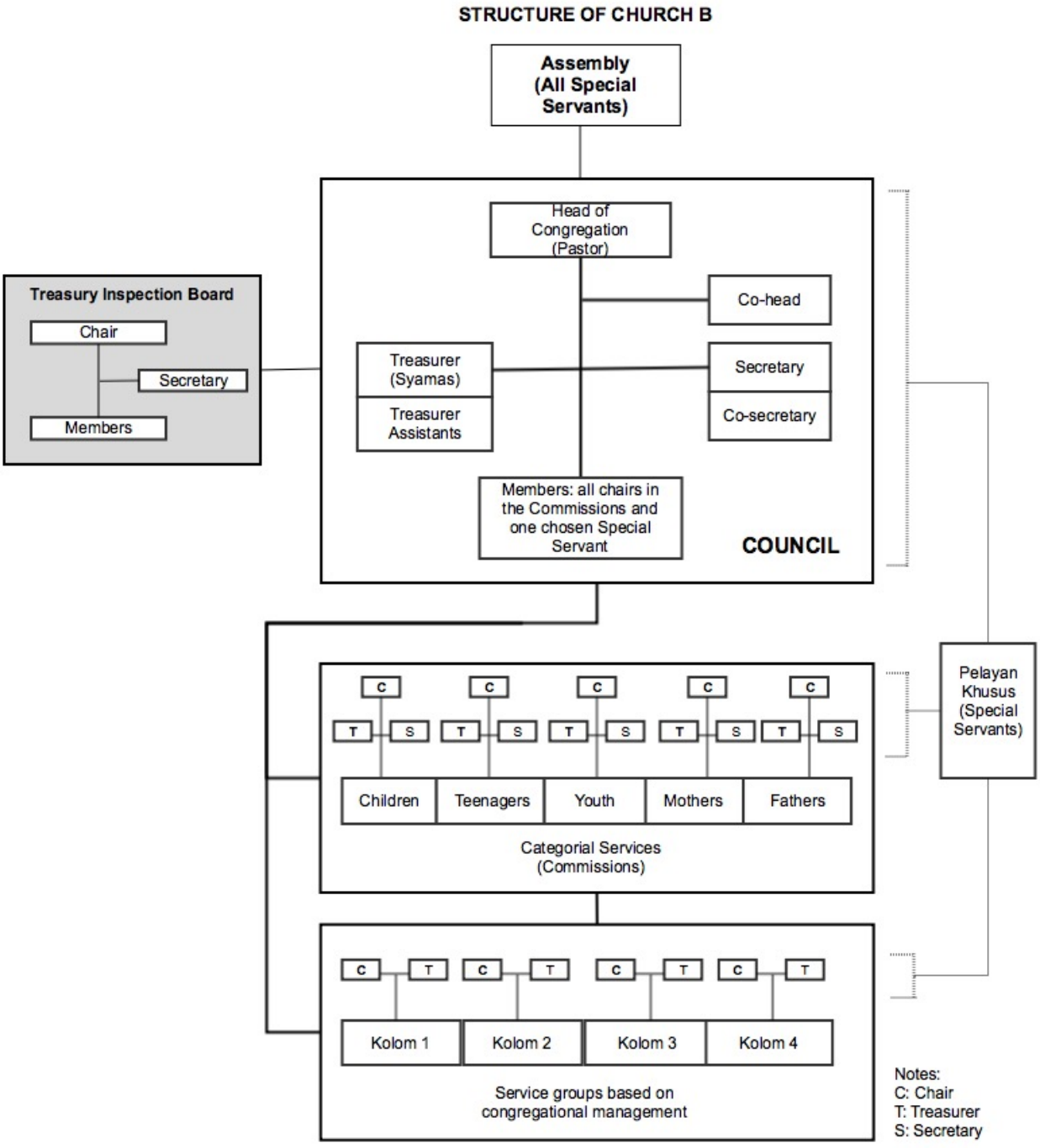

Figure 1. Structure of Church B (based on the author's observations and interviews)

This church uses the *Presbyterial Synod* in its church structure (see Figure 1). *Presbyteros* is derived from Greek the word meaning respected elder. In Church B, the presbyters refer to *Pelayan Khusus* (special servants), including the *Syamas* (the treasurer), the *Penatua* (the respected), and the *Pendeta* (the pastor). The Pelayan Khusus (abbreviated as *Pelsus*) is chosen via election, self-surrender, and a ceremonial inauguration. Through this system, decisions on leadership, services of the church and the congregation, have to be made in a democratic

"musyawarah-mufakat" (deliberation-consensus) way by the Pelayan Khusus in the Assembly (see Figure 1). The categorial services in the structure include children (below 12 years of age), teenagers (aged 12–16 years), young adults (17–30 years of age and unmarried), mothers or married women, and fathers or married men. For each categorial service, there is a commission structure called the *Kompelka* (Komisi Pelayanan Kategorial), which includes the Chair, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the members. The *Kolom* is a "service group based on congregation management" (Badan Pekerja Majelis Sinode, Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa, 2016, p. 40), which consists of 15 to 25 households. In brief, each layperson belongs to both the Kolom and to the Categorial Service. The organizational structure of the church is bureaucratic and involves various hierarchical positions and leadership roles, all of which are filled by the migrants; these roles are highly respected. People ordained as a Pelayan Khusus are usually addressed using the titles Syamas (treasurer) Penatua (elderly respected person), or Pendeta (pastor), respectively, before their names, even outside of the church.

Research Methods

Participants

My data stems from qualitative in-depth interviews with Indonesian migrants from North Sulawesi, participant observation and my sensory experience in Oarai, Japan. The participants comprise of two Japanese and 26 Indonesian migrants (n=28), mostly from a church with a major congregation. With regard to their ages, the participants were mainly 41-50 years old (12), 51–60 years old (9), 31–40 years old (4) and 61–70 years old (3). 85% of the participants are Japanese descendants or their spouses. The two Japanese are one Japanese pastor from a Japanese church, and a factory owner. Those with Japanese ties are mostly third- and fourth-generation Indonesian-Japanese descendants and their spouses. The following is the definition of each generation used in this study: The third generation refers to the descendants of the second generation (*Sansei*). The fourth generation of Japanese refers to the descendants of the third generation (*Yonsei*).

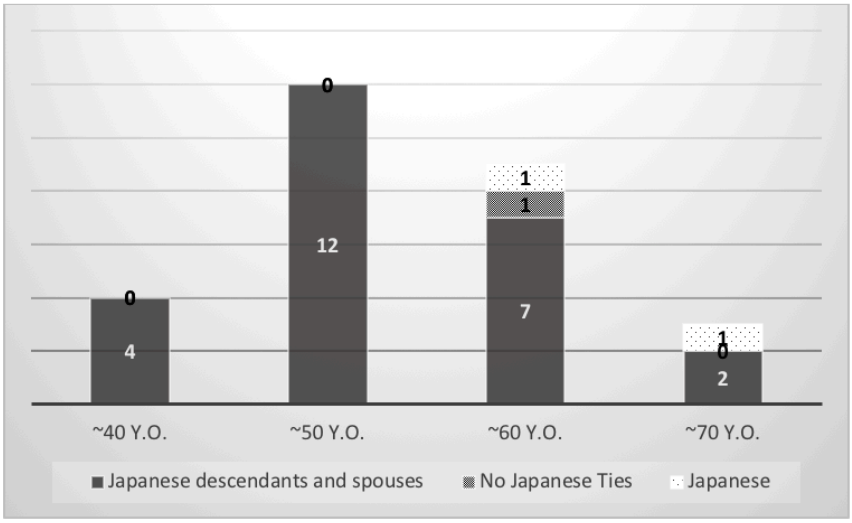

Figure 2. Participants according to Ages and Japanese Ties (n=28)

Participants were recruited through the church and kaisha, although the main recruitment place was the church because of the interviewees' higher time availability during church time compared to when they were at work in the factory. All interviews and observation for this paper were undertaken between February and March 2016, between April and November 2017,

and in June 2018. All names were coded for the data analysis process while, in this paper, they are referred to by pseudonyms. The interviews were conducted in the most natural way through their life courses, focusing on immigrants' personal migration history, from the past to the future. It includes, their memory on before migration, the first years in Japan, a typical work day, their family matters and the future plan. The language used is Bahasa Indonesia mixed with Manado Dialect and Japanese.

Although my participants were familiar with my presence as someone residing in Oarai and attending the liturgies, when conducting the interviews, they participated voluntarily and were well informed about my role as a researcher via a letter of consent and details of my study. They were always able to indicate any information that they wanted to be excluded or stop whenever they wanted to stop participating. All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, and the transcripts were read through several times. The details of the study and consent letters were also sent to the Assembly of the church for permission and consent from the pastors. I was also given time to introduce myself at the church for my study purposes.

Methods

One thing to note is that the participants, both women and men, work every day from morning to evening and still have to attend to a few evening religious activities after work, with scarce time available even for themselves and their families. Thus, one of the challenges for the researcher was to conduct a full interview in a quiet atmosphere. Some participants agreed to spare only a short time between their activities, or in some unexpected, spontaneous situations. Of the 28 participants, 18 had long interviews, three had long, yet interrupted interviews, while seven people had short interviews, supplemented with questionnaires they brought in from home. The interviews lasted between 15 to 115 minutes, with interviewees taking their own decision on when to have breaks or interruptions. Thus, participant observation and my sensory experience were crucial in order to understand more than what the participants could share due to their time constraints. On the other hand, much past research, which foundationally established the early literature on the Indonesian community in Oarai, has been drawn mostly from surveys, interview and questionnaires (such as Meguro, 2005; Pudjiastuti, 2005; Okushima, 2005; Tirtosudarmo, 2005) with limited participant observation. It was also confirmed through the statements of some participants that no other researcher had ever been living in Oarai to study them. One among the few who lived and also worked in Oarai during his research is Sumakul (2005), who explored the concept of vocation in Reformed theology for those migrant workers for his dissertation.

I resided throughout April and November 2017 in Oarai, worked part-time in a factory, went to the clinic, hospital, supermarket together with migrant workers, as well as participated in church activities, particularly in teenagers' categorial service. Through daily activities, I embodied the experience and emotions of the migrant workers, which were not usually captured easily through narration, but must be felt and experienced to be understood (Rivera & Tracy, 2014). The senses and emotions I experienced during the fieldwork is also utilized as autobiographic narratives in this paper. "Messy" texts and narratives by a researcher in representation data is key for accessing tacit knowledge encompassing the "ineffable truths" (Altheide & Johnson, 1994, p. 491). In particular, Goffman (2001) asserts that the body in participant observation is an important way to gain "data" because you "subject yourself, your own body […] to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals" (p. 154). Thus, I put my body and emotions into the scene and stories through living, working and interacting with individuals in Oarai to reveal the complexities experienced in migrants' everyday life.

Results

Kaisha Life

The Beginning. After a Japanese broker set up the housing and placed the first Indonesian-Japanese descendants in some fish-processing kaisha in Oarai, they entered Japan and began to work within an asocial setting. They did not interact directly with local people, relying entirely on the broker during the first years of migration. These migrants had diverse backgrounds, and many of them were university graduates. Although they were informed about the kind of industry in which they were going to work, most participants did not expect such working conditions in the kaisha. The first day after their arrival in Oarai, in July 1998, the broker introduced Ms. I and three other workers, who were her cousins, to one Kaisha:

> The first Kaisha we entered was Maruichi (pseudonym). All WERE (Ms. I emphasized) Manadonese people over there … the overstayers. When we arrived, we said to each other: *"Oh we are going to work … work like this?" "They are cleaning the fish at that time … " "Oh what should we do? It's so smelly."* I said to the others, "*We have to work like this? Why do we have to work like this? We worked at office before"* (laugh). "*Oh, I prefer to work in (name of city). I don't want to work like this. Oh, God forbid, I never even held a knife at home, now I have to clean fish?"* (Ms. I, personal communication)

Ms. I's first impression of the kind of job she was going to perform reveals the first and long-lasting impression that most of the workers were not proud of the reality of their jobs in Oarai. The working conditions are wet and unbearably smelly. "Wet work", such as cleaning the fish, cutting, and trimming, is one of the aspects avoided by most of the workers, as opposed to "dry work", such as packing and sealing. None of them were familiar with seafood processing in a factory. The kaisha life in Japan is far from what they had imagined.

Fish and the Smell. In Oarai, in which many small and a few middle-range seafood-processing Kaisha are located, the small factories are sometimes not visible because they look just like a one-story warehouse or a two-story house. One of the clear indicators is the fishy stench though. When I walked past such a warehouse, the strong fishy smell would often spontaneously cause me to stop and look around to identify the source of the smell. Besides the smell, another clue is the appearances of workers in white uniform.

On one sunny day, Ms. H drove a car from her son's school. I sat next to her, and the window was open to allow the breeze to enter. At a three-way junction that had a Kaisha at the end, the car slowed down to turn right. The car stopped to wait for other cars to pass, and then passed right by the entrance of the Kaisha warehouse. I caught a glimpse of a man I knew, with a tired face and wearing his white uniform the cap, lifting a full pallet of fish with another work colleague. His name was Mr. L. The pallet looked heavy. He saw me, and forced a smile. On the weekend, I met the same man at church, looking dapper and wearing a natty jacket. I greeted and talked with him as usual, but we tacitly agreed not to discuss anything connected with the last encounter. Mr. L, in terms of his appearance as a worker and as a member of the church, are one and the same person existing in two different worlds. In my impression, his work was not something he wanted outsiders to see. When I noticed someone wearing a white uniform, I always felt that I had met a different person from the one I had seen at church. Through the observation and embodied experience, I sensed the demarcation that the church and the kaisha were two separate worlds for these migrant workers.

From Kaisha to Home. When I visited or had a homestay in participants' houses, I often found soaking wet, dirty white shirts with a fishy odor in a separate pile waiting to be washed. Although the shirts were always in a pile, they were never put where the regular dirty clothes were usually collected. For example, I saw shirts below a washroom basin, in a bathtub, on the upper floor's washroom, and so on. It was noticeable that there was demarcation as well as postponement regarding the washing. Another interesting point is that the householders always apologized to me about the soaking shirts, even before I had seen them myself. Furthermore, when I met people while they were wearing their uniforms, they also apologized to me because of the unpleasant odor; again, even before I had smelled it myself.

They also took a bath immediately after returning from work and washed their hair every single day, even though the uniform includes a cap. This must have been very demanding for women with long hair, but they did not compromise on this. This is why I often observed women arriving refreshed, often with wet hair, at the weekday liturgy. The smell of the white uniform and the cap is apparently not something of which they are proud. Indeed, the smell was pungent, reminding me of the smell of some streets in Oarai whenever I walked near by a kaisha.

Church Life

Pelayan Khusus (Pelsus). At the church (see Figure 3), the Pelsus usually sits in the front row overseeing the congregation. The pastor wears a robe and a red (or green) stole when conducting Sunday worship; but when leading Kolom liturgy, the pastor only wears the stole. The assigned Pelsus wears a white stole at the Sunday service, but not at the Kolom or categorical liturgies. The unassigned Pelsus of the day can take a seat in any place, usually in the front row.

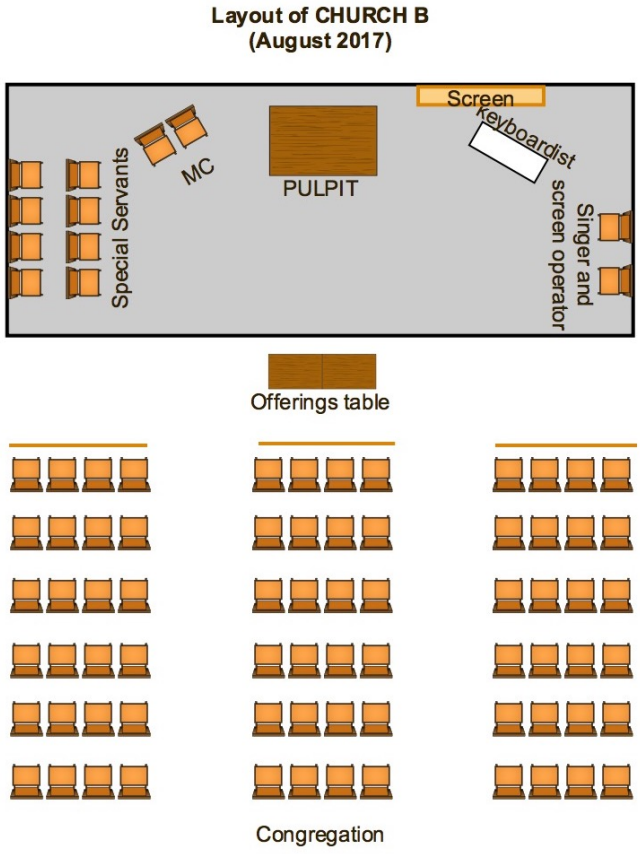

Figure 3. Layout of the Church for Sunday Service (Author, August 2017)

Pelsus are usually dressed in dapper outfits: the men wear shirts, blazers, and black shoes, while the women dress in high-heels, with make-up and hairdos, branded bags, apparel, and jewelry. On some special occasions, the men dress in suits or batik, while the women wear black blazers or formal dress, with skirts or trousers. While the congregation dresses in various ways, most of the time the members appear fashionable. The pastor of Church B also reminded the Pelsus about their attire during the Assembly, telling them always to look presentable because they are the chosen ones who serve the church and God. Mr. F, who had been chosen as a Pelsus in Church B for 17 years in row, expressed his feelings about being a special servant and wearing a stole as "heavy":

> The feeling of wearing the stole is, hmm … It is heavy. It is here (he touched his nape and both shoulders where a stole is usually hung). The responsibility is heavy. Not that it becomes a burden, but that is my commitment to God. So, once I wear the stole, I really have to be careful in my doing and saying. It feels very special. Pelsus, for me, is a lifetime obligation that even when I don't wear it, I have to manage my personality. … Many times, outside the church, people still call me *Penatua*. (Mr. F, personal communication)

Pelsus are truly prominent figures. As migrants, a congregation typically chooses respected persons who are not financially lacking, have a good personality and good behavior to be assigned the role of Pelsus. The financial condition is considered because, being special servants, they have to be willing to work extra hours for the church and cannot generally take on many extra paying jobs. People are also chosen based on whether the person has a passion for serving and is a respectable figure. It is interesting that these positions are not only open to those with a Japanese-descendant visa, but also to others with "trainee" or "refugee" visas, if they are chosen by the members. At the time I conducted the fieldwork, one "trainee" and one "refugee" were chosen as special servants and who willingly gave their extra time to serve the church. This signifies that visa status is at the periphery of church life, and does not deliberately affect someone's image as a respectable person. At the church, migrants can be considered more respectable than the others because of being Pelayan Khusus.

One evening in June 2017, there was an election of the Pelayan Khusus for a Kolom group of the church. A Pelsus of a Kolom consists of the *Ketua Kolom* (the leader of the Kolom), the *Wakil Ketua* (co-leader), and the Syamas (treasurer). Although about 14 people attended the liturgy that evening, only four names were mentioned in the votes. Apparently, the members had the same figures to choose among the total of 40 members (including children and babies). Two candidates, although not present, could be elected without their confirmation. If someone is chosen by the members, it is considered to be God's will, which should not be refused. They believe that those who refuse God's will may suffer misfortunes. That night, Mr. L, the man I saw bringing in the full pallet of fish, was chosen as the leader of this Kolom.

Sunday. Migrants' work occupies most of their time during the week, and Sunday is the only day on which people can do other things besides work. However, in the past, when the workload was heavier than it is at present, migrants were forced also to work on Sundays. In consequence, they could not go to the church. If they wanted to propose a day-off on Sunday to attend a Sunday service, the shachou (head of the company) always challenged them.

> In the past, if we want to go to a church on Sunday, we had to argue first with shachou. Every day was working day, including Sunday. He once said to me, *"I*

> *am the one who gave you a salary, not your God.*" So, it was tough (to attend the Church). (Mr. U, personal communication)

The church accommodated for this situation by providing two periods of Sunday services: morning and evening. Those who had to work in the morning could still attend church in the evening. After many negotiations and actions, more kaisha have now compromised and let Sunday as a day-off, in order to keep the migrants staying in Oarai. It appears, managing the time to accommodate church-kaisha boundaries was more challenging in the past.

At the time of writing, most of the migrants worked from Monday to Saturday. Although a few people still worked on Sundays, Sunday was the only holiday for most workers. Thus, the day is overwhelmingly used for both leisure and religious purposes, which are often merged into one time and place – the church. People sometimes go shopping or do other things after the Sunday Service, as this is the only available time they have for any non-work-related activities. The church has become the main place at which they meet their compatriots regularly outside of the kaisha. The church is thus more than just a religious site, it is also the place where people spend some of their leisure time and socialize, particularly on Sundays. The kinds of clothes people choose to wear at the church and after church also emphasize that they want to be identified as "different people" compared to when they are at work.

Body and Self-Representation. On one Sunday, I met Ms. K at the church. Ms. K wore a tight green dress with a hemline that was five inches above her knees. Her shoes featured a leopard pattern and had 10-cm heels. This mother of three looked so tall and slender. Besides slenderizing the ankles, wearing high heels also "generate[s] the sensation of power and status" (Smith, 1999, p. 11). On that day, Ms. K was the liturgy leader, as she was substituting for the pastor, who was sick. Over her dress, she wore a robe and a green stole as symbols of being the ordained liturgy leader. Before a Pelsus comes forward to the pulpit as a liturgy leader, someone else has to place the stole over him or her. This respectable appearance diminished her taken-for-granted status as a low-class laborer.

Even though Ms. K and the other women at the church were mostly in their 40s, they had not aged much in terms of looks and posture, with their white complexions and slender bodies. Thus, they could not resist wearing colorful dresses in different styles, with some skirts that were inches above their knees, sleeveless dresses, transparent blouses, and even blatantly tight dresses without showing too much disjuncture "between the expectations of the dress and the aged body that wears it" (Twigg, 2009, p. 9). Therefore, choosing what to wear to attend a Sunday service at Church B becomes what I am solicitous about, to belong. There was a sense that it was required to appear fashionable, and not to be overlooked amid the ubiquitous styles, branded bags, and apparel at the church. We try to make sense of belonging collectively. Thus, the conformity to fashion at the church could have been quite demanding for some people.

Where do people buy their clothes and apparel, given that there is no department store in Oarai? I had the opportunity to go shopping and window-shopping with some participants on several occasions. The participants often went to a second-hand store near Mito city, the capital of Ibaraki prefecture, about a 30-minute drive from Oarai. On arriving in the store, they immediately knew where to go: the branded watch and clothes section. Ms. G looked at the imitation gold jewelry. She explained that she liked to find beautiful accessories at a bargain price at the store, and that she likes luxury items. I heard many stories from her about her familiarity with jewelry, authentic diamonds, high-carat gold, expensive perfume, and good-quality chocolate. She was proud of this knowledge and of her ability to discern the quality and

authenticity of these expensive items. Once when we were looking around the perfume section, she tested me by asking "Do you know the difference between EDT and EDP?" I replied, "I don't know." She then explained that EDP has a higher concentration of the perfume essence; thus, it lasts longer than does EDT; this knowledge made her feel special within the migrant community.

Where Are They Going with that Dress? Dressing well is not only part of the social life at the church, but also in the neighborhood. One Saturday night, Ms. H sat on her sofa in front of a flat 40-inch television, her back against the armrest. I sat on the *tatami* floor next to the sofa, also facing the screen. It showed a cartoon in high-definition color in Japanese, which was being streamed on-line from a children's YouTube channel; neither of us followed the story.

> Neighbors were urusaii (noisy). They actually watched us, like what we wear. I even heard they talked to other neighbors. They said, when we go to work, we wear shabby clothes, but we often wear a blazer and suit in the evening. You know when my husband has (his turn) to lead the liturgy at the church, he is in a suit, right? They asked*, "Where are they going to go with that dress?"* Because we always look ugly when going to work, so they are curious. They pay attention to us, even to our changing clothes … and that I have nice bags. That is why I never bring a fake Luis Vuitton bag when I have to meet the mothers (at her sons' schools), because they know which is original and not. (Ms. H, personal communication)

Ms. H strongly felt the neighbors' stigmatization of herself and her family for being migrants. She clearly did not want to be judged in this way. This caused her to be aware of her self-representation, including the sense of visibility that she wanted to demonstrate by buying a large flat screen television and avoiding carrying a fake Luis Vuitton bag on any occasion in which she interacted with Japanese people. The shabby clothes she wore when going to work signified that she considered her work to be dishonorable and as requiring her to wear nothing but the same worn-out clothes she wore at home. I noticed that, after waking up, she and her husband had a small breakfast, and went to work without changing clothes, without bathing, and even without brushing their hair. Several times, I did not even notice that they had already been to work because of their permeable appearance with a home look.

Discussion

The White Uniform and Smells

Life and identity at a kaisha are personified by the white uniform, confirming the workers' equality and identity as migrants, and as being powerless and vulnerable. In their white uniforms, these migrants are identified collectively as belonging to the lowest level of the Japanese social system, working the most unwanted jobs for Japanese people their age. The long working hours and the smell of fish make such activity falls into the category of a 3-D job (Komai, 2010). The fishy odor and the white uniform also became markers of their identities as migrant labors, and as members of the lower class. They were fully aware of this, despite their continuous allegiance to this type of job for over two decades. Outside of the Kaisha, the white uniform (although it is not worn) causes them to apologize for its existence, even before other people see or smell anything at all. It is like saying, "It will stink and I know it." This is in line with a great deal of qualitative research that has indicated that people performing dirty work tend to be acutely aware of the stigma that is attached to their work (Davis, 1984; Rollins, 1985; Thompson & Harred, 1992).

The white uniform has become a symbol of their struggle, as well as of the vulnerability of life in a Kaisha. The smells are embodied and carried from one space to another, both physically and as memories (Canniford, Riach, & Hill, 2017). The stigma of doing dirty work is so pervasive that it may stick or remain even after the mark is removed; that is, once the individual leaves work (Bergman & Chalkley, 2007). Therefore, washing her hair and bathing after work, particularly before the liturgy, are at the center of their perpetual personal care (Twigg, 2015), as well as their "rites of passage into institutions" (Twigg, 2000, p. 5) to expel the Kaisha from their bodies and identities. Since odor serves as a differentiator of class and as an instrument for social discrimination, it heightens the awareness of hygiene (Nugent, 2009), and the privatization of stench. Separating and soaking the white uniform indicates the lengthy process of getting rid of the offensive odor and the aversion, resulting in an intentional delay in washing it. In brief, the presence or absence of smell signals the boundaries of taste, class, and identity at personal, group, and spatial levels (Low, 2005; MacPhee, 1992; J. Nugent, 2009), and mark the boundaries between work and the religious life.

Change Clothes, Change Self

The division of kaisha and church life began when Sundays were approved as a day-off by most Kaisha, giving the workers a little leisure time. The church has become not only a place for religious activities but also a place for leisure. Consequently, the permeable religious and leisure times at the church are indicated in the way in which people dress on a Sunday. Their stylishness, fashionability, and brand accessories are superfluous at the church at which they meet their compatriots; however, the change is made because the changing of outfits symbolizes the changing of the self. Clothing and appearance act as a switch, the *on-off* switch between the "fishy" job and a life with dignity. Through the church, they present themselves to the world, validate their social status and class, and fulfill the needs of freedom and self-representation. Their identities and identification are signaled by those to whom they are similar and those from whom they are different, and the clothes intermediate the body and its public presentation, which can be put on or off (Twigg, 2009).

Life at the church also has its own social dynamics, with rigid organizational structures and positions. Although migrants reside on the lowest social stratification level in Japan, the social landscape of the church is different. People's positions are arranged hierarchically based on their church position and social categorizations, one of which is via visual consumer objects such as fashionable clothing, jewelry, and branded items. However, in Christianity itself, lavish displays are condemned. The repression of sensual pleasure, a prerequisite for salvation, is invariably preached (Harris, 2007). For Church B, the pastor pays a substantial amount of attention to the dapper appearance of the Pelayan Khusus in the hope that the congregation will follow them as a divine epitome. As a Pelayan Khusus for the church, they are the chosen ones, the prominent figures. The fact that they are also laborers and migrants is detached, and becomes invisible via their attire and appearances. The robe worn at church, among other things, helps to emphasize the role of pastor, the Pelayan Khusus, and to "de-emphasize the personality of the man in the pulpit" (Meyers, 1997), including their roles and whatever they do outside of the church. To overcome the less-than-respectable feeling amongst the congregation, the church in general, and the Reformed Church in particular, has historically placed special robes on its ministers when they conduct worship. In conclusion, the purpose of the robe and stole are to cover the man/woman and to emphasize his or her God-ordained office or calling (Meyers, 1997).

Managing Boundaries: Identity through Clothing and Bodies

The link between clothing and identity has long been an established theme for some researchers in dress studies (Twigg, 2009). From the time of Veblen (1899/1953) and Simmel (1904/1971) onwards, sociologists have explored the way in which clothing operates as part of class identity. Clothing can also be used as a form of agency, through which the individual exerts power, and as a commodity that helps to define social relationships (Neumann, 2011), as well as being one of the ways in which forms of social difference are made visible and concrete (Twigg, 2009). The contested identities in the parallel lives of the Kaisha and the church are manifested in the migrants' appearances. The white uniform is set in contrast to the stole and influential position of someone as a special servant, as well as to the "superfly" fashion of their leisure Sundays. The social classification struggles are reflected via the visibility of appearance, while a sense of protesting against their social status as laborers or workers is depicted through the acts of "neutralizing" the foul smells (see Figure 4). In the section on "Distinction", Bourdieu (1984) showed that the logic of class struggle extends to the realm of taste and lifestyle, and that symbolic classification is key to the reproduction of class privileges. Accordingly, the taste expressed when choosing what to wear is a part of how the Pelayan Khusus (and specifically, the elite) "establish, maintain and reproduce positions of power, reinforcing relation of dominance and subordination" (Bourdieu, 1984). Power is inevitably the reproduction of the bureaucratic system of the church, and is manifested in many ways, including the separation of where the Pelayan Khusus sit, how they dress and are addressed, and the use of the stole or robe.

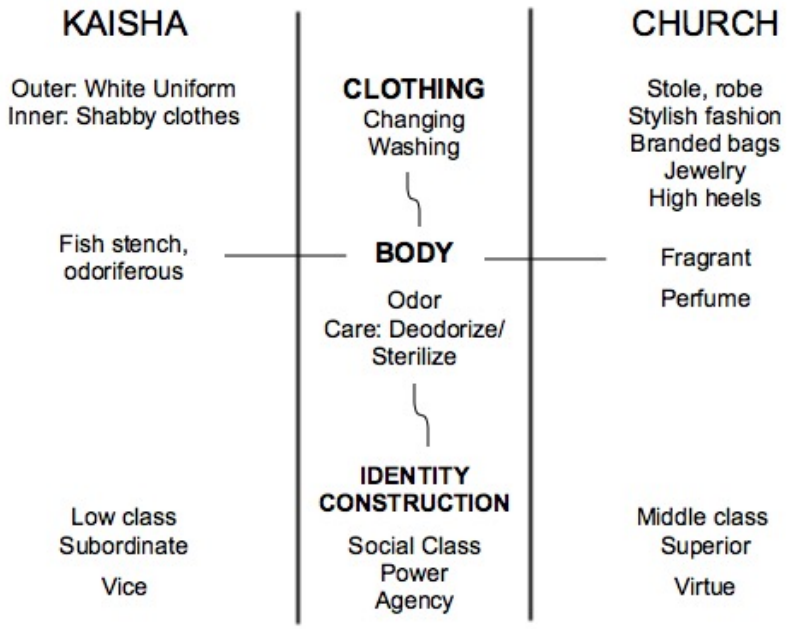

Figure 4. Framework for managing the boundaries between the kaisha and the church through clothing and body (Author)

The framework above constitutes the overlapping boundary management styles (Kossek, 2016), the olfactory classification (Aspria, 2008), and the concept of clothing and body (Twigg, 2009), which are discussed in isolation in existing studies. This shows that clothing operates in conjunction with the body and that there is an interplay between the two (Twigg, 2009). Hence, categorization is not predicated on the visual alone, but also transpires via the olfactory throughout the body, arising from an individual's expectations of others and their smells

(Harris, 2007). While clothes can be changed and the washing can be kept separate, the same body remains. Thus, the only transition channel between the Kaisha and the church is through the body. The daily acts of neutralizing the smells through bathing and hair washing are ways in which the boundary between the two realms is created. Clothing communicates the social identity symbolically; in other words, how a person seeks to appear in society (Davis, 1985). However, it must be emphasized that, bodily care through the acts of deodorizing and sterilizing is a one-way direction from the kaisha to the church, and not the other way around. Their outfit for being at home and working is often the same. Hence, the "body" and clothing from home to work life are permeable.

Nonetheless, the stylish appearance at the church was part of the migrants' characteristics prior to migration. There is even a Minahasan maxim: *"Biar kalah nasi asal jangan kalah aksi"* (Sumakul, 2005), which means, "better lose in rice rather than lose in action." Figuratively, this means that, although there is nothing to eat, it is more important to perform well or stylishly. The person as migrants perform at church are a reflection of their old world in North Sulawesi. The new-old worlds in their migratory context, then, are contested through the division between the kaisha and the church, with continuous boundary crossings. The wet and smelly work is deemed tainted, as it contradicts the noble characteristics of what society views as good or proper work (Hughes, 1958). Consequently, the boundaries between work and church for Indonesian migrants in Oarai are located and managed via the practices of expelling the foul smells from the body and the white uniform, and by emphasizing the visibility of fashion and branding at the church.

Conclusions

There is a dissonance and a detachment between who these migrants are at church and what they do in the kaisha. There was no ambivalence in the migrants' management of their emotions as they had been dealing with the segmented behavior in the church and the kaisha for some time. This compartmentalization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995) is embodied in the act of changing clothes and engaging in bodily care before entering the religious institution, which has allowed for the successful implementation of "image management strategies" (Kidder, 2006; Mavin & Grandy, 2013; Tracy & Scott, 2006) for almost two decades. Thus, there is nearly no confusion regarding when one is a laborer and when one is a bishop. Emotional conflicts between the two roles are resolved through smell removal and change in visibility.

Having positions in the bureaucratic and hierarchical structure of the church has prompted some migrants to maintain their demeanor in specific ways. Being special servants is deemed important and is accentuated via the symbolic attire and stole in order to de-emphasize the reality outside of the church and to gain more respect as special servants. The church itself serves as a non-work space in which religious and leisure time are merged, and where migrants can validate their social status as well as practice social identification through material visibility, such as outfits, branding, and high heels, as well as via the practices of prior washing and bathing to remove the stench of work. The stench and the work in the kaisha bind their bodies and identities, making bodily care and dressing serve as a switch to manage the division between kaisha and church life.

Funding

This research was funded by Fuji Xerox, Co. Ltd., Foreign Students Research Grant no. ref. 897.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge my academic advisor, Prof. Takeshi Higashimura for his valuable advice, and my discussing partner, Agung Sugiharto for his continuous supports and suggestions on the earlier version of this paper. Finally, I am extremely grateful to all incredible research participants, including pastors and church congregations in Oarai who generously shared their time, among their busy schedules, to participate in this research. Without their participation and feedback, the research would not have been possible.

References

Altheide, D., & Johnson, J. M. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln, *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 485–499). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ashforth, B. E., & Kreiner, G. E. (1999). "How can you do it?": Dirty work and the challenge of constructing a positive identity. *The Academy of Management Review, 24*(3), 413–434.

Ashforth, B. E., Kreiner, G. E., & Fugate, M. (2000). All in a day's work: Boundaries and micro role transitions. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(3), 472–491. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2000.3363315

Ashforth, B., & Humphrey, R. (1995). Emotion in the workplace: a reappraisal. *Human Relations, 48*(2), 97–125. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679504800201

Aspria, M. (2008, November 7). Cosmologies, Structuralism, and the Sociology of Smell. Retrieved from https://www.scentedpages.com/pdf/sociology.pdf.

Badan Pekerja Majelis Sinode, Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa. (2016). *Tata Gereja 2016.* Tomohon: Percetakan/ Offset Sinode GMIM Tomohon.

Bergman, M. E., & Chalkley, K. M. (2007). "Ex" marks a spot: The stickiness of dirty work and other removed stigmas. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 12*, 251–265. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.12.3.251

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste.* (R. Nice, Trans.) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1979)

Brah, A. (1999). The scent of memory: Strangers, our own, and others. *Feminist Review, 61*, 4–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/014177899339261

Canniford, R., Riach, K., & Hill, T. (2017). Nosenography: How smell constitutes meaning, identity and temporal experience in spatial assemblages. *Marketing Theory*, *Spring*, 1–15.

Cruz, D., & Meisenbach, R. (2018). Expanding role boundary management theory: How volunteering highlights contextually shifting strategies and collapsing work-life role boundaries. *Human Relations, 7*(2), 182–205. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726717718917

Davis, D. S. (1984). Good people doing dirty work: A study of social isolation. *Symbolic Interaction, 7*, 233–247. https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1984.7.2.233

Davis, F. (1985). Clothing and Fashion as Communication. In M. Solomon, *The psychology of fashion.* Lexington: Lexington Books.

Dekel, T. (2016). *Transnational identities: Women, art, and migration in contemporary Israel.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Felstead, A., & Jewson, N. (2000). *In work, at home: Towards an understanding of homeworking.* London: Routledge.

Fukihara, Y. (2007). Birth and Development of an Ethnic Community: In the Case of Indonesian Migrant Community in Oarai. *地域文化研究, 5*, 21–36.

Goffman, E. (2001). On fieldwork. In R. M. Emerson, *Contemporary field research*, Vol. 24, (pp. 623–650). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Harris, R. G. (2007). *Social emanations: Toward a sociology of human olfaction* (Unpublished dissertation). Texas: University of North Texas.

Howes, D. (1991). *The varieties of sensory experience: A sourcebook in the anthropology of the senses.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hughes, E. C. (1958). *Men and their work.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Kartikasari, N. (2013). *Effects of labor immigration policies on Indonesian migrant workers in Japan and South Korea*. (Unpublished dissertation). National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies.

Kidder, J. L. (2006). "It's the job that I love": Bike messengers and edgework. *Sociological Forum, 21*(1), 31–54. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11206-006-9002-x

Komai, H. (2010). *Migrant workers in Japan.* New York, Oxon: Routledge.

Kossek, E. E. (2016). Managing work-life boundaries in the digital age. *Organizational Dynamics, 45*, 258–270. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orgdyn.2016.07.010

Languilaire, J.-C. (2009). *Experiencing work/ non-work*: *Theorising individuals" process of integrating and segmenting work, family, social and private* (Doctoral dissertation). Jonkoping: Jonkoping International Business School.

Largey, G. P., & Watson, D. R. (1972). The sociology of odors. *The American Journal of Sociology, 77*(6), 1021–1034. https://doi.org/10.1086/225257

Lomsky-Feder, E., & Rapoport, T. (2010). *Visibility in immigration: Body, gaze, representation (Hebrew)*. The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakkibutz Hameuchad.

Low, K. E. (2005). Ruminations on smell as a sociocultural phenomenon. *Current Sociology, 53*(3), 397–417. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392105051333

MacPhee, M. (1992). Deodorized culture: Anthropology of smell in America. *Arizona Anthropologist, 8*, 89–101.

Mahmood, A., & Martin-Matthews, A. (2015). Dynamics of carework: Boundary management and relationship issues for home support workers and elderly clients. In A. Martin-Matthews & J. E. Phillips, *Aging and caring at the intersection of work and home life: Blurring the boundaries* (pp. 43–64). New York, Sussex: Routledge.

Mathew, P., & Lingam, L. (1998). Migrant women workers in the fish/prawn processing industries, Navi Mumbai. In *CHS-ILO Workshop on Women's Occupational and Reproductive Health Research Evidences and Methodologies* (pp. 1–17). Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Mavin, S., & Grandy, G. (2013). Doing gender well and differently in dirty work: The case of exotic dancing. *Gender, Work and Organization, 20*(3), 232–251. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2011.00567.x

Meara, H. (1974). Honor in dirty work: The case of American meat cutters and turkish butchers. *Sociology of Work and Occupations, 1*(3), 259–283. https://doi.org/10.1177/073088847400100301

Meguro, U. (2005). Establishment of the Japanese-Indonesian community and their employment system in the Oarai town, Ibaraki. *異文化コミュニケーション研究, 17*.

Nakane, C. (1997). *Japanese society.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co.

Neumann, J. (2011). *Fashioning the self: Performance, identity and difference*.(Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Electronic theses and dissertations, 475.

Nippert-Eng, C. E. (1996). *Home and work: Negotiating boundaries and everyday life.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Nugent, J. (2009). The human snout: Pigs, priests, and peasants in the parlor. *Senses and Society, 4*(3), 283–302. https://doi.org/10.2752/174589209X12464528171851

Okushima, M. (2006). Churches and Indonesian migrants in Japan: Institutional background and challenge. *異文化コミュニケーション研究, 18*, 35–111.

Orwell, G. (2001). *The road to wigan pier [1937].* London: Penguin Books.

Pudjiastuti, T. N. (2005). The dynamics of Indonesian migrant workers under national and local policies: The Oarai case. *異文化コミュニケーション研究, 17*, 79–104.

Meyers, J. J. (1997). Why does the pastor wear a robe? A defense of the use of the ministerial robe in public worship. *Theologia*. Retrieved from http://hornes.org/theologia/jeffrey-meyers/why-does-the-pastor-wear-a-robe.

Rivera, K. D., & Tracy, S. J. (2014). Embodying emotional dirty work: a messy text of patrolling the border. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal, 9*(3), 201–222. https://doi.org/10.1108/QROM-01-2013-1135

Rollins, J. (1985). *Between women: Domestics and their employers.* Philadephia: Temple University Press.

Rothbard, N. P., & Ollier-Malaterre, A. (2016). Boundary management. In T. D. Allen & L. T. Eby, *The Oxford handbook of work and family* (pp. 109–124). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simmel, G. (1904/1971). *On individuality and social forms.* (D. N. Levine, Ed.) Chicago, London: The University of Chicago.

Simpson, R., Slutskaya, N., Lewis, P., & Hopfl, H. (Eds.). (2012). *Dirty work: Concepts and identities*. Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Smith, E. (1999). High heels and evolution: Natural selection, sexual selection, and high heels. *Psychology, Evolution, and Gender, 1*(3), 245–277.

Sumakul, H. W. (2005). *The concept of vocation amongst migrant workers of the GMIM (Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa) in postmodern times* (Doctoral dissertation). University of the Free State, Facult of Theology. Dissertation.

Synnott, A. (1991). A sociology of smell. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 28*(4), 437–459. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618X.1991.tb00164.x

Thompson, W. E., & Harred, J. L. (1992). Topless dancers: Man-aging stigma in a deviant occupation. *Deviant Behavior, 13*, 291–311. https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.1992.9967914

Tirtosudarmo, R. (2005). The making of a minahasan community in Oarai: Preliminary research on social institutions of Indonesian migrant. *異文化コミュニケーション研究, 17*, 105–138.

Tracy, S. J., & Scott, C. (2006). Sexuality, masculinity, and taint management among firefighters and correctional officers. *Management Communication Quarterly, 20*(1), 6–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318906287898

Tsuda, T. (1998, Summer). The stigma of ethnic difference: The structure of prejudice and "discrimination" toward Japan's new immigrant minority. *The Journal of Japanese Studies, 24*(2), 317–359. https://doi.org/10.2307/133237

Tsuda, T. (2003). *Stranger in the ethnic homeland: Japanese Brazilian return migration in transnational perspective.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Twigg, J. (2000). *Bathing: the body and community care.* London, New York: Routledge.

Twigg, J. (2009). Clothing, identity and the embodiment of age. In J. Powell &T. Gilbert (Eds.), *Aging and identity: A postmodern dialogue.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Twigg, J. (2015). Dress and age: the intersection of life and work. *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life, 10*(1), 55–67. https://doi.org/10.3384/ijal.1652-8670.15-55

Veblen, T. (1899/1953). *The theory of the leisure class: An economic study of institutions.* New York: Mentor.

Walmsley, E. (2005). Race, place and taste: Making identitities through sensory experience in Ecuador. *Etnofoor, 18*(1), 43–60.

Yanjing J. et. al, (2016). Ibaragiken ōaraichō ni okeru nikkei Indoneshia hito no teijū-ka yōin: Suisan kakō-gyō ni okeru gaikokujinrōdōsha no ukeire hensen no bunseki o chūshin. *Chiiki kenkyū nenpō, 38*, 31-59. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213488965

Zeitlyn, B. (2014). Making sense of the smell of Bangladesh. *Childhood, 21*(2), 175–189.

Corresponding author: Median Mutiara
Contact email: median.mutiara@a.mbox.nagoya-u.ac.jp

Cultural Particularism and Intercultural Communication: The Case of Chinese Face

Paweł Zygadło
Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University, China

Abstract

In this paper, I argue that the acknowledgement of the particular nature of socio-ethical values and specific modes of communication is a necessary precondition for establishing an effective exchange between members of different cultural circles. For this purposes, I first examine the value of cultural (historical) particularism as a departure from social evolutionism and a unique way of understanding cultures that will serve as a theoretical framework for further deliberation. Following that, I shortly review and evaluate some theories regarding the nature and the functions of the notion of face, that has long been seen as an essential and pervasive element of Chinese culture. Subsequently, I analyse some of the data collected during fieldwork conducted in China and try to show to what degree the phenomenon continues to be present in contemporary Chinese society. In the final section, I argue from a position of cultural particularism that unbiased understanding of cultural characteristics is a *sine qua non* condition for effective intercultural communication.

Keywords: Chinese face, intercultural communication, cultural particularism, multiculturalism

Introduction

Starting from the mid-16th century, colonialism and growing trade exchange between people from different continents have made the world a "smaller place". The development of technology boosted this process further, making encounters between different cultural circles not only possible but simply inevitable. However, until the 20th century, the idea of coexistence of cultures understood as entities in their own right was nothing more than a dream of very few intellectuals with insufficient socio-political influence.[1] It was the rapid development of means of communication and socio-political change of the late 19th and 20th century that jeopardised the old order. As a consequence, even subdued local "subcultures" had to be recognised as an integral, and at least in principle equal part of the global society (Taylor, 1994). The idea of a "melting pot" became then a metaphor that seemed to be quite accurately describing the socio-cultural reality of the 20th century. Originally, a term used to describe the assimilation of immigrants into American society (Samovar, McDaniel & Porter, 2011, p. 97), it has been redefined and become closely associated with the idea of "culturally diverse society" (Von Meien, 2007). Although it has remained distinct in some respect from other metaphors associated with multiculturalism (Kolb, 2009), it exemplifies well the idea that individuals and entire groups of different socio-cultural or religious backgrounds can be successfully integrated into one, coherent society. Not only that, its proponents argue that this kind of society is the most desirable and best fits the constantly changing reality. However, despite its undeniable socio-ethical value and its postcolonial and anti-imperialist origins, the idea of the melting pot, cannot escape the notion of dominant culture. Declared openness for and tolerance towards other cultures cannot nullify the implicit assumption of "assimilation by" or at least "integration into" the dominant group.[2] Moreover, the very belief that such "integration" is possible is an endorsement of social evolutionism with its belief that there is an "ultimately better-fitting" stage of social development. Until the end of the Second World War, the Europan way of life was embodying this "higher" stage of development. For proponents of multiculturalism, the society consisting of "melted" or at least "mixed" elements seems to be a 21st-century version of the same belief. These contradictions could not, of course, remain unnoticed by multiculturalists themselves, so instead of "melting pot" the metaphor of "salad bowl" came into prominence (Kolb, 2009). Although the idea of salad bowl in its principles is less prone to accusations of logical inconsistency, it cannot escape them completely and needs to face another challenge. "How is a society consisting of groups or even individuals following different value systems possible (what would bind them together?)," then becomes a legitimate question. Even if there were an answer to this question, another rises immediately: How can these different groups communicate, if there is no idea of a dominant culture that "imposes" a common platform of communication (language) and makes one understand the value system of another (dominant ideology)? Isn't it a fact that in societies that are proud of their multicultural nature, not much beyond the idea of multiculturalism itself is known to an average citizen about the social and moral values of the members of the same society that originates from culturally or religiously distinct group? Is it perhaps the belief, even the most sincere one, in the necessity or even goodness of a multicultural society, that makes it already more "multicultural" and the society also more "multicultural"? I would like to suggest that such a belief helps little in establishing a meaningful exchange between the cultures if it is not paired

[1]Two Polish scholars, Paweł Włodkowic (ca. 1370 – October 9, 1435), jurist and rector of the Cracow Academy, and Stanisław of Skarbimierz (1360–1431) who followed Włodkowic as a rector of the Cracow Academy were the first in the Christian world to openly defend the rights of native non-Christian tribes at the Council of Constance (1414–1418) to peace and to possession of their own lands.

[2]A fascinating example of a black woman "becoming a white male" in her work place can be found in: Singer, 1998, pp. 184–50.

with actual knowledge about a particular culture, its values and behavioural patterns. As Edward T. Hall put it, "Simply talking about "cultural differences" and how we must respect them is a hollow cliché." (1981, p. 63).

Franz Boas and Cultural Particularism

In the 21st-century, the idea of departing from the evolutionary universalism is nothing new. In the late 19th and early 20th century, Franz Boas (1858–1942), a German-born "father of American anthropology" (Stocking, 1960) insisted on the research of particular cultures instead of armchair anthropology searching for "general rules of human society development". As he established the first PhD programme in anthropology in the US, he was also responsible for establishing the "four-field" concept of anthropology, physical anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, and cultural anthropology that dominated 20th century American anthropology. For our purposes, the main concepts of his cultural anthropology are of interest. He emphasised that a given group of people represents an integrated and distinctive way of life that cannot be reduced to a phase in the cultural development of humankind. As a consequence, it is necessary to study individual cultures as separate entities based on their unique history. Anthropologist's primary assignment should then be to describe the characteristics of a particular culture accurately and reconstruct "historical events that led to its present structure." (Encyclopaedia Britannica/ biography/Franz-Boas). The Boasian programme was then quite straightforward in its premises and very rigid in its methodology, at least in theory. Cultures are independent structures that develop according to their own "inner logic". This is not to say that they are isolated one from another. Quite to the contrary, the exchange of values and ideas does happen, in a process that Boas called "diffusion". However, due to the uniqueness and complexity of every system, the origin and the sequential order of the process cannot be properly determined and it should not be anthropologist's primary concern to do so. An anthropologist should focus on the culture as an independent entity and research it through direct contact (fieldwork) instead of making unjustified judgements about the level of development of a certain culture. Only in this way, one can understand the real meaning of the customs, rituals and even language. In other words, even if from the perspective of another culture they might be meaningless, elements of culture are meaningful in terms of a particular culture and can only be properly understood from that particular culture's point of view. A similar approach was presented not much later by Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinhowski (1884–1942) who believed that only through long-time participation in the life of a certain group one can properly understand the culture and the meaning of the individual cultural elements. (1967). Boas's students developed and often modified Boas's programme, making his approach a dominant stream in American studies on cultures. Works by Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876–1960), Ruth Benedict (1887–1948) and Margareth Mead (1901–1978) marked the way towards a more profound understanding of cultures as individual and comprehensive entities. In this respect, Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (first published in 1934) is particularly worth mentioning. The main argument of Benedict's work is the emphasis on the individual character of every culture. For her, there is a "more or less consistent pattern of thought and action" (p. 46) underlying any culture. Culture is then, on the one hand, a product of human's creativity that is built of "characteristics" chosen from "the great arc of human potentiality". On the other, these few characteristics form an independent constellation of values, predispositions and preferences that have a great impact on personalities of the people living in the specific culture. In other words, as a group of people creates a culture, the culture shapes the way they live, perceive and experience the world around them. Culture is then a unique product of a unique selection, transformation and appropriation of a certain set of characteristics, that in reverse shapes minds of those who belong to a certain culture. As products of human potentiality, those

characteristics might be accessible or even understandable for another group of people. However, the way they have been "selected" and transformed is a product of a certain unique situation, and the outcome comprises a unique, comprehensive and "more or less consistent" structure, that cannot be thoroughly understood if not taken as an independent whole. As a consequence, every culture has its unique moral system, a way of perceiving and acting that might not only be difficult to understand for someone from another culture but can be at odds with the principles of the latter's cultural system.[3] However, this does not mean that even the strangest or most unacceptable values and practices for an outsider do not comprise an intelligible and coherent system in which they have their functions and meaning. As such, instead of being "judged" and classified as fitting a certain pre-established standard or not, they should be recognised as proper values of a particular system. Culture as a coherent whole is then a crucial factor shaping individual personalities, and through these personalities culture finds its way of expression. The main findings of the Culture and Personality School (Benedict and Mead) are worthy of reconsideration in times of the increasing encounters between cultures. Despite all declarations about the necessity to embrace differences, proponents of multiculturalism largly failed to provide a coherent theory that fully recognises the socio-historical uniqueness of a particular system and prevalence of certain moral and behavioural structures in particular settings (Barry, 2001; Kymlicka, 2007: pp. 16–18). The universal character of human nature and humans' needs are brought up instead. Even though, as Bronisław Malinowski for instance proved, some specific psychological complexes are not universal (1927). This belief in the universality of humans' needs has been elevated to the position of moral principle, and its rejection might lead to dire consequences. As the motivation behind such an approach might in all respects be worthy of acknowledgement, the results of such thinking are quite severe. In short, it is a clear return to the old social evolutionism and a display of Western cultural colonialism. After all, the very idea of multiculturalism is a product of Western societies and is virtually unknown to any other cultural circle. In the following, I will focus on one particular culture, and I will try to trace the origin, structures and the meaning of one of the "characteristics" of that system, to use Benedict's language. By doing so, I will try to demonstrate how important it is to approach cultures individually and without pre-assumed goals or ideological biases for establishing actual understanding and efficient communication between them.

In Search of a Unique Characteristic of Chinese Culture

As mentioned above, the idea of a multicultural society, even in "salad bowl" version cannot escape the notion of social evolutionism. The notion of multiculturalism is underpinned by a belief in some "ultimate" and "better" form of society. Without references to other socio-cultural systems, it claims to be "open" enough to include basically everyone and everything. One issue here is that the people, who are invited to an open multicultural society might not believe in it themselves. It seems then that in order built a working society comprised of groups and individuals of different ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds, the first step is to put aside ideas derived from evolutionary universalism. It then seems necessary to look closely at the particular features of individual cultures, without immediate comparison and preassumptions regarding possible generalisation. How then to determine the nature of these characteristics of a particular culture feature? The first step would be establishing points of reference. As mentioned above, modernity accelerated transport and communication and made race, language and even religion much less significant than before. For instance, Europeans are no longer all white Christians, and not all whites are Christians. And while people living in Quebec,

[3]This trait later found its development in Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), where the sexual ethics of Samoans was in a dire opposition to the morality of 20th century West.

Canada and Wallonia in Belgium use French as their primary mean of communication, people living two train hours away from each other in the same Fujian province in China speak different languages, which only for political reasons are called "dialects"! The most visible and easiest to notice factors, such as skin colour and clothing, and to lesser degree, language or religion are not sufficient factors determining one's cultural adherence. It would then be advisable to observe and assess the behaviour of individuals, presumably coming from different cultures in similar situations. How do Chinese, Germans and Arabs perceive time and space? Are they punctual, do they arrive early for meetings or are they late rather often? Do they like to have many people around and prefer loud, bustling environments or do they rather prefer keeping their distance and avoid noisy crowds? How do they treat the opposite sex? Do they keep their distance, avoid touching and direct talking? Are status and social roles of both sexes similar or quite distinct? What do they fear and what do they cherish? All these are areas in which culture, understood as a set of values, methods of achieving specific goals and modes of communication, is a significant factor determining particular behaviours (Chiu & Hong, 2005, pp. 32–36). What would then be a feature that, despite the undeniable linguistic, economic and even religious diversity, is being consistently observable among communities identifying themselves as Chinese? One facet comes to mind here. As David Yao-fai Ho argued, "It is virtually impossible to think of a facet of [Chinese] social life to which the question of face is irrelevant." (Ho, 1976, p. 883). Face is then amongst those notions that seem to be defining Chinese culture and as such can be investigated not only as a social phenomenon but also as an embodiment of the core values and underlying principles. Since, as mentioned above, cultures might differ greatly regarding values behaviours, and particular modes of communication, it is then crucial to understand the phenomenon in its own right and not as a "local exemplification of a universal phenomenon" or an "embodiment of a particular stage of social evolution." Only this recognition of a particular cultural identity can make intercultural communication an efficient and meaningful exercise.

Face as a Unique Characteristic of Chinese Culture in Contemporary Scholarship

The notion of face has long been known in a wide range of social sciences. From anthropology, through sociology and to psychology, the meaning and application of the term have been widely researched. The main discussion traits consist of the question about particular versus universal presence of the notion (Goffman, 1955, 1959, 1963; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Hwang, 1987), social vs individual/psychological origin and nature of the phenomenon (Ho, 1976; Hwang, 1987; Zhai, 1995, 2004, 2013; Zuo, 1997; Spencer-Oatey, 2007) and finally single or multidimensional character of the term (Hu, 1944; Ho, 1976; Zuo, 1997). Following Boas's and Benedict's approach, I believe that to grasp the meaning and understand the applications of a particular notion in specific socio-cultural settings, it is indispensable to analyse it as it appears and is being used in the unique situation of a particular culture.[4] I will then focus on the research and theories that address the notion of face as it appears in Chinese settings. Due to the very limited scope of this paper, only a gist of the most influential theories can be given.

Probably the first scientific work that has even been published on the topic is Hsien-Chin Hu's paper *The Chinese Concept of "Face"*, published in 1944. She points out that in a Chinese

[4]The idea of universality of the notion was mainly a result of the enormous popularity of Erving Goffman's work (1955; 1959; 1967), later followed by Brown & Levinson (1987). Goffman only occasionally mentioned Chinese face as a source of his inspiration and Brown & Levinson (1987) did not mention it at all. Moreover, none of them was conversant in Chinese and had never done any fieldwork among Chinese. As a result, their "universal" theories were construed with little, if any reference to Chinese characteristics.

context there are two terms that in English are simply rendered as "face". As she clarifies "… *mien-tzu* (*mianzi*), stands for the kind of prestige that is emphasized in this country: a reputation achieved through getting on in life, through success and ostentation. … " And further "… *lien* (lian), … is the respect of the group for a man with a good moral reputation: the man who will fulfil his obligations regardless of the hardships involved, who under all circumstances shows himself [as] a decent human being." (p. 45) As she acknowledges the relationship between prestige, social image and face, Hu points to the psycho-moral sources of the phenomenon. It might be questionable whether *mianzi* and *lian* are separate entities (Ho, 1975; St. André, 2013), but the importance of Hu's argument as a whole cannot be overlooked.

Following from Hu's work, and partly criticising it, David Ho (1976) in his analysis of face, points out that the delineation between *miazni* and *lian* is of a different nature than Hu would like to acknowledge. As *mianzi* is not altogether devoid of moral aspect, some relevant terminology can be used interchangeably. So the distinction, as he argues is more of "technical" nature that an essential difference between the two (p. 868). Trying to define face, Ho then first applies "a negative approach", pointing out what face is not. Face is then not "a standard of behaviour," "a personal variability," "status, dignity or honour" or "prestige" (detailed analysis: pp. 874–880). Subsequently, he states:

> Face is the respectability and/or deference which a person can claim for himself from others, by virtue of the relative position he occupies in his social net-work and the degree to which he is judged to have functioned adequately in that position as well as acceptably in his general conduct; … . (p. 884)

Other researchers focused on face as a part of social positioning and power negotiating complex. Kuang Kuo Hwang (1987) for instance perceives face as an integral part of the complex structure consisting of face, *renqing* (favour) and *guanxi* (social relations). The whole complex is based on an appeal to social ties, expressive, instrumental and mixed, and it regulates goods, tangible or intangible, exchange (pp. 944–949). Moreover, it also allows for social structurisation and makes such a structure recognisable (pp. 960–962). Face is then, on the one hand, social capital, on the other a result of a socially recognised position. Xuewei Zhai (1995; 2004; 2013), similarly to Hwang, associates face with power and favours seeing this as an essential structure of Chinese social and communicational culture (1995). In his later work, he summarises face as a self-evaluation and psychological position in other's mind (Zhai, 2004, p. 55).

Another tendency in contemporary research on Chinese face focuses on its role in preserving social concord. For Stella Ting-Toomey, the main characteristics of the Chinese notion of face are face-giving, other directed-face and face-honouring that comprise what she calls the face-negotiation model that is an essential component of collectivist cultures (1988). Wenshan Jia, however, insists that face and facework is "a typical Chinese conflict-preventive mechanism and a primary means to cultivate harmonious human relations in Chinese social life" (Jia, 1997–8). For Chang and Hold (1994) Chinese *mien-tzu* (*mianzi*), emphasises a human relationship whereas the Western notion of face, the one proposed by Goffman, is mainly a form of "impression management." (1994, p.127).

Other researchers put stress on the relationship between face and identity. For Scollon and Scollon, face should be seen as an "interpersonal identity of individuals in communication" and the "self as a communicative identity"(1995, pp. 34–36). Bin Zuo (1997) insists, that even though the notion of face applies to other cultures, in Chinese minds it occupies a special place,

a way more significant that in the case of Westerners (p. 51). Face, especially *lian,* is a central component of the Chinese personality. It is not only a component that is involved with social positioning and communication, but is a cornerstone of individual identity in Chinese society (p. 60). Helen Spencer-Oatey (2007), emphasises similar point. As she states:

> I propose that in cognitive terms, face and identity are similar in that both relate to the notion of "self"-image (including individual, relational and collective construals of self), and both comprise multiple self-aspects or attributes. However, face is only associated with attributes that are affectively sensitive to the claimant. It is associated with positively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others to acknowledge (explicitly or implicitly), and with negatively evaluated attributes that the claimant wants others NOT to ascribe to him/her (p. 644).

Face in Practice

As mentioned above, face has long been seen as an essential and pervasive element of Chinese culture. Despite the severe critique by revolutionary intellectuals of the early 20th century (Lu, 1918; Lin, 1935), simple observation of the everyday life of Chinese people shows that consideration about one's "face" is still a vital force determining social behaviour. To be more specific, below I will shortly present a few situations in which face played a significant role, either as a desired good or as a displayed quality.

One of the situations that is inevitably mired in connotations with a desire for social recognition and need of ostensive display of social position is a wedding. The whole process that has recently become an elaborated ceremony resembling old-times weddings is an event that involves the entire community and its attention. Without going into a detailed presentation and analysis, two elements of the ceremony are providing us with sufficient material for understanding the place of face in this most social situation. First, one is the picking-up of the bride from her house by the groom. Anywhere between seven to over twenty decorated sedan cars drive to the bride's living compound and block all the ways around the block. Once asked, why so many cars are needed to pick up just one person, the usual answer is that it the wedding is a serious event of one's life, and the bride is a person of great value. It would become the object of neighbours' mockery if there were no a proper entourage accompanying her. The bride and her family would "lose face" if the proper appreciation of the bride and her family by the display of the groom's wealth was not performed. Another aspect of the wedding, the wedding banquet serves similar purposes. Pricy banquettes at five-stars hotels have become an indispensable element of every wedding of middle-class Chinese (Goodman, 2014). Other life-cycle rituals, such as the birth of a child and funerals serve similar purposes.

Places of public utility frequently witness a display and struggle for face as well. Once, as a participant observer I witnessed and recorded an eye-catching exchange that happened on the Shanghai metro system. One of the commuters, around 35 years of age, was eating a little sausage and drinking tea on the train. His clothes and two huge bags he carried indicated that he was from the countryside. Once he finished, he threw the trash on the floor, stood up and bluntly walked away, stopping by another exit door. Two women sitting across the aisle did not pay much attention to the situation until they saw a foreigner looking at it. One immediately stood up and started cleaning after the man. Once the man noticed her picking up the trash, at first being surprised, he rushed towards the seat he just occupied and rubbing his head started to apologise to the women. "*I am sorry, I am sorry. I am truly sorry. Please, forgive me, real*

shame on me," he could be heard saying. The woman looked at him first with a bit of disgust and then with some understanding. She nodded her head and mumbled "*That's fine, no worries*." She went back to her seat, and the man, very ashamed by now, picked up all the rubbish and apologising to the woman and other passengers around. He rushed to his bags and exited at the next station.

For an observer unfamiliar with the notion of Chinese face, the whole situation could be seen as not much more than a display of lack of manners by the man. He was not from the city, and he could be not very well accustomed to the proper code of behaviour required in this situation. Personal arrogance might also be added on top of that. However, the reaction of the woman sitting across is a bit more intriguing, and the way the man reacted to her behaviour is even more interesting. At first, she did not pay any attention even though she saw what the man was doing. Once she spotted a glance from a foreigner, she seemed to feel obliged to react. As it has been demonstrated in the literature, face is not just individual but can be collective, national (Lam, 1993). Moreover, as Hu pointed out, face is not just a social recognition and status (*mianzi*), but also a sense of moral integrity, understood as performing one's duties and up to certain standards. As the man's behaviour was *diu lian,* face-losing, shameful to a high degree, he was losing his own face, and as a person of lower social status, could be simply ignored. After all, the Shanghainese are famous in China for their sense of superiority. However, once the outsider noticed the situation, some face-work, make up for the situation was necessary. Even if in the first instance it cost the woman a depreciation of her status, as she was cleaning after someone else, the collective moral face of Chinese people was at stake. The man on his behalf, by his *diu lian* behaviour, was trying to make up for his rather low social status. His robust and blunt behaviour was also a display of, or a call for face, understood as social status (*mianzi*). *Shui guan de zhao wo?* (Who can restrict/control me?), is often a spoken or unspoken assertion accompanying situations like that. As he gained some face (*mianzi*), primarily in his own eyes only, even by losing face (*lian*), he felt quite full of himself. Then he noticed that he had lost face, not only the individual moral face but also the collective one, a source of identity, especially for the ones of lower social or political status. This outweighed the one he gained, the little markup of his social status. The display of the mixture of the transactional model proposed by Hwang and identity model proposed by Zuo or Spencer-Oatey can be seen here.

On another occasion, I observed an interesting exchange between two individuals and others surrounding them that happened on a public bus in Suzhou. Instead of starting the bus after all the passengers had boarded it, the driver turned back and shouted to an unidentified individual: "*The one at the back seat, you have to pay for the ride!*" There was no reaction from any of the passengers sitting at the back. "*I said, come over here and pay for the ride!*", the driver repeated, pointing to one of the passengers. The one pointed to, suddenly looks like being bothered with something, takes out his phone, that is not ringing, places it by his ear and pretends that he is on the phone with someone. He stands up. "*Oh, I am sorry, I forgot.*" Then he walks towards the driver holding his phone by the ear, clearly not speaking, he swipes the card, goes back to his seat, sits down and puts the phone away. As the driver shouted at someone, nobody at the back rows seats dared to move at first. People standing just in front of them started turning their faces towards people sitting at the back. Then, the driver repeated his request, more loudly and even less politely pointing directly to one of the passengers. The perpetrator had been identified, and he could not keep hiding in the crowd. It was quite obvious that, initially, he was not going to pay for the ride since he simply sat down and gazed upfront. Once it became clear that the driver had noticed him trying to avoid paying and was not going to let him off the hook, the eyes of the crowd were upon him. No comments were necessary to certify that the crowd viewed him negatively. He lost his *mianzi* ("*Can't he afford a ticket?"*), and his *lian* was at

stake ("*If he can effort the ticket, why didn't he pay? Is he trying to evade the fare? He should be ashamed of himself*"). In other words, his status as a rightful member of the community was immediately questioned. As further consequences, such as nasty comments from other passengers were about to come, he seemed to be caught in this cross-fire and had no choice but to either react abruptly or comply with the driver's demand. The first choice was not an option. As people in Suzhou consider themselves as having higher *suzhi* (personal moral quality) than people from outside the city, such a move would identify him as a someone from outside the community (Upton-McLaughlin, 2014). The second option was also a tough choice since he would have to admit that he tried to do something socially and morally unacceptable. However, with this choice, he had some room for a manoeuvre. The mobile phone provided him with an excellent "smoke screen", a mask that allowed him to face the crowd without much further harm to his self-perception and any evaluation by other people. He then "hid" behind the phone and a deferent "*I am sorry, I forgot*," made the message even clearer. "*I will comply, let me go*" he seemed to be trying to say. Since it was not an extremely serious offence, any further comments from the driver or people around him could be read as a denial of the offer and would probably lead to an escalation. That, by itself, could probably cause the loss of face of the one(s) who would try to push it further. Nobody was interested in that, so some people nodded their heads, others returned to their business. The balance was restored, and everything could return to normal.

The understanding of how important it is for Chinese to be part of a larger group (shared identity), the public image that is equal with one's social status and self-perception based on it, marks this situation as significant. Closer observation of the man's behaviour reveals that in a situation when one's public image is endangered, his/her identity and social status are also at stake. Face is then not just a public image, and facework is not just a simple enhancement of it. It is a part of one's socially determined identity and also a means of communication with the surrounding others. "*Perhaps I did try to evade paying the fare, but I do know the rules, and I am willing to make up for my mistake, but in a way that will not harm my position among you and my positive evaluation of myself*," the man seemed to be saying. Other passengers familiar with the code recognised it, thus allowing harmony to be restored. One woman mumbled some words of appraisal of the man and signalled a slight disagreement with the way the driver had started the whole exchange. After all, the parties were actively or passively involved in the face-negotiation process (Ting-Toomey, 1988) with a purpose of restoring a social concord and avoiding further escalation (Jia, 1997–8). What mattered in the end, was restoring and maintaining a certain harmony in the community (Chang and Hold, 1994), and man's "impression management" and its recognition by others, were indispensable components of the whole process.

Conclusion

Despite the tendency towards "the world becoming a smaller place" asserted at the beginning of this paper, social rituals and communication in a given culture retain their particular character. The above examples illustrate a particular phenomenon characteristic of a certain particular culture and might even not be totally foreign to individuals representing different cultures from the one the mentioned above. After all, striving for prestige and recognition and avoidance of public embarrassment is not unknown in other cultures and are well analysed in the literature (Goffman, 1967). However, the very idea of approaching cases like those above without marking the particularities of the culture within which they occur, to large degree limits the understanding of a particular event and the pattern underpinning its occurrence. That is why David Ho's analysis of Chinese face uses the *via negativa* first, and then tries to show that

simply clinging to one simple explanation does not bring one any closer to a proper understanding. This is not to say that all those terms he deals with have no relation to the term under scrutiny. Quite to the contrary, they all do, but none of them exhausts its meaning. It brings us back to Benedict's main assertion that culture is a unique, comprehensive and "more or less consistent" structure. There is some "inner logic" governing specific rules governing patterns of behaviour. They can be known, but only if they are taken in their totality, without immediate references to even then most similar occurrences happening in another system. This is of course not to say that humans are slaves to their culture and that everything can be predicted by merely knowing that logic and patterns. The role of situational and thus not essentialising factors cannot be overlooked (Rose & Nisbett, 1991). However, even when situational factors are decisive, there are always a certain amount of possible reactions, and the modes of their application differ from culture to culture. By presenting these three cases, I intended to show, how rich in content even the seemingly most uncomplicated and commonly happening situation can be, and how that content can be different for an outsider and an insider of a certain culture. Thus, a person brought up in a Protestant, highly rational cultural circle could see the whole ostensive display of wealth that accompanies Chinese weddings and funerals as an unnecessary waste or even as the "immaturity" of the Chinese *nouveau riche* class. The other two examples could also be read as a display of lack of manners, in case of the "original" perpetrators.

Regarding the woman who decided to clean after the man on the metro, someone could conclude that she did it merely due to her decency. The role of using the telephone in case of the man who did not pay for the bus ride would probably be missed, or at least misunderstood. "*Why must these people always be on the phone? He should be holding the handrail instead when he is moving around*," another foreign person who was on the bus exclaimed when the man tried to get to the front of the bus. Although all these assertions would not have to be entirely wrong, they do not tell the whole story, and even more importantly, they do not touch upon the core meaning and functions of the observed behaviour. Lived experience, research into similar cases and the reduction of ideological preconceptions ("*We are all the same, we can well understand each other and happily live together, no doubts about it*"), supported with some insight from the scholarship show a different picture.

The primary purpose of this paper was then to show that the differences in perception and ascribed meaning, even in seemingly simple situations, can be significant. Subsequently, socio-ethical values and general aims of different groups can differ even more significantly. Again, this is not to say that there does not exist anything that different groups share, or to deny the role of situational factors. Quite to the contrary; however, in order to attain that postulated peaceful, and respectful co-existence of different cultures, the significance of those different patterns cannot be reduced to the "hollow cliché" of "appreciation of cultural differences". Acquiring perception through unbiased, positive bias is still bias, but analysis of the specificity of particular cultural values, tendencies and behaviours taken as a unique and comprehensive whole, seems to be an indispensable precondition for any actual dialogue between them. In other words, one needs, to know at least heuristically what kind of culture one is about to mix with before one starts the mixing. As this is the only way to produce an edible salad, it is also the only way that has a chance to produce a functional society. As a famous Chinese philosopher of the 20th century, Xiong Shili put it:

> Generally, scholars should look for and analyse differences, without neglecting what is common… Thus (while) wisdom speaks about unity, it does not (neglect)

> the differences; (while wisdom) speaks about differences does not (neglect) the unity. (Wang & Zheng, 2010, p. 20)

References:

Barry, B (2001). *Culture and equality: An egalitarian critique of multiculturalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Benedict, R. (2005). *Patterns of culture*. [1934] New York: Mariner Books.

Brown, P. & Levinson S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage. Studies in interactional sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buckley, P. J., Clegg, J. & Tan, H. (2006). Cultural awareness in knowledge transfer to China – The role of *guanxi* and *mianzi*. *Journal of World Business 41,* 275–288. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwb.2006.01.008

Chiu, C. Y. & Hong, Y. Y. (2005). *Social psychology of culture*. New York: Psychology Press.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The presentation of self in everyday life.* New York: Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior* (includes: *'On Face-work'*). New York: Anchor Books.

Goodman, D. S. G. (2014). *Class in contemporary China*. Wiley: New York.

Ho, D. Y. F. (1976). On the Concept of Face. *American Journal of Sociology, 81* (4), 867–884. https://doi.org/10.1086/226145

Hu, H. C. (1944). The Chinese concept of "face". *American Anthropologist, 46*, 45–64. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1944.46.1.02a00040

Hwang, K. K. (1987). Face and favor: The Chinese power game. *American Journal of Sociology, 92* (4), 944–974. https://doi.org/10.1086/228588

Jia, W. S. (1997–8). Facework as a Chinese conflict-preventive mechanism – A cultural/discourse analysis. *Intercultural Communication Studies, 7* (1), 43–58.

Kolb, E. (2009). *The evolution of New York City's multiculturalism: Melting pot or salad bowl: Immigrants in New York from the 19th century until the end of the gilded age*. New York: Books on Demand

Kymlicka, W. (2007). *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity.* New York: Oxford University Press.

MacGowan, J. (1912). *Men and manners in modern China*. London: Unwin.

Malinowski, B. (1927). *Sex and repression in savage society*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Malinowski, B. (1967). *A diary in the strict sense of the term*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World

Mead, M. (1928). *Coming of age in Samoa: A psychological study of primitive youth for western civilisation*. New York: William M Morrow & Company.

Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics 39*, 639–656. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2006.12.004

St. André, J. (2013). How the Chinese lost 'face'. *Journal of Pragmatics, 55*, 68–85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.05.015

Taylor, Ch. (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1988). Intercultural conflict styles: A face negotiation theory. In Y. Y. Kim & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Theories in intercultural communication* (pp. 213–238). Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Ting-Toomey, S. (2004). Translating conflict face-negotiation theory into practice. In D. R. Landis, J. M. Bennett, & M. J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ting-Toomey, S. (2005) The matrix of face: An updated face-negotiation theory. In W B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about intercultural communication* (pp. 71–92). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wang, J. Y., & Spencer-Oatey H. (2015). The gains and losses of face in ongoing intercultural interaction: A case study of Chinese participant perspectives. *Journal of Pragmatics, 89,* 50–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.09.007

Wilson, E. T. (1981). *Beyond culture*. New York: Anchor Books.

Smith, A. H. (1894). *Chinese characteristics*. New York: Revell.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2001). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers

Stocking, G. W., Jr. (1960). Franz Boas and the founding of the American Anthropological Association. *American Anthropologist* 62, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1960.62.1.02a00010

Lin, Y. T. (1935). *My country and my people*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc.

Lu, X. (1981). *Lu Xun Quanji* (*Collected works of Lu Xun*). Beijing: Renmin Wenxue.

Zhai, X. W. (1995). *Zhongguo ren de lianmian guan* (*The Chinese and the Concept of Face*). Taipei: Guiguan.

Zhai, X. W. (2004). *Renqing, mianzi yu quanli zai shengchan – qingli shehui de jiaohuan fangshi* (Favor, face and reproduction of the power: a way of social exchange in a reasonableness society). *Shehui yanjiu (Social research) 113*, 48–57.

Zhai, X. W. (2013). *Renqing, mianzi yu quanli zai shengchan* (*Favor, face and reproduction of the power*). Beijing: Peking University Press.

Zuo, B. (1997). *Zhongguo ren de lian yu mianzi* (*Lian and mianzi of the Chinese*). Wuhan: Central China Normal University Press.

Lam. K. W. L. (1993). The concern of a nation's face: Evidence in the Chinese press coverage of sport. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, *33*, 1–77.

Samovar. L. A., McDaniel E. R., & Porter R. E. (2011). *Intercultural communication: A reader.* Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Schwarzmantel, J. J. (2009). *Ideology and politics.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tax, S. (2018) Franz Boas. Retrieved from Encyclopaedia Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Franz-Boas

Upton-McLaughlin, S. (2014). The many faces of suzhi in the Chinese organization and society. *Journal of Chinese Human Resource Management, 5*(1), 51–61. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHRM-01-2014-0004

Von Meien, J. (2007). *The multiculturalism vs. integration debate in Great Britain.* Munich: GRIN Verlag.

Corresponding author: Paweł Zygadło
Contact email: pawel.zygadlo@xjtlu.edu.cn

the iafor

journal of cultural studies

ISSN: 2187-4905