MODERNIZATION AND THE EVERYDAY ENVIRONMENT
- PERCEPTIONS IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY:

A theory of legitimacy toward change as a basis
for stability in the development process

by

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MODERNIZATION AND THE EVERYDAY ENVIRONMENT - Perception in Search of Identity:
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a story of three different types of people - ordinary persons, professionals, and government officials - in their search for identity. The problem I am interested in is how people pursue and preserve their identity in the process of development, and why this pursuit causes conflicts among people. In order to attempt to answer this question, I introduce a hypothesis that people's search for identity is based on the model of legitimacy: the act of defining or defending their territories, claiming their autonomy over their lives and environment, and justifying their behavior or norms.

Within the context of this hypothesis, I can ask two specific questions. First, which attributes of this model of legitimacy help people to attain a sense of identity? Second, what elements of this model cause conflicts among people? The underlying assumption here is that the model gives people a legitimate power that enforces their capacity for authority; this power also helps them to maintain stability in the development process. Weaknesses lie in the fact that different types of people have different legitimate powers (specifically, the legitimacy of professionals, government officials, and ordinary persons), which may collide with one another in the development process.

The next step will be to determine how to maintain the strengths of the model of legitimacy, on the one hand, and to improve the model, on the other. The issue here is whether or not we can resolve the conflict among people without abandoning their legitimate roles. Rather than giving a definite solution to this problem, I am suggesting my own findings by introducing a set of conceptual themes, which can be summarized as "the communal development approach toward communal legitimacy."
In this approach, professionals and officials should take the roles of facilitators in the process of development. The act of facilitation means that professionals and officials help ordinary persons strengthen their legitimate capacity to control their own lives and environment and to maintain stability in the process of control and development. The act of facilitation also should involve a cross-educational process within which professionals, officials and ordinary persons learn from and educate each other to arrive at mutual agreement. Here, communal legitimacy is introduced to incorporate the strength and uniqueness of each legitimate power of three types of people under one communal ethic.

A communal ethic requires mutual awareness of responsibility and communication among different legitimacies. Communalism is a means toward the goal of achieving and preserving identity better. A sense of identity comes along with personal meaning when people can define their roles and communicate with other people in the development process. Here, I consider identity to be "form" and stability to be "function"; in other words, when we have a full sense of the meaning of or control over our role in development, then we can say that identity(form) is being preserved in the process of fulfilling stability(function). Here stability is defined as a constant interaction between a part and the whole to adapt to new change.

The references to test this theory of legitimacy are drawn from professionals' and officials' design products and planning policies in the development process, as well as people's perceptions of their environment, modernization and progress in the Third World.

Last, the form of this study will be reflective, narrative, intuitive and even personal because it observes people's perceptions and the image of continuity and change in the everyday environment. The function of this study, in formulating a framework for considering identity and development, will be generic, not operational or technical, because my purpose is to reconsider and redefine the meaning and philosophy of development, rather than to offer a definitive set of conclusions.

Most important of all, my objective is to lay out the spectrum of the rainbow; in order to share the beautiful complexity of life. The search for identity is painted in a thousand stories of a thousand people. Therefore, if somebody out there asks me, "what is identity?", my answer will definitely not be, "this is identity." My answer will be, "you have your own story to tell me tonight."

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CONTENTS

Abstract ......................................................... 2
Acknowledgements .................................................. 4
Preface ................................................................. 11
Introduction .......................................................... 13
Stage and Heroes .................................................... 22

CHAPTER I - THE IMAGE OF LEGITIMACY

Introduction ......................................................... 27

Section I: Conflicts and Forces
          A. Terms of Images ........................................ 30
          B. Attention to Modernity ................................. 35
             - Myth of "Meat" and "Face"
          C. Reaction to Modernity ................................. 45

Section II: Modes of Response
          A. Absolutism ................................................. 54
          B. The Reference Model .................................... 58
          C. The Continuity Model ................................... 64
CHAPTER II - THE MODEL OF LEGITIMACY

Introduction .................................................. 76

Section I: Describing an Act of Legitimation ........ 79
   - Existence in Legitimation

Section II: Understanding Three Types of Legitimacy
   - Existence in Legitimation
      A. Officials: Legitimacy of Bureaucraticism ........ 86
         - Visit to Ritual ........ 89
      B. Professionals: Legitimacy of Professionalism .... 99
      C. Ordinary People: Legitimacy of the Ordinary ... 104

Section III: Implication of the Legitimacy Model
      A. "Children of a Lesser God" ............... 109
      B. " Out of Africa" ................. 113
      G. "The Gods Must Be Crazy" ............ 119
CHAPTER III - THE ART OF LEGITIMATION

Introduction .............................................. 127

Section I: Constraints of the Legitimacy Model

A. Strengths of the Model .................. 129
B. Weaknesses of the Model .............. 131

Section II: The Themes of the Art

A. The Story of the Campus City ...... 135
B. The Themes ...................... 148
   Theme: identity
   Stage: Everyday environment
   Heroes: Individual and Social
   Story I: Communalism,
   New Festival Ethic
   Story II: Stability and Security
   Story III: Continuity and Change
   Story IV: Certainty and Uncertainty
   Story V: The Myths of the Modern World
   Story VI: Memory of Grandfather
   Story VII: The Ritual of the Modern World
   Story VIII: The Candlelight Legend
CHAPTER IV - POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE LEGITIMACY MODEL
- Communal Development Approach

Introduction ....................................................... 160

Section I: Concepts

Concept 1: Communal Legitimacy ............... 164
Concept 2: Culture of Process ................. 166
Concept 3: Learning by Cross-education .. 169
Concept 4: Aesthetics of Patience ........... 172
- Learning from the Candlelight

Section II: Form .................................................. 173

Section III: Function .......................... 175

CONCLUSION - WORLDS WITHOUT END ................. 178

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................... 186

PICTURE CREDITS ........................................... 187
Life is meaningful when we find the new in the ordinary.

One starry night, again I smell the earth. She takes me out on an excursion into the everyday. When I turn the corner, I see people on the bench in front of their house, blessed with moonlight, swimming in the river of memories and tuning their smiles into the future. This story is for them; for those who go to the movies and for those who can say, "I have my own story to tell you, tonight."

Note: Unless otherwise mentioned, all sketches and poems have been created by the author. Most of the photos are widely drawn from the rich variety of the literature, but all captions have been written by the author.
I like the term "a story" because my thesis is basically a story that is unfolding and personal. I found it very useful to borrow the story form to express the richness and complexity of reality as I perceive it through my own eyes. But I am not ignorant enough to say that this is the only reality: what may be true for me may be not true for others. However, the beauty of this is that we each have at least two stories of reality; each story has an "equally important meaning of its own."

Thus, my story is meaningful because it is based on my personal experience and imagination, and identity. That is why the theme of this research does not have a body of literature related to it; to me everything I have seen, touched and smelled has become my reference: the memory of my childhood, my life in the desert in the Middle East, my working experience as an architect, conversations with teachers and colleagues, the everyday journey with my wife to the everyday
world, and even looking at stars and touching the wind - all of these have given birth to rich and truthful stories of my own and have allowed me to understand others more deeply at the same time.

I may be wrong to say that in these things lie reality and truth. However, I may be right to say that this is how I went about learning people's identity.
INTRODUCTION

"The new mentality is more important even than the new science and the new technology."

- A. N. Whitehead
Robert Redfield;
The Primitive World and Its Transformations

The topic I am going to deal with is identity; especially, when there is a conflict between tradition and modernity or between continuity and change. This study examines people's perceptions of identity with respect to their images of old and new, and the ways to make change and cope with change in the everyday environment.

I have chosen this topic for two reasons; one is more intuitive and the other is more conceptual. First, intuitively, I have observed that there has been growing public awareness of identity and continuity of culture since the process of so-called "modernization." As a result, many diverse responses to these problems have been made so far.
One naive way to look at this problem is to say that people need to make progress and want to maintain their continuity at the same time. In this process of change, they usually experience a sense of gain as well as loss. Here, they may compare themselves before and after the change; they may ask what they are going to become.

Thus, change makes people think; it makes them examine and measure what they can gain or lose. This can be described as a part of the identification process. In this context, a decision to "change" or "not to change" will impact on meaning in life and cause action, and ultimately influence people's survival in the everyday environment.

I introduce the idea of "everyday environment" because this is where people define their personal meanings with respect to their outside environment. At the same time, the process of identification itself is a personal experience relative to society and other people. The everyday environment, throughout this thesis, will be a central stage where major themes are laid out. There will be further description
of the concept of everyday environment later.

As the second reason of this study, conceptually, the whole idea of "modernization" is, in fact, a product of the legitimacy of professionals and government officials: a manifestation of self-conscious ego in the name of launching a historic plan of nation-building and facilitating national progress toward a great society and future.

It is, however, annoying and deceptive to the "great tradition" in the Third World which might have been dormant for a while, that visionary and instant modernization polices and the self-consciousness of professionalism bring conflicts among different legitimacies of people; these conflicts cause the conflicting behaviors of "attention and reaction to the modernity." Thus, I think something has gone wrong with "modernization."

I believe the time has come to redefine the current meaning of modernization in the Third World because I think these problems have to do with people's perceptions and their images of "progress." They are too significantly
philosophical to be technical.

Thus, the content of this thesis is twofold: intuitive and conceptual. It is concerned with issues relating to perceptions and images in the process of the search for identity and with a proper framework for considering development. First, I am going to ask how and why people search for identity and continuity, and how they perceive tradition and modernity in the process of change. Second, based on this review, I will ask what the proper framework for appropriate action in searching for identity in the development process would be.

Finally, my answers to these questions can be summarized in a set of themes. After observing people's images and perceptions in the process of search for identity, one theme becomes clear: the way people seek identity is based on the model of legitimacy. It is a continuous process of defining, defending, justifying and claiming their authority over life, territory and environment.
Here, I believe that searching for identity means searching for stability. In other words, we can sense our identity in our life and territory when we can control a process of continuous adaptation to change. I define stability as a continuous interaction between a part and the whole to adapt to change.

However, unless we have "a legitimate power" to sustain stability in the process of control, we may not be able to preserve identity. My belief, thus, is that research on the model of legitimacy will lead us to new insights into people's mentality for dealing with continuity and change in the development process.
Finally, the chapter organization needs some explanation. The issue of identity, as we will observe, involves a series of other problems. As our story of life is rich and complex in the everyday environment, the beauty of the complexity and the open-endedness of these problems is rich enough to impress us.

That is why, I believe, it would be ill-advised to study these issues in a narrow, isolated world of mind; if we try to do so, we will then lose the holistic meaning of them and the context of our existence in an endless world of life. Life is meaningful and alive only when the elements of it are not separated from one another: we need a setting that calls forth a stage, heroes, drama and audience.

That is why my thesis-story is full of complexity and open-endedness, and this is beauty too; a rainbow is beautiful to us not because we can touch it with our hands but because we can sense it by other means. I do not want to lose its entity. I want to show every single element of it and share them and ultimately enjoy the beauty of the wholeness with my
audience in my particular setting; this is how my chapters are organized.

Besides the fact that the term "legitimacy" is one of the major themes in identity, it is also introduced as a vehicle by which the complexity and open-endedness of life and stories are kept orderly. Therefore, legitimacy plays two significant roles: form and function.

In terms of function, I am using legitimacy as a means to elaborate and highlight major themes among a thousand stories in a coherent manner, in order to prevent the significance and beauty of their complexity and the open-endedness of the issues we are dealing with from becoming unrecognizable chaotic voices. At the same time, legitimacy is used as a symbolic form to identify particular acts as in a drama, so that each act has its own uniqueness as a part but does not interrupt the continuity of the whole.
Thus, the objective of Chapter I, *The Image of Legitimacy*, lies in identifying an underlying theme of legitimacy in people's perception and behavior as they deal with issues like tradition and modernity, regionalism and internationalism, and underdeveloped countries and developed countries.

In Chapter II, *The Model of Legitimacy*, I am going to elaborate the legitimacy model by analyzing the typical attributes of the behavior of legitimation. The purpose is to structure the characteristics of the process of legitimation in people's search for identity in order to understand its complexity and potential.

Next, the purpose of Chapter III, *The Act of Legitimation*, is to organize "a reinforced theoretical model of legitimacy." The underlying assumption here is that people's search for identity is characterized as "existence in legitimation" and "existence in legitimacy" but there are strengths and weaknesses to this model and many other issues central to the theme of identity are involved in the model.
In the last Chapter, *Policy Implications of the Legitimacy Model*, I summarize the major concepts that I have addressed so far to introduce "a communal development approach." Here, I also suggest a general application of this approach: its form, function and implications. And finally, my thesis ends without an end, for the world itself is without end.
Throughout this thesis, the reader will notice terms like "people," or "everyday environment." I would like to explain in what context I am using these terms. I introduce the idea of "everyday environment" because this is where people derive their personal meaning. The process of identification itself is, in fact, a personal experience relative to society and other people.

People have personal experiences or perceptions in the everyday environment. I mean this in an informal sense: sleeping at home, walking down the street, looking at the sky and buildings, talking to neighbors, going to the movies, watching TV, building one's own house, planting a tree, having a sandwich and so on.

This is seemingly relaxed time but underneath it, this is the conscious world. This is where we stop being professional. Thus, this environment is free of tension, prestige, obligation, arrogance, and pretension. This is
where we understand others more deeply, more frequently, and more easily. This is where the world comes to us up close. This is where we are willing to be a part of the world. Is it too naive to say that if there is one solution to social conflicts, it may be in going back to the stage of the everyday environment where we are invited to share one theme of drama?
There is a story of the strongest man. He is the most powerful and busiest man in the town. We are afraid of him because when we see him, a sense of awe overpowers us. That is why we feel strange when we see him in the men's room, having a chocolate or playing with a cat at home. We ask him when and where he gets ideas about his policy. He says he gets them while taking a bath, sitting on a bench or talking to a cat in the everyday world. We are surprised, even though we do so too.

One day we visit him at home, after having a beer, during dinner, we talk a lot. It is a very informal talk about what we are working on, what we eat, and stories about national soccer league and girlfriends. We also talk about student demonstrations, educational policy and U.S. foreign policy. Throughout the conversation, we all tend to be naive, humble and frank, and, we laugh a lot.

A couple of weeks later, when we read a piece of a newspaper, we become thrilled. It is about the strongest man's official announcement of the policy for the town. Some time
later, when we visit him in his office, he sincerely expresses his thanks to us for our past visit, when he got an idea about the new policy during an everyday-like talk.

The implication of this story is that after coming to city hall, or a sixty-story office building, in the morning with a formal jacket, sitting around a fancy table and joining a solemn official meeting, people tend to forget they were ordinary persons in an everyday environment.

The ideas that they are going to discuss, in fact, are what they thought about during a shower and talked about with their wives or husbands last night. However, when they come to a desk of professionalism and bureaucracy, suddenly, "the last-night ideas" are dressed with the cloth of sophistication, formality, authority and symbolism.

Next, talking about heroes, the people in my thesis-story, I am specifically referring to three kinds of people: officials in government, professionals with an expertise and ordinary citizens. Again, these characters are drawn from the concept of an everyday stage. Ordinary people continue
to make efforts to survive everyday. They buy food, go to work, take care of children, attend school, and see doctors.

More importantly, they want to buy or build a house by themselves. If they cannot, they will ask a professional for help. But professional and ordinary people both need official help; to maintain public welfare, officials regulate public schools, foods, drugs, taxes and many other aspects.

Thus, these three groups of people are the main heroes in the everyday drama on the everyday stage. Throughout the thesis, I will continue to call them "three groups of people" or just "people." The story of everyday people in the everyday environment implies a lot to us: image, symbolism, professionalism, deprofessionalization and legitimacy. My themes will center around these issues.
CHAPTER I - THE IMAGE OF LEGITIMACY

Introduction

An objective of this chapter is to identify an underlying theme of "legitimacy" in people's search for identity. I am not intending to define first what "legitimacy" means. Instead, by observing people's perceptions and behavior, I am looking at which attributes of their search for identity are related to an act of legitimation.

I have found it more resourceful, intensive, and persuasive to study the richness of the image of legitimacy than to simply define it and prove my definition of it; this approach gives us far more perceptions in understanding people's acts of legitimation. The theme of legitimacy will emerge gradually through its image throughout the sections in this chapter.

Bring this about, I will attempt to understand people's perceptions and behavior in dealing with the conflicts related to issues like old and new, tradition and modernity,
regionalism and internationalism, and underdeveloped countries and Western countries. Specifically, the questions I will try to answer are twofold; first, what are the conflicts? What causes them? Where do they occur? How do they change? What do they result in? Second, how do people respond to the conflicts?

My assumption, or the reason for the choice of this approach, is that people's efforts to search for identity begin with attempts to solve the conflicts between certainty and uncertainty or continuity and change. The conflicts raise questions that test the integrity and security of people's identity. These conflicts cause tension in the individual mind and among people.

Thus, whether or not people preserve their identity has to do with the degree of their integrity and their ability to adapt to change. Also, searching for identity reflects a process of struggle to maintain the capacity to control, that is, to stabilize conflicts. Thus, the conflicts are the arena of struggle where there is strong evidence of a search for identity.
In Section I, I will look at the conflicts with respect to "the two forces": attention and reaction to modernity. The conflicts lie in the fact that "the modern" creates the two forces in an individual's mind and people need both forces at the same time in the process of change. I will examine each force in terms of how and why people pay attention and react to "the modern" and how this behavior is related to the act of legitimation.

In Section II, I am going to identify, given these conflicts, the way people resolve them in the process of search for identity. In this research, three modes of people's responses to the conflicts are identified and compared with respect to the act of legitimation.

Finally, given the observation on people's perceptions and behavior, I will summarize an underlying theme of legitimacy, though it still lies in a form of image. But this image will be a vehicle by which I will be able to identify and structure a set of tenets inherent to the theme in the next chapter.
Section I: Conflicts and Forces

A: Terms of Image

Two forces can be identified in the development of conflicts. One is "attention to modernity," the other, "reaction to modernity." However, these two forces, in reality, do not exist as separate entities but coexist in one form of action: how to deal with change, or modernity.

In fact, "the modern," produces a conflicting response in an individual's mind and among people: attention and reaction. Before I can develop this point, it is necessary to clarify the differences between "new," "modern," "Western" and "international" to examine the meaning, symbols, implications, limits and impacts of each. This clarification will connect attention and reaction to "modernity" in particular. Also it will help us to understand better how people perceive these changes.
First, people consider that "new" means something unfamiliar. Thus, the degree of familiarity can be a measure of "the new," "the old," or "in between." The implication of a notion of familiarity is, further, worth mentioning. If "the new" has some elements of familiarity, people may be able to deal with it with more confidence and perception.

The second word, "modern" tends to symbolize something better, more useful or convenient or something that demonstrates wealth, authority, power, prestige or, many times, something Western. As an example in developing countries, new Western-looking houses, though more costly, attract politically powerful or rich people. The implication of this may be that "modern," itself, is not symbolic but people see "modern" as "symbolic." At least, it contains a symbolic value.

Third, "Western" and "foreign," quite often, go together. The term "foreign" is used as a substitute for "Western." For example, the government of a developing country criticizes people who buy foreign-made cosmetics instead of local...
products. The foreign-made product, in fact, is imported from Western countries. However, I am mainly interested in the word "Western" for the purpose of discussion. "Western" generally means advanced, industrialized, more liberal, rich, sophisticated, fashionable, and more rational. "Western" certainly symbolizes prestige, authority, power and wealth.

Basically, the symbolic value of "modern" and "Western" lies in their "superiority." Without hesitation and inquiry, people tend to impose an image of "something better" on the two. More than that, this concept of superiority elicits complex responses among people.

Lastly, let us consider the term "international," which tends to refer to something popular, fashionable, universally recognized, accepted, or famous. Compared to "modern" and "Western," the underlying notion of "international" may not necessarily have to do with the concept of superiority. Rather, for the most part, it bases its image on the idea of "popularity."
This brief and intuitive review of terms gives us several notions: familiarity, symbolism, superiority and popularity. I think that understanding these notions of people's images and culture will lead us to better insights concerning how to communicate with people and how to deal effectively with change.

This review also shows that anything related to the terms "new," "modern," "Western," and "international," is one way or the other referring to changes; all are describing "something different" from what people used to have, think or see. These images make people go through different processes of adjustment, modification or adaptation. They draw people's attention and cause a reaction. But what complicates the process and end result is the fact that people respond differently.

In the next part A and B, in order to understand the two for better, in searching of identity, attention and reaction to modernity, I will discuss people's different ways of responding. Before I get there, here, a couple of reasons
follow why I am looking at these two forces with respect to "modern" in particular.

First, I am basically dealing with the modernization problem and people's perceptions of modernity, which tends to encompass what the word "Western" implies. Second, as stated earlier, the image of the modern is embedded in a superior vs. inferior relationship; people in the Third World perceive "modern" as "superior." Thus, "modern" produces negative self-perceptions and causes conflicts among people.

For this reason, I consider examining attention and reaction with particular respect to modernity to be critical in understanding how people resolve the conflicts in their search for identity.

Therefore, in the next, I will explore in depth how these perceptions and conflicts are related to so-called "modernization" or "Westernization" by government officials and professionals and, also, how these issues are reflected in people's behavior or norms in everyday life.
"Drink whole or drink noting from the spring of Western civilization."
- Alexander the Great

Ali Mazuri; The Africans

B. Attention to Modernity - Myth of "Meat" and "Face"

Modernity is very much alive in our everyday life. It breathes in our image. It manifests itself visibly in front of our eyes, though many times we may not realize it. It may even lead to a death, as in the case of a grandfather, who did not like the modern way of life and environment, and threw himself from the balcony of a thirty-story high-rise apartment building.

Modernity may also manifest itself in a material way, such as in the purchase of new clothes or a new camera. If you do not get caught up in consuming Western goods, you may feel alienated, isolated, or out of date. If you consume, the consumption spreads like a fire. You may one day, realize that modernity is near you. It surrounds you.
There are many versions of the "modern" brought to the Third World by westerners or there are many "Western" versions imported by people in the Third World. As Westerners dominated the Third World people at one time in history, the image of Westernity is still haunting the air.

When watching a TV drama in the Third World, people often say that a particular actor looks Western, that is, he looks handsome because his face has a Western mask. Thus, when people say you are handsome, it is not because you look handsome, but because you look like a Westerner.

People still tell their children that they have got to eat a lot of meat in order to be big like Western people. They believe that Westerners are big because their main food is meat, but there is something more to that notion: if you eat a lot of meat, you must be rich or upper class. Eating meat, therefore, has social appeal because meat is very expensive to buy.
These myths of "meat" and "face" have penetrated deeply into all aspects of life in the Third World. If people envy you for living in a very expensive house, it means you live in a fancy, modern, Western-style house. People are accustomed to recognizing the face of Westernity and modernity. They envy the meat. They know what meat and face symbolize: prestige, prosperity and power.

There is invariably a slum behind the skyscrapers in a modern city in the Third World. The main streets traveled by the President or a VIP from a foreign country have invariably been kept the cleanest, fanciest, and most embellished in modern and Western style. But the truth is that the hell of the reality is hidden behind the heaven of the facade. Officials implant the face of "modernity" in order for their lives and environment to look Western.

Also, many people enjoy being proud of having "the meat" of a seventy-story high-rise office building along their skyline because they consider it a symbol of real modernity or advanced society; they hear too often from TV or from the
officials' announcement, or a national plan for the future issued at the beginning of every New Year that skyscrapers, military power or the strength of the national sport team are symbols of Western civilization, advancement, wealth or Prestige.

But unfortunately, many Third World people often fail to see the essence of true Western civilization. What they got or learned is the face, not the mentality of Westernity. The face and the meat are symbols. People got hold of a wrong reality or people created a myth because they did not fully understand reality or did not want to.

I would be not so ignorant as to say that all of Third World modernity is the result of mistaken symbolism; certainly there are other factors such as the escalation of land values, the boom of international tourism, the maintenance of national security, the coordination of international military strategies among allies and so on. However, I have observed inconsistency in officials' visionary policies which have been in fact, the result of a lack of a coherent philosophy of
development due to misconception, prejudice and superficiality in their understanding of "progress" and people's expectations. Examples of these will follow in the next part.
Why do people in the Third World create their own symbols for Western culture? Why are they so easily attracted to the symbols? I already mentioned one possibility; that is, people do not fully understand the reality of the symbol. There is also the fact that many of the Third World countries once were under a colonial regime.

Many people still cannot fully get away from the fact that they were colonized by the Western world, which looked quite modern to them at the time, because the colonizers were "superior" to them and "more advanced" than they were. Indeed, Third World people still live with the haunting memory of colonialism in everyday life. The remains of colonialism are omnipresent; in the government administration, the school system, the street, the bedroom and even in grandfather's glasses.

Of course, Third World people did not wish to be invaded. However, they felt, and still feel, that the meat and the face look fine and better to them. It may be true that the reality of colonialism has been gone for a long time, but it is still
alive in symbols that have been kept in people's memory ever since.

There is a more important, although related, explanation for the creation of Third World symbols for Westernity and modernity: the act of legitimation, which is the main theme in this thesis. When a new government comes along, social reformers introduce examples of what they call "new modernity" or forums for the examples, like the Olympic games, or the Miss Universe contest or international conventions.

The reformers do this in order to justify their desired changes, to gain recognition from both the international community and their own people, or to appeal to people's expectations, which the officials often misunderstand. The motivation is, in fact, to search for a new government identity, which is quite often associated with nationalism, meaning that, the purpose of this new identity is to reinforce the government's legitimacy as it portrays a new image of the modern state.
So the new identity or legitimacy has been partly made possible through appeals to "instant" modernity. The reason is that, in a relatively short period of time, in order to respond to a nation's expectations of progress, its government has to immediately show its people "the image" of its capacity, or "newness," even if the officials know that real modernization cannot happen soon. Also the government officials know how to play with "the meat" and "the face" which people still remember.

If officials do not have time or money for managing people's expectations, they have another way to appeal to modernity, that is, by deliberately criticizing traditional customs (as they put it, some bad customs, or the unpleasant legacy of colonialism). Criticizing traditional values has also been a means to achieve again, symbolically, legitimacy for the government's new identity. If we take China as an example, there, the new image of modernity often calls for criticism against old schools of thought like Confucianism. Also, in many other Third World countries, a new government
condemns a previous one, or the colonial regime, to legitimize the government's better image.

A BLOODY LEGITIMIZATION OFTEN TAKES PLACE WHEN SOMEONE'S LEGITIMACY IS REPLACED BY OTHER'S.

A POSTER CELEBRATING THE DOWNFALL OF "THE GANG OF FOUR," IN CHINA.

To reiterate: often the value attached to modernity lies in its image and symbolism. While appealing to modernity, officials searching for their identity want to justify their behavior or norms by using "the meat" and "the face." In this context, justification is a symbolic act. The impact of this act on professionals and laymen cannot be underestimated; for example, people justify the act of introducing new forms and materials in new housing in the search for identity. It is a symbolic way of demonstrating ability, wealth and power.

In many developing countries, in fact, culturally and climatically undesirable houses are highly regarded due to people's belief that high prestige and positive value are attached to "modernity." This contradiction between modern architecture and local norms may be also due to the low status accorded traditional cultures and life styles. That is why the kind of image given to mass housing has been different from other projects like state buildings. For the most part, the image has been based on Westernity.
C. Reaction to Modernity

People rely on the past when they feel powerless to respond to the present or when they are not sure what to do about the future. Then their behavior becomes reactionary. In that sense reactionary acts may be labeled "backwardness." The reactionary acts out of passiveness. It is in a condition of dependence. It is in a state of mind of conflicts between inferior and superior images. But reactionary behavior also lies in a transitional state or process. It is a struggle between the new and the old. Reactionary act may lead to "an original" in the past, or a renewed original—a copy—today.

On the other hand, the concept of the reactionary is very different from that of simple reaction. Reaction can be a positive force in opposition to a superimposed traditionalism or a totalitarian frame of mind.

However, this story may be much more disturbing and dismal; people in the Third World are destined to be reactionary because, before they fully understood the new
modernity or Western mode, it was already in front of them, and before they created their own modernity, the Western modernity had already penetrated deep into their everyday lives and environment. Also, they often did not have enough time to capture the essence of Western civilization. As such, Third World people became helplessly dependent and reactionary.

I do not want to sound fatalistic because I have come to realize that there is a positive value stemming from the act of reaction, as we will see in the next part. But the condition which caused Third World people to become reactionary was a helpless, reactive one. Even if they had had their own modernity, it might have been overpowered by Western modernity or they might have not been so sure about the presence of their own modernity.
I am interested in how and why people react to "modernity," and the implication of this reaction. Again, this is because people search for identity, which involves the act of legitimation; a justification of the use of tradition. It may be a bit ironic that to become an advanced society it is necessary to use one's own tradition. However it has been quite true on many occasions.

For example, a reactive nationalism - reacting against intrusion from more advanced nations - has been a most important and powerful motive force in the transition from traditional to modern societies. But this nationalism has been a strong advocate of tradition. Thus, to react to modernity, people, especially officials and some professionals, have tried to recapture traditional values.

One of the manifestations of this search has been in the field of architecture, especially in state buildings. Traditionalist architecture has based its work on the nation's historical inheritance, which it has sought to create from within. It has aimed at the appropriate
representation of the state and has advocated an increasing absolutism of blood and race, national heritage and national spirit. Its examples are too numerous to mention, as in the case of museums, concert halls, theaters, national assembly buildings, international game facilities or the Asian game villages.

Through traditionalist nationalism, the government announces that it wants its people to make sure that they can build their "own modernity" against "Western modernity." It is not only for the demonstration of psychological independence, but also for the state's demonstration of its own ability to create modernity; this policy is announced on the inside (to its own people) and outside (to Westerners).

But in some cases, it has not quite looked that way. Although the government has pursued the nation's identity through appeals to tradition and this effort has been made to react to another external modernity, still the government's modernity often lies in Westernity. For example, in the case of modern public housing projects, the state has
tried to make some gestures on exterior features; using traditional roof-forms or traditional doors, window details and so on. But, in fact, everybody knows that these features are no more than decorations. Any positive, original new meaning can be hardly drawn from them.

The real reason for the government's appeal to tradition lies elsewhere. In the 1960's, in Korea, along with a series of efforts to search for identity, the government launched a so-called "Yusin or Loyalty-ism policy." The state argued that its concept came from our ancestors' valuable philosophy. But in reality, the external purpose was to set a moral ethic and to control the nation by having people follow the authority of the government; its policy was simply law and order. Its internal aim lay in maintaining the government's power.

Although this kind of large-scale moral order that we call nationalism may be seen as a precondition for planned change in the modernization process and the development of nationalism in a nation which can strongly support and reinforce programs of economic and social change, the origin of
this nationalism has been deeply rooted in symbolism. In the beginning it works quite remarkably; however, as time goes by, it dies out slowly. When it cools down at last, tensions grow between the government and the people.

At this point, the government needs more fuel to propel its people forward. As a result, a new kind of symbolism is forced to emerge. But at this time, the government must have something different from the previous symbol. Otherwise, the tension bursts into flame. Symbolism involves risks. To avoid risks, and to ensure its continuity, the government institutionalizes symbolism: the ritual. I will come back to this concept in Chapter III.
To sum up, the implication of Section I is that the response to modernity, attention and reaction, is a conflict of mind; two sets of opposite behavior reside in one form. The motivation is that people want not only to identify their behavior, norms, houses and gates, but they also want other people to recognize them. To do so, people often stick to the old or what they have had in order to claim their ownership or to differentiate themselves from other people. On the other hand, people appeal to the new or what they recently have experienced or newly noticed in the outside environment, in order to be a part of a larger social and cultural order.

It is an act of legitimation in search of identity; people, in public, claim their "ownership" of what they have had and "membership" in a larger order at the same time. In this process, people need to pay attention and react to modernity. That is why they appeal to both tradition as well as modernity. This conflicting act is justified as necessary to maintain identity in a changing world.
Specifically, many Third World governments seek desperately a domestic and international recognition of their identity - by claiming their authority in public, by demonstrating their ability to bring new change, by recapturing traditional values of their nation's heritage, by associating their identity with the nation's identity and by hosting international forums. For their part, professionals want their expertise to be recognized as necessary and legitimate in the name of fulfilling non-professional's needs. Likewise, for example, ordinary persons hold ceremonies to gain public acceptance for their marriages.

In this process, people justify the use of traditional and new values, create their own symbols or appeal to local norms and Westernity in the everyday environment in order to reinforce their identity. These conflicts of mind produce various responses in an individual's mind and among people. There are three modes of responses made by people in search of identity: absolutism, the reference model, and the continuity model. I will examine these in the next section.
Section II: Modes of Response

The modes of manifestation in dealing with conflicts between attention and reaction to modernity in search of identity can be described in terms of the principal tenets concerning the appeal to the old and the new. Each mode is quite diverse in tenets and many overlaps exist. However, the manifestation, in its essence, can be theoretically defined according to three major characteristics: absolutism, the reference model, and the continuity model. These will be reviewed and compared one another with respect to the issue of people's act of legitimation.
A. Absolutism

Example:
the state projects

Tenets:
* Symbolism
* Superficial expression (decoration)
* Attachment to nationalism and national identity.
* Political aspirations or religious fervor.
* Absolute advocacy of blood and race.

At the government level, absolutism is a means to control people's consciousness and social order. It is like a religious ritual which people practice and where they are forced to worship unidentified god. But like myths, absolutism is also a way out of a situation that the government cannot explain. Especially, traditionalist nationalism is a way of idolizing the past. It is indeed, in this sense, a national religion. It demands loyalty: loyalty to ancestors, parents,
teachers and bosses. It then becomes a way of maintaining the government's authority and power.

Absolutism appeals not only to tradition, as we discovered earlier, but also to modernity. Both are tools with which to identify oneself, one's values, and one's territory. In other words, it is a means to make people proud of themselves, to enhance their self-respect, and to assure them that modernity can be achieved through their own efforts and the efforts of their own government. The Third World has, therefore, its own story to tell the Western World: its own heritage, and its own modernity.

Thus, absolutism is also a way of achieving a show window effect of advertising the nation in the global village, or a way of responding to the international travel boom. In this case, it can be seen that a modernized, global economy benefits traditionalism. These together tell us that tradition needs modernity and modernity needs tradition in order to fulfill one another.
The government knows this very well and deliberately manipulates both, as we saw in the previous section. But more importantly, the government officials use these themes of absolutism in their desperate search for their new meaning of existence in the new era of the nation, because they know that government is relatively unstable and not very popular among the people. Important is the fact that governments in many Third World countries are not necessarily officially elected by a majority of the people.

Thus, visibility of the new image is very important for the government. The government needs to be visible when it wants to demonstrate its ability and portray a good image. As we discussed briefly in Section I, the physical manifestation in state buildings, olympic facilities, a national heritage center and so on, is one of the effective tools to make the government visible.

On the other hand, the government wants to be invisible when there is a danger of being criticized. A good example of this is that government officials promote anonymity because
it provides insulation for the government. Consider the case of mass housing: who is the mass? Does the government identify those who represent the mass? The mass, in fact, is nothing more than anonymous character that allows the government to escape, momentarily from its burden, its ignorance, or its own inability to govern.

The need for absolutism increases with the government’s visibility in its search for identity. Here a search for identity is a continuous process of legitimation: when the government justifies in public what it has done, it is engaged in the process of identifying its image, power, and authority.
B. Reference Model

a) Utilitarian approach with regionalism:

Examples:

- Site and services projects or upgrading projects and other regional development.

Tenets:

- The use of local materials and crafts.
- The use of local solutions for protection against weather.
- Integration of available regional resources into the main design in fulfilling modern function.

In Indonesia, but modern technology can sometimes improve indigenous techniques.
b) Utilitarian approach with decoration:

Examples:

Sometimes in modern housing projects in the Third World, and in many other individual building projects or post-modern design buildings.

Tenets:

* Mainly for visual references to traditional motives in modern design.
* Fairly individualistic or stylized approach coming purely from personal taste, interpreting and utilizing traditional or regional elements.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING OF NIGERIA, DESIGNED BY KENZO TANGE - ALTHOUGH ARCHITECTS TRY TO UTILIZE THE SAME TRADITIONAL MOTIFS, THE PROCESS OF UTILIZATION AND ABSTRACTION CAN OFTEN LEAD THEM TO DIFFERENT PRODUCTS.
people in the reference model argue, in general, on the
grounds of the meaning of art, that the demand for tradi-
tionalism is often the result political aspirations or
religious fervor and not so much due to the inherent demands
of art. And they continue to argue that the professionals
can go only so far in satisfying these demands without
altering their main designs.

Reference-model adherents believe that the best form
which design can take is regionalism: the use of local
material, crafts and solutions for protection against sun,
rain, wind and dust. These will all be integral to the
development. Any superficial imposition of traditional
architectural features, simply because they are found in old
historical monuments, would be ill-advised.
In the reference model, the traditional element is regarded as only one of many considerations in the development process. Since tradition is considered a reference point in the main concept of development, traditionalism cannot be ideologized and it is not analogous to the main philosophy of development.

They do, however, admit the necessity of consideration of regional solutions as a reference in recognizing that there might be valuable local resources, which can be supportive in fulfilling their main design concept because they believe tradition is not a matter of ideology but a matter of resources.

Thus, according to this model, regional identity does not necessarily come from traditionalism, but it comes about when there are appropriate idioms for expressing the main concept of development with respect to today's given contexts. For instance, a housing project in a particular area must express the idiom inherent in that environment, an idiom that springs from the people's own process of preserving
identity, because identity lies in the expression of a people's values in a given present context.

Thus, people in this model try to resolve the conflicts (attention and reaction to modernity) by ignoring the ideology of traditionalism or by simplifying the process of understanding and utilizing traditional values. On top of this, since different professionals can have different points of reference regarding traditional elements due to their individual tastes, the result is a fairly individualistic approach to interpreting or abstracting traditional values.

Altogether, this implies that a particular identity of the philosophy of development at a particular point in time and place is more crucial than regional identity. And this implication leads those in the reference-model camp to be more concerned with what the particular project means for the given context. This identification of meaning involves an act of legitimization; they justify the identity of a particular development by claiming that it fulfills regional identity because they believe that all projects are, in fact,
regional, meaning that each project has its own region which contains its own tradition and modernity.

Autonomy of a particular development is, therefore, considered critical in preserving a regional identity. To people in the reference model, quite openly, this autonomy tends to be a public recognition of a regional identity, meaning that they claim the autonomy or identity of a particular development in order to gain public acceptance for it in the name of fulfilling a regional identity.

Although the architects claim that each design seeks its own regional identity, through the introduction of the tradition of "patio," the design idioms in essence are identical to one another. Rather it can be said that the designers' particular style or autonomy manifests its identity.
C. Continuity Model

Examples:

Some new town or capital city projects, Asian game housing and many other local individual attempts in the Third World.

Numerous examples are also found in the work of Robert Stern Leon Krier, Maurice Culot, Manfredo Tafuri, Aldo Rossi, Charles Moore and Gordon Cullen in the West.

Tenets:

* Positive notes drawn from a meaningful part of culture.
* Architecture perpetuated in culture through time.
* History made visible in the environment in order to lay out meaning.
* Added amenities
  - Visual pleasure
  - Energy control
  - Functional satisfaction.
In contrast to the modernistic rationalist's effort to break with the past and to create an international artistic idiom, the adherents of the philosophy of the continuity model concentrate on establishing a link between their architecture and that of the past or on maintaining national features.

Undoubtedly, there are advantages too numerous to count in the transformation of mankind into a closely knit community, and of this earth into a "global village," thanks to advances in modern technology. But continuity-model supporters have realized the disadvantages in so far as this transformation imposes uniformity on our life styles and physical environment.

When Seoul, Peking, Bombay, and New York begin to take the form of the same jungle of steel and concrete, and impose their dull monotony on the life of the people, some valuable element is lost which has made life meaningful and pleasurable in the past. To adherents of the continuity model, modern technology is regarded with suspicion as a cold,
forbidding power that threatens to destroy beauty, goodness, comfort, and warm life.

It was this concern that has led some minds, naturally, to become concerned at the overshadowing of indigenous traditions in the Third World by development from the West. After independence, public and residential buildings in many developing countries began to be designed by engineers in government service, as there were no trained architects. As native architects returned after their training abroad, since there were no local schools, they began to design buildings in the Western style.

Attention was drawn to contradictory pressures under which some of the many developing countries were working; these professionals had been trained in Western schools but still had the urge to respond to local cultural needs and aspirations. While they have conceded that technologically and culturally no one can live in isolation, and while they recognize that an appropriate idiom must certainly be found for buildings of our time, they also insist that without
deep roots in one's own culture and the heritage of the people, it is not possible to sustain a creative life.

People in this camp have declared that, in this context, new manifestations of architecture and other art forms are inevitable. In this connection, they have expressed strong support in favor of developing a local architecture and of using elements of traditional architecture and crafts which are often valid even today.
In the continuity model, traditionalism has an ideological significance in the development process and in terms of the meaning of development. These people think of modern elements as mere technical references to the main theme of the ideology of traditionalism, whereas the traditional elements are considered to be the necessary sources of the ideology of development.

As proponents of local identity, they insist that a particular project at a particular place should be a mirror of regional identity, in the conviction that the meaning of a particular development cannot be appreciated without fulfilling and reflecting regional identity in the context of the particular history of the region. People in this camp declare that in this context, the autonomy of regional identity and the collective meaning of the region are essential than those of the individual identity of the project.
INTERIOR OF MOORE HOUSE DESIGNED BY CHARLES MOORE - THE MEANING OF RITUAL HAS BEEN MADE VISIBLE IN A SIMILAR FORM.

CIBORIUM FROM THE CHURCH OF SANTO TEFANO, ITALY.

RESIDENTIAL DESIGNS BY ROBERT STERN - UNLIKE SOME ARCHITECTS, STERN SEeks TO CREATE FAMILIAR LOOKING BUILDINGS THAT WILL PLEASE ORDINARY PEOPLE.

OFFICE BLDG., IN WASHINGTON, D.C. DESIGNED BY FRANK FURNESS.

OFFICE BLDG. UNDER CONSTRUCTION, IN BOSTON, DESIGNED BY THE AUTHOR.
Thus, the use of traditionalism is justified in the name of preserving regional identity. Individual development is carried out to maintain the legitimacy of regional identity such a way that the project will be acknowledged as "a legitimate mark" of symbolizing or claiming a collective identity of larger order.

**NOTES ON THE SYNTHESIS OF FORM, CHRISTOPHER ALEXANDER** - Architects may succeed to identify and further develop typical elements which compose a whole. But the problem is that the elements may not contain personal meanings of life and evolution, thus the abstract elements can not be relevant to people and the environment, whose physical elements can't be separated from the meaning.
From this brief review of people's perceptions, behavior or norms, one theme has emerged: the theme of legitimacy. Despite the diversity in the way people deal with conflicts (reaction and attention to modernity) and in the search for identity, there is one behavior uniquely identifiable and equally noticeable among them: the act of legitimation. One model, consequently, is relevant: the model of legitimacy.

The act of people's search for identity is, essentially, a process of personal legitimation which involves an act of understanding the differences between them and the world. When we feel a sense of identity, it means that we are claiming territory where we can exercise our own rights. We have our own authority over our behavior and norms in territory. We have some sense of meaning in action. We are able to protect our lives. We are able to differentiate ourselves from others by our own way of understanding the differences between us and others.
In this process of understanding, there is a constant interaction between individual identity and collective or anonymous identity. Individual identity has to do with a clear territoriality of boundary such as a person, government, company or community. By contrast, collective or anonymous identity refers to much broader ambiguous or symbolic contexts on the national, cultural or social level, or it is seen as a counterpart to individual identity. In other words, it is something that the individual differentiates from or associates with him or herself.

By comparing or weighing themselves against the collective identity, people, in fact, effect the process of identification. Though it is a simultaneous process, this identification is a counter-balancing act; unless we define others, we cannot define ourselves. The reason I define collective identity as a broader and anonymous context is because people tend to compare themselves with something larger, more popular, higher, or with a somewhat vague social-cultural entity.
For example, when a government seeks its identity, the officials invariably associate its identity with the nation's identity - what we call nationalism. In other words, the government's identity is justified in the name of preserving nationalism, or the national identity, so that its particular behavior or norms in search of its own identity is legitimized in the name of ensuring the nation's power and independence. It is like the act of a religious person who justifies his own particular actions in the name of fulfilling God's will.

The act of legitimation is valid also on a personal level. People's act of identification starts with understanding the difference between themselves and others or between themselves and the collective identity, or society's popular value. With respect to the understanding of the difference, the act of identification involves two types of behavior in the process of legitimation: differentiation and association.
If people are in a position of differentiation, they tend to legitimize their own ideas and actions as opposed to those of others. On the other hand, they want to identify themselves with others and share current norms or behavior in society in the process of association. They justify an act of association as a sense of belonging to a larger group, as necessary for survival, or as a demonstration of the ability that they can achieve or enjoy power or prestige similar to that of an upper-level group of people.

The act of differentiation and association applies also to professionals. Attention is often drawn to contradictory pressure under which many of them are working; these professionals become influenced by the surge of "international culture" of architectural trends but have the urge to preserve the culture of their own style.

Thus, the tension may lie in establishing a link between their style and that of the international idiom and in maintaining their legitimacy. We might wonder how
professionals develop a culture of their own, how this intersects with the larger, international community and what effect it has on professional disciplines in their search for identity.

A STEEL MILL OR A HOSPITAL IS SO WEDDED TO ITS FUNCTION THAT THERE IS NO ROOM FOR EMBELLISHMENTS DRAWN FROM LOCAL, REGIONAL OR TRADITIONAL MOTIFS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF HIGH NATIONAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE, SUCH AS PRESIDENTIAL PALACES, MUSEUMS, PARLIAMENT HOUSES AND THEATERS, IN WHICH ONE LOOKS FOR A LOCAL TOUCH AND FOR A VISUAL EMBODIMENT OR SOME REFLECTION OF PEOPLE'S CULTURAL ASPIRATIONS.

FURTHERMORE, THERE IS AN ARCHITECTURE OF VILLAGE HUTS, SHACKS AND SHOPS WHICH TAKES A BACK SEAT TO THE UTILITARIAN AND TRADITIONAL TYPES OF ARCHITECTURE FOR PRESSING IMMEDIATE NEEDS HAVE TO BE MET WITH THE MOST MEAGER MATERIAL. IT WILL BE A WHOLLY VERNACULAR CONSTRUCTION, ALTHOUGH SOME OF IT MAY NOT ASPIRE TO THE STATUS OF ARCHITECTURE.
CHAPTER II - THE MODEL OF LEGITIMACY

Introduction

In the previous chapter, by simply observing people’s perceptions, behavior and norms both in everyday and professional environment, I was able to take a glimpse of which attributes of people’s search for identity are related to the act of legitimation. However, this rather intuitive and narrative approach alone has led me to a rich image of the theme of legitimacy.

At this time I am particularly interested in identifying the legitimation behavior as characterized by four tenets: defending, justifying, defining and claiming. My purpose is to structure the characteristics of the process of legitimation in people's search for identity in order to understand its complexity and potentiality, so that I will be able to elaborate the legitimacy model.
In addition, I am concerned with issues involved in the process of legitimation: are any legitimate symbols or rituals employed? How do people legitimize their territoriality? At what moment do they assume a different type of legitimation behavior or legitimacy? Overall, the underlying assumption is that the theoretical model of legitimacy will help us to understand in depth the way people search for their identities in the process of change.

In Section I, I will describe four tenets inherent to the legitimation behavior. Rather than simply analyzing them one by one, I will look at the dynamics of this behavior with respect to a concept of territoriality and stability which is central to the theme of legitimacy in the process of search for identity. The issues are the origin of territoriality, maintenance, recovery and expansion of territoriality and preservation of stability.

In Section II, based on the definition of the act of legitimation, I will review three different types of legitimacy: legitimacy of the officials, professionals and
ordinary people. I will look at how each group seeks and maintains its own legitimacy in the process of its search for identity. Also, I will trace how each group's legitimacy is related to the others' and how each perceives and deals with others' legitimacy in the development process.

Finally, in Section III, I will examine the implications of the model by way of reviewing three chosen movies which I believe contain several themes central to this thesis. The issues are: types of legitimacy, the relationship between legitimacies, identity and stability with respect to types of change (change versus no change, tradition versus modernity), and certainty versus uncertainty. I think the implications of this model will generate several central themes and, thus, allow me to arrive at "a reinforced theoretical model of legitimacy" in the next chapter.
Section I. Describing an Act of Legitimation

- Existence in Legitimation

An act of legitimation can be characterized by four tenets:

* Defining and identifying a territory.
* Claiming and seeking authority, autonomy or self-determination over a territory or life.
* Defending and protecting a particular position, territory or life.
* Justifying a particular behavior or particular norms.

These four tenets are not necessarily precisely separable because they tend to come together or one often follows, or reinforces, the other. A particular situation may demand a particular set of tenets. Thus, it is not always easy to figure out which comes first because usually collective measures are taken in the legitimation process.

There are two important concepts in explaining an act of legitimation; one is territoriality and the other is stability. People define their territory continually
throughout life - fencing their backyards, positioning the main gate, setting goals, identifying the scope of decision-making at work. But they also want to govern the territory themselves - decorating the gate, arranging interiors, watering the lawn, executing a plan at work. Thus, territory is continuously marked in public not just by visual or spatial means, but also by social, psychological, behavioral and cultural norms.

Territoriality is measured relative to the degree of stability. Just as a body is to a soul, so territoriality is to stability. One the other hand, territoriality is a state relative to the outside environment but it is a dynamic concept. Territory is a sphere of action or thought or an area under the jurisdiction of a nation, rules, or an occupant.

Stability is a continuous adaptation to change. In fact, the behavior of an organic unit is probably an attempt to maintain the stability of a subjective world by continuous adaptation. Thus, legitimation is not just a
manifestation of one's own legitimate power but also a response to the legitimate power of others or to an outside environment. This further confirms that adaptation is a continuous interaction between territories or between a territory and an environment.

Another aspect of territoriality and stability is the fact that maintaining territoriality and stability is a continuous process of personalization and identification of territory. As in the case of wild animals, it is like people's marking a main gate with flowers or sculptures as the season changes, or decorating a face, as in the case of an African villagers. People personify the impersonal and identify what they own for the purpose of claiming, defining, and protecting their territory.

On the other hand, people are in a process of a continuous identification of others; people recognize others by their legitimate marks. It is a way of communicating with each other and of adapting to an outside environment in the process of interaction.
Overall, based on these concepts of territoriality and stability, I will characterize people's search for identity as existence in legitimation. The way people define, defend or justify their territory is rich and diverse. For example, in many cases this process involves symbols or rituals; when people position a main gate they use their own legitimate symbols to decorate it. In some parts of the world, when people buy or build their own houses they request that a community priest execute rituals so that the gods will protect the territory and the home.

Other similar examples are often found in a government's public activity as we will see in Section II. The officials ritualize the way the government and public meet together for the purpose of legitimizing a government's particular behavior and norms or of defending its position relative to a particular situation that it faces.

Another issue has to do with whether or not people have an origin of territory or original territory and how to define it and who defines it. If people know what their
origin of territory is, then presumably it allows them to more easily determine how to seek authority or secure self-determination over a given territory. Thus, in this case, a successive measure of defending a territory can become a less difficult task for them.

However, when people are lost or forget their origin of territory and if they try to recover or recapture it, it then becomes relatively difficult to define the new territory. Thus the recovery of territory involves a very determined act of justification and the people's position becomes fairly defensive or reactionary. In this case, how to first arrive at a sense of origin will be a crucial task.

There is yet another dimension to territoriality: expansion of territory. This process requires, in particular, an act of defending a particular position and justifying a particular behavior or particular norms.

Again, these explanations seem rather arbitrary to some degree because in reality, several behavioral tenets may occur together, interacting and shaping each other, so that
the outcome of the manifestation may not be easily recognizable in the end. However, the idea here is to identify individual parts to understand the whole better. The implication here is that a better understanding of particular behaviors will require a better perspective on different modes of dealing with territoriality, such as maintaining, recovering, or expanding territoriality.
Section II. Understanding Three Types of Legitimacy
  - Existence in Legitimacy

In this section, confining my study only to government officials, professionals and ordinary people as the main heroes in this thesis, based on the concepts of the legitimation behavior, I will examine three different types of legitimacy with respect to the image, constraints and boundary of each. Also, I will look at how people assume and perceive different types of legitimacy and how these behaviors are related to their search for identity in the development process.
A. Officials: Legitimacy of Bureaucraticism

The search for identity of a new government is well expressed in the struggle for its own legitimacy. The officials are the most self-conscious group in terms of legitimacy in that they are representing the public; they are the prime agency of modernization and nation building. They are the group which can compete internationally with other nations. They are the group which, as a representative voice of the people, can fight for a nation's autonomy and independence from developed countries or Westernity.

Besides these responsibilities or burdens, as I already mentioned in Chapter I, many governments in the Third World are concerned with their uncertain power, their lack of a concrete image as new governments, and their lack of popularity. Thus, what they do, as a result, is to impose and imprint the new images of their own identities on people's minds in the legitimation process. They define
their identity as if it is an inevitable consequence of an historical process; in other words, they publicly announce that the people and the nation needed the advent of a new government.

This statement looks quite "legitimate," but notice that in order to identify their territory, officials introduce environment(nation), meaning that they assume or believe that the environment needs their territory(government) because they want to legitimize the fact that they are representing the people and nation. This process involves an act of justification in a manner that they associate their identity of a new government with that of a new nation.

With this logic, it becomes easier for them to defend their position quite openly, when there is outside criticism towards them. By doing so, the government officials are skillfully crossing the boundaries between maintaining and expanding territories.

Now, in the process of defending, defining, justifying and claiming territoriality, the government officials use
symbols or rituals in state building projects or in public meeting between governments and people or in foreign dealings at large, in order to legitimize their norms and behavior in the particular situations they face.

In the next part, under the title "visit to ritual," I will describe how the government ritualizes its relationship with the public in the process of legitimation. Here, I intend to use this case as a generic model. Thus, the particular title of a public meeting could be anything as long as it is related to the public relationship. In this particular case, the meeting is about corruption.
Visit to Ritual

Shortly after I pass through the main gate, a dazzling poster on the facing wall, which cries out "forum of dialogue for the progressive future," and pulls at my near-sighted eyes. Next, one question that immediately comes to my mind is why there are so many plainclothesmen, although well-dressed with business suits, wandering around the corridor.

The meeting seems to have started a little while before I go in. On the high platform protected by two flags and Mr. President's picture and flattered by flowers, placards and maps, it appears that the two keynote speakers are presenting a brief review of "corruption," including fact, cases, history, public misconception, criticism, bad rumors, misinformation, distrust in public policy, and so on.

In front of me, there are about thirty strained-looking participants, sitting like students on the hard-backed steel chairs. On my left, in the center, there are a couple of ladies dressed in traditional costumes, watching for the
smells of prey: wines, juices, cookies and cokes blessed by candlelight and smoke.

Immediately following the speakers' hour-long presentation, teas, coffees and beverages are served for all the participants in such a surprisingly quiet manner that I can hear only the sound of sipping. Unlike these blessed people with candles, prey and the teachers' preaching, observers like myself feel like we should pretend not to observe the situation but try to look at something else, hoping to get away from this sudden, awkward moment of solemnity.

Although I feel abandoned or ignored, the actors force me and other observers to observe their play. When the brief and quiet announcement finally relieves me of this unforeseen tension, I and, possibly other observers too, praise god for this blessing.

When the discussion starts, I begin to realize that there is more wonder to come. The observers are again forced to smell the heat of the enthusiasm and commitment of the actors. The magnetic power of the heat makes us feel like
mimicking the way "the blessed" are chanting; raising hands, clapping, laughing, yelling and staring. The discussion is good because everybody feels totally exhausted in the end, including the priests who see the job is well done.

But I know, I swear to my god that the participants are not discussing anything because they are not responding to each other. But we, observers must bathe in the heat: exhaustion, the symbol of the blessing of the God of our nation. The exhaustion leads us to a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment.

At the closing of the meeting, of course, there is a thanksgiving festival with champagne and laughs exploding in the sky of the future. And there is one last message: do not criticize the teachers. They are helping you. Thus, you should support and respect them. Just pray to God for his having the teachers take good care of you and for being exhausted and happy at last.
A Measure of Audience Response to the Speakers

The participants appear to be engaged in discussion, but actually they are not, because they are not responding to each other; rather than facing, criticizing or analyzing arguments or questions, they just keep describing their opinions or justifying their positions. They are talking to the air of nobody. It is only a one-way communication.

Then the question is why they act in such a manner. My guess is that some of them might be afraid of being exposed to the government by their excessive criticism. Or others already might have realized, even before coming to the meeting, that there will be no answer for the "corruption" problems and thus, they pretend just to play along in the meeting. But still I wonder why they have come to the meeting.
Reasons for People's Coming to the Meeting

It appears to be that many of the participants might have been invited forcefully by the council's "cordial-looking" letter. This group of people, in general, tends to speak well of the government. But there is another group who has not been invited officially, but might have been interested in this kind of topic. Lastly, there are others who have not been invited but in fact, have come to the meeting because they have found it extremely interesting to see how such an authoritarian government could possibly hold a public meeting on such a sensitive issue as corruption. But these last two groups of people must realize that they were not invited by the officials and must be careful not to expose their true views on that matter.

So the participants, in their speaking style, appear to be cynical. Therefore, the languages used by the three groups often becomes symbolic. However, the symbols, in fact, do reflect reality: to survive, avoid truth, and admit the
complexity of problems and the prevalence of pessimism. The reason the participant's response tends to be symbolic is, I think, that they are very well aware of what metaphors the speakers are going to employ and what the metaphors signify as well.

* The Speakers' Metaphors

The position of the speakers, during the presentation and discussion, appears to indicate that they are willing to discuss any issues of "corruption." So the form of the meeting can be an open discussion but the function of it, in fact, is a justification of the government's norms and behaviors and a further threaten of cracking down on any criticism or opposition.

The participants know the discrepancy between the form and the function of the meeting; they know symbol and reality. And so does the government; the officials borrow the form of democratic discussion only to meet their needs of
legitimizing their often unjustifiable behavior. As we have seen above, the fact that there is a discrepancy between what people think and how people act gives birth to a rich variety of symbols.

* Symbols in the Event

There are, I think, at least two major symbols in this event. First, freedom restrained within invisible fence. Earlier, I described the physical atmosphere of the event, that of an open democratic discussion within invisible protective barriers. Here participants can even be lions running as in an endless field, but they are, in fact, behind the well-protected fence. They are welcome to discuss anything they want as long as they acknowledge the government is protecting people's lives and freedom.

These conflicting realities lead to a second symbol. The government, in fact, openly encourages the public to participate in the free discussion because the officials
want to demonstrate that they work for democracy and welcome any criticism. Thus, the participants use a form of public discussion as a symbol of a free society and a democratic government.

But what about the people behind the fence? Some of them are, in fact, using this form of discussion as a symbol of commitment and devotion to society and the government. Unless they accept blindly the government's behavior, or do not know what is going on in the state, or are committed to openly criticizing the government, they should pretend to agree with the government's position and to work for society and the government.
* Summary

I think this public event can be described as a "ritual" from the following evidence. First, there is an invisible authority to be worshipped by people. The authority can be the state's legitimacy or the symbolic power of the nation created by the government. Here the government wants to show that it protects people and requires people's devotion to it.

Second, there are priests, messengers of the authority. They teach and force people to be sympathetic to what the government does.

Third, one's behavior while involved in this act of worship tends to be excessively emotional, patriotic or loyal. It makes even non-followers feel like being absorbed into it or becoming involved with it. And the form, procedure of the involvement, tends to be formal or religious. It makes people feel a sense of awe in the face of authority.
Fourth, this movement creates *symbolic meaning* in people's behavior and norms. But myth and reality dance together.

Fifth, in this kind of meeting, the government wants to create a *myth* in order to deceive the general public; the government uses it to screen its misconduct, or to free itself of the reality or problems that it cannot handle or understand. Also, the officials want to make mystical their authority or legitimacy and, in turn, force people to worship it.
B. Professionals: Legitimacy of Professionalism

This group of people tends to have specialized educations, such as in the architectural or planning disciplines. When they enter school they start to forget the fact that they were once ordinary human beings. Consequently, they have lost the language that has enabled them to be associated with the world and have become alienated from within. Then, just as they suddenly become conscious of being professionals as opposed to non-professionals, so the world is newly born a part as self-conscious (professionals) and unself-conscious (non-professionals).

Professionals suddenly are willing to draw, without any reluctance, the line between expertise and the ordinary, the line which brings them the joy of using professional jargon which, not surprisingly, they are proud of. In working for ordinary people, professionals consequently pretend that they are not people like ordinary people. This notion in turn allows professionals to justify the fact that it is
their obligation to use or demonstrate professional expertise in front of ordinary people in order to impress them. As they believe that is what makes professionals "real" professionals, so they want to differentiate themselves from other people.

There are two models of the professionalism. In the first model, professionals believe they can help people. Professionals in the second model believe they can solve people's problems and they believe that they have an exclusive obligation to work for the people.

In the first model, in a large sense, the professionals view their roles as facilitators in the process of development, where they want assist people in defining and maintaining their territory and identity, rather than impose upon them a professional territory and identity.

Their major concern is to facilitate or bring about a general agreement among concerned people. Rather than imposing their own professional value judgement or image of prestige, they try to communicate with ordinary people to
understand what they need and how to help each other. It is also a concern of the professionals in this model that they create opportunities in which they can bring valuable resources and ideas to concerned people and make the best use of them.

In creating opportunities, these professionals are interested in identifying a large framework which people can continually mobilize by themselves in the process of shaping their own environment. But they make sure that the larger framework is not a constraint but a facilitating tool, meaning that this framework cultivates people's new insights into sharing certainty and uncertainty in the world; the professionals are concerned with developing people's awareness of responsibility and communication.

In sum, the professionals of this model identify their territory by helping people define or maintain their own territory and gain further authority over the territory, so that their professional legitimacy is being shaped in the process of facilitating people's legitimacy.
In the narrow sense of the first model, the professionals tend to remain as technical advisers or resources. For example, some community architects merely fulfill their duties in helping people with technical matters like construction techniques and maintenance problems.

Since their duties are clearly defined, their territory is very clear. Thus, the sense of legitimacy for them might be a weaker or dependent one because it is defined by the environment they serve. It is only when people in the environment ask for specific advice from the professionals that they play a role. It does not necessarily mean that their role is not important, but a narrow sense of legitimacy can be applied to this group of professionals.

In terms of the second model, the professionals share the ambition that they can solve the problems of society, or believe that they have an obligation to correct society's difficulties, by expecting or forcing the public to believe in their expertise. This group of people has a clear sense of boundary between professionals and non-professionals and
of the sharp distinction that makes the professionals' image stand out.

What professionals become, in fact, is an embodiment of professional autonomy in the process of their own identification, where they seek and claim their legitimacy in meeting society's needs. They launch their professional trip to the "troubled" world of the ordinary by defining a clear boundary between their territory and the environment that they serve, so that a relationship of problem solver(professionals) and problem maker(ordinary persons or users) will be kept alive throughout the journey.

They justify their demonstration of professionalism in the name of maintaining an identity of their own which allows them, in turn, to establish stability; they secure stability by maintaining their professional legitimate autonomy and by controlling the process of making things happen.
C. Ordinary People: Legitimacy of the Ordinary

The majority of ordinary people have known for a long time how to create their own world. Nonetheless, quite openly professionals fail to realize that more than eighty percent of the built environment in today's world has been created by this group of people. This oversight is also confirmed in our observation that professionals and officials tend to often underestimate the people's potential to control their own territory, or they may suffer from an overly defined sense of obligation to determine people's lives.

In fact, ordinary people have been caught in the middle of two legitimacies: professional and official. Both could have led to the creation of masterpieces, but too often they have not been able to recognize the potential of the people and have failed to strengthen people's control over their lives and territory. When non-professionals tell a naive story of their own, professionals are mystified in their masterpieces which need to be played as noble and often as
possible in the "theater" of professionalism.

In the educational as well as work environment of the theater, these professionals think that ordinary people are hardly capable of educating professionals because they have been brainwashed that they have a responsibility or ability to educate non-professionals. This sense of arrogance and the prestige of professionalism have been hidden under the guise of solemn obligation and responsibility.

Due to this blind-minded sense of obligation and denial of cross-learning between non-professionals and professionals, they have often failed to deal with, the transformation of the environment or future projection. Professional criteria might have set a design and building standard but have not been able to allow users to meet the changing needs of life and the environment. In other words, professionals do not often recognize that when building construction is over, people's lives begin.

1. HOUSE IN ATHENS - A GLIMPSE OF THE FUTURE.
2. HOUSE IN PERU - THE FUTURE ACCOMPLISHED.
3. ARCADES, CZECHOSLOVAKIA - DIFFERENT ELEMENTS AND SIMILAR PATTERNS.
Most important of all, often in the name of a professional, quality work and faster service, these ordinary people have had the legitimacy taken out of their territory. Professionals have not paid enough attention to the fact that people's own legitimacy is the one which would lead to their successful building of the world. The enough attention has not led to the recognition that who owns and controls the people's territory. It is certainly not professional legitimacy and image that determine people's lives and create meaning of their lives.

In sum, professionals consider a building a product, but people's lives which are contained in a building, are continuously involved in a process of existence and a struggle for maintenance of identity and meaning. Their lives create existence in legitimation; they need to defend and define their territory and claim their autonomy and authority over their territory for the stability of their own lives of self-realization.
Section III. Implication of the Theory of Legitimacy

Life begins with the understanding of meaning in existence. A sense of meaning is obtained when people can make their own decisions and experience their goals being fulfilled. Perhaps the form of sensing the meaning differs among people; while some may have a sense of achievement or happiness, others may be disappointed with the results, but they can still be satisfied as long as they appreciate the fact that they have tried their best. Thus, their lives still go with meaning.

This life long process of searching for meaning involves an act of confirmation. This act in search of identity is an existence in legitimation. When people sense legitimacy over their environment, it means they are in a process of self-realization, confirming a state of determination and control over their lives and territory.

A legitimate power allows them to establish stability in this process. On the other hand, the fact that each has his own legitimacy implies that there will be conflicts
among different legitimacies of people because defining territory, by definition, causes the involvement of different parties.

Thus, existence in legitimation has conflicting implications on different levels. I am introducing three movies in order to examine the complexity of these implications. The reason for introducing a movie is because it is one manifestation of the everyday environment where my main theme of the thesis is laid out to appreciate the complexity and the potential of the ordinary. Like the everyday environment, a movie house is the place where all kinds and classes of people come to enjoy one story but to project their own images of it on their own screens.

A movie symbolizes the everyday environment, because it tells a lot of stories in its narrative that are easily accessible and meaningful, and seemingly interpenetrative through the power of familiarity, attachment or memory in their infinity, wonder and mystery.
In "Children of a Lesser God," there was a teacher who had ability, ambition and a strong sense of obligation that he should teach a deaf-mute how to speak. Besides professional experience, he had remarkable courage and enthusiasm and scientific ideas about how to make deaf-mutes speak. He was more than ready to devote his whole life, through his thought and ingenuity to changing misfortune into fortune. He believed in his theory and energy. This man of change, in the end, collided with the woman of no-change.

In fact it was here beauty and her personality, which refused to accept changes, that tempted the teacher and finally made him fall in love with her. They both loved with their hearts. But, he endlessly challenged her unacceptance, unwillingness, antagonism, and solitude, in trying to convince her that she could speak if she was willing to learn from him, and in trying to impress upon her that it would give her a new and happy life; normality. He made an extreme effort to change her in the name of his love for her.
However, she did not accept his challenge. She denied any effort and theory, not because she did not love him or believe in his ingenuity and courage, but because she needed her own legitimacy to control her own life and destiny. It was not so much her concern that she would not make a sound with her mouth. Rather, it was her urgent concern and desperate hope that she should have her own identity to have the meaning to create and the stability to enjoy.

She begged and finally persuaded him not try to change people but to accept people as they were. Her point was that we should not try to change another person's world but should try to understand and communicate with people. She told the teacher the fact that he and she were in love meant that they were communicating very well with each other; the fact that she could use her lips to make sound could not make her normal, but the fact that they could love and communicate brought her normality; that is, meaning and happiness in life.
The fact that they both loved each other did not prevent them from feeling the lack of normal life. This was emphasized by the fact that he could enjoy listening to Bach's cantata, but she never could. He could not deny that she would never be able to feel the joy of sound and she would never experience it. This reality hurt him deeply and made him frustrated and afraid of the world.

It was, more so, out of extreme curiosity and willingness to understand him and his love of music, when she asked him to explain to her how he felt the music, that he became again terribly sad; it was difficult for him to accept and understand that someone was incapable of feeling the beauty of music that he so much loved.

However, it was when he happened to see her naked and swimming alone deep in a school pool, glimmering in the light, that he found he could not enjoy the feeling of deep silence, intimate contact, sensual touch and close attachment between body and water that she had loved so much for a long time. He finally realized that water and touch gave meaning
and beauty to her, as music and sound gave to him.

After he failed to teach her, the relationship was broken off, but then they met again. At this time, there was a new relationship between them. There was an awareness of a new mentality. It was not one of change versus no-change. A new relationship was possible when both trusted one another; trust their individual worlds, meaning and identity.

It was a new insight into consciousness in responsibility and communication that strengthened their relationship, built on trust. It was when they were responsible for their own lives and determination and were willing to communicate with each other that there was love between them.

It was a happy ending because he decided not to change her; he accepted her as she had been and would be. He decided to help her preserve her own legitimacy for stability in her life and world. It was also, a happy ending because she decided to come back to him for a new love.
In "Out of Africa," there was a woman who loved exploring the world, creating adventures and challenging uncertainty. So she, from Denmark, with her rich husband, went to Africa. She was a woman of beauty, intelligence, enthusiasm, courage, and ambition.

But more than that, she was a woman of change. She wanted to change the old world to the new. However, her image of the new was, in fact, based on Westernity which her life had relied on. She believed that old, less developed societies should learn a new, advanced civilization.

Thus, she built a school where Western people taught Africans Western language. She introduced Western medicine to take care of sick people. She showed her African servants how to serve and prepare meals in the Western way. She let them read the Bible and follow Christianity. She wanted them to create a new artificial lake in her garden.
The old people, or people of out of date, as she called them, were not so much against her changes. The reason was not because they liked them, but because they were curious about what was happening. As time went by, they started having a feeling of suspicion towards change and felt uneasy about what the new things were doing to them. They started noticing that the new was disturbing their life and environment; their long traditions, heritage, common beliefs and old men's memories.

It became their concern that the new was destroying the stability that had been preserved for a thousand years. For example, when the children began to attend school, there were only few left for daily work at home and on the farm.

The villagers were forced to create a new lake for the woman's garden, despite their belief that water should always go free. When heavy rain came, the new lake collapsed and destroyed their land.
Sometimes, these Africans did not like to follow the ways of the woman, as when she forced a boy to make soup with her special device and not with the spoon which the villagers used traditionally, or when a boy did not accept her advice that he should see a doctor to treat his leg, believing instead that God's will would prevail.

Of course, there were some moments of reconciliation; the villager father went to the school and stood at the corner post with the woman. He then chopped the post with an axe at a certain height and said, "you can teach children up to this height in school; however, after that, they should stay home and work."

This was not the only conflict she had. There was a time when she started to fall in love with a new man. He had a similar ambition of exploring the new world. However, he did not necessarily feel that Westerners should change people in Africa. Thus, there was an ideological collision between the two. While dancing at the New Year's party, they exchanged, for the first time contrasting views.
She: "I brought things down here from Denmark."

He: "What is it?"

She: "It is an ambition. People in here should learn a new language."

He: "Whose ambition is it? They are not Ignorant. They have their own language to speak."

She: "Don't you think they should study and learn for a better life?"

He: "Why do you want to change their world? We are just passing through here."

He was uncultured, unsophisticated, and natural like wild flowers. He was full of mystery, passion, and purity. In fact, these attributes were what made her love him. However, when she tried to tame him in order to make him stay with her, there was a quarrel between them. To him, love did not necessarily mean interfering with individual freedom in life; whenever one wanted to leave, one could leave. Nobody belonged to anybody.
Then, came a crucial historic moment for her. Finally, the god of Africa was greatly enraged and came down to earth with a disastrous fire, and in one night destroyed the coffee factory she had built. A subsequent tragedy followed. Without fulfilling their burning love at last, her boyfriend was killed in a plane crash.

The moment he died in a country far away from her, there was a dreadful silence hovering over the land. Her servant stared deep into the distance as she looked at the small clock left, last, after she had sold all her furniture in the front yard. This silence was the last stability that the god wanted people to have. At her lover's funeral, she spoke, holding the Bible, "God knew he belonged neither to the earth nor to me or anybody."

It is when people feel a sense of loss that they come to understand the truth. However, I think the movie had a happy ending because the Africans recovered the stability that had kept them alive and peaceful, just as when she let the water in the lake go free at last. Also, the new
stability came to make her alive and peaceful once more and it came to be alive too in her memory in her last words, "Does Africa remember the soul of me?"
In "The Gods Must Be Crazy," there was a group of bushman in virgin land deep in Africa. They had lived a family-centered and communal life for a thousand years in a certain area. They were able to manage their lives and environment because their society was managed in small quantities: a small population, little houses, a few domestic animals, short trips, and a small territory.

They knew everybody and where the trees and birds were. Altogether, these factors had preserved stability in their lives and in their world. That is why they had survived for a long time. Identity, meaning, happiness, and peace were all kept in stability. But suddenly one day there was "a big bang" from the deep sky and they found a Coca-Cola bottle.

Of course, they were frightened immediately. As they talked, they felt better because they thought that it was a sign of God's love. As time went by, they realized that it
was really God's gift because they found it extremely useful: it made mashing potatoes much easier; they could fill it with water; it allowed them to shape dough for cakes; they could see a blue sky through it; and they could even make sound with it. The bottle was great and useful, and they felt grateful to their god for it.

However, they started noticing frequent quarrels and fights among the different families. Some justified their more frequent use of the bottle by arguing their lack of work hands. Some claimed ownership of it because they were older. Some wanted to use it right away because they did not have water.

Thus, the bottle built up tension among families. Young men trusted the bottle more than old men's wisdom and memory. Thus, it brought distrust and damaged the society's hierarchical structure. Together, these tensions started disturbing the stability which had allowed the bushmen to survive for so long.
Some concerned men took the bottle from others and tried to throw it high enough to reach the sky because they wanted god to take it back. However, the bottle came down again to the ground. As things got worse, one evening, the village father ordered a village meeting to discuss this matter.

It was a long night for everybody. However, they, for the first time, had a chance to look at the sky with shining stars and a holy moon. Through a long discussion with the blessing of the holy moon, they finally decided to bury the bottle deep in the ground. Thus, one dark night, the village father alone took it and walked for a long while, then buried it with prayers, somewhere deep in the bushland.

Unfortunately, he could not deceive children's eyes. These innocent creatures happened to find the bottle and began to play with it. Again it caused a lot of troubles. At this time, the village chief decided to take it to the end of the world, several mountains far, and throw it away.
When he was leaving, the village people asked god to bless his safe trip. When he came back, there was finally, again, peace, silence, love, care and happiness. It had not been god's will to disturb the sons' peace. It was god's will to return stability to the sons.
In concluding this chapter, I think there are several themes worth mentioning at this point. Legitimacy, identity and stability are all related to one another in the process of change in the manner that these interact with, shape and reinforce one another.

There are different types of legitimacy. For example, it can be differentiated according to the individual, communal or collective legitimacy. Some legitimacy comes with a demonstration of rules or orders, like the government's; some involves a sense of prestige or professionalism, like that of professionals.

In terms of change, there are different kinds of change; a predictable one, like the change in Movie A, or an unforeseen change, like that in Movie C. In Movie A, the girl observed for a long time the teacher's effort to improve handicapped students at school. For that reason, she knew, in fact, what was going to happen to her: that he would approach her sooner or later, so that she had enough time to prepare herself to cope with him. By contrast, in
Movie C, the village people took much time to realize how the bottle had influenced them.

In terms of old versus new, it is true that people tend to be interested in new things for a while. However, unless they can see that there is room for adapting the new into the current stability, or that the new does not disturb that stability, people might reject the new in various ways. People are also willing to reconcile themselves to the new under the condition that they have their own legitimacy to control it. Thus, dealing with change versus no-change, people struggle to adhere to their own legitimacy in making the appropriate changes which lead them to stability, a process in which identity is kept alive.

More importantly, people have two points of view for understanding the world; certainty and uncertainty. When people feel certain of what is in the world, they feel stable in managing their environment. In other words, the fact that they have their own legitimacy or stability in their lives and territory, and that they know what they have,
implies that there is certainty in their world. Thus, certainty has to do with a notion of familiarity and manageability. By maintaining these two, certainty enables people to begin to cope with uncertainty, and it strengthens their capacity to overcome uncertainty so that it will help people to preserve stability.
Altogether, these observations imply that although people in the everyday environment may be vulnerable to the new, or to a more dominating type of legitimacy, it is fortunate that people have a remarkable potential to cope. Thus, as we see in the movies, it is not necessarily true that to preserve one's identity is to go back to the old. In fact, people's struggle to adapt to the new often can strengthen the integrity of the old. The point is, rather, to gain legitimacy over the process of change and to effectively manage it.

Finally, if we understand that people's search for identity is an existence in legitimacy, we should be able to answer the two questions. First, which attributes of the model of legitimacy can help people attain or strengthen their ability to preserve their own identity? Second, what elements of this model cause conflict among people and, thus, what can be done to eliminate the drawbacks of this model? These problems will be the task that I would like to deal with in the next chapter.
CHAPTER III - THE ART OF LEGITIMATION

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analyzed people's search for identity with respect to the theoretical model of legitimacy. The model shows that people in search of identity are of existence in legitimacy and in legitimation. We found that a legitimate power is used as a way of balancing acts between two different legitimacies and between territory and outside environment; people use a legitimate power as a vehicle to identify and demonstrate or justify their norms and behavior in their search for identity and to recognize or communicate with others in the process of adaptation to change.

Also, we have realized that an issue of legitimacy alone cannot be a major theme in people's search for identity; we have learned to consider some other concepts related to the theme of this search: responsibility, communication, education, stability, security, certainty,
uncertainty, familiarity and manageability.

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to organize "a reinforced theoretical model of legitimacy." The underlying assumption here, as we observed in the previous chapter, is that the model of legitimacy in people's search for identity contains strengths and weakness to it. And also, several other issues central to the theme of identity are involved in complexity in the model, and it is of great importance to highlight the value of each.

Thus, in Section I, I will briefly contrast strengths and weaknesses in order to define in sum a constraint of each based on the review from the previous chapter. Then in Section II, I will draw up a set of conceptual themes which incorporate the two by further expanding the strength and hopefully eliminating the weakness of the model. However, most important of all, my objective here is not to invent a new model but to introduce new insights through the potential of the ordinary in people's search for identity.
Section I: Constraints of the Legitimacy Model

A. Strengths of the Model

One of the major strengths of this model has to do with the fact that achieving legitimacy allows people to claim ownership of their lives and environment. It assures people that they have a right to manage their own destiny in the world in the process of change. It encourages people and further expands their belief in their capacity to secure identity of their territory, maintain stability of their territoriality, and cope with uncertainty of the future.

Legitimacy becomes then the power that allows people to claim in public their norms, to justify their behavior and to protect their territory. At the same time, legitimate power helps people respond to the outside environment that they face in the process of adapting to change.

Thus, legitimacy is considered to be a central force in development, meaning that achieving legitimacy, though it cannot alone bring stability and preserve identity, is
a necessary condition which should be satisfied to maintain both at the same time in the process of human cultivation. Overall legitimate power brings new insights in people's mentality; it is a proclamation of a new mentality rather than an introduction of new technology. It is a new state of mind.
B. Weaknesses of the Model

To define a territory involves contact with the outside environment, where many different claims over a territory tend to exist. In this context, territory and environment interact, shape and define each other. For this reason, the concept of territoriality may be a relative one, because it depends on how we define the environment.

In other words, first, the environment is considered to be uncertain and territory to be certain because it has to do with a notion of familiarity; when people are familiar with their environment, it becomes a part of their certainty. Second, defining territory implies that someone can take advantage of the concept of relativity; some may try to impose their legitimacy on others' territory in the name of protecting their own territory. Also, the relative status of a legitimate power (level of capacity and degree of effectiveness) makes relative the definition of territory.
The question, then, is whose right is it to define territory and how that should be done. The question lies in our concern that the relativity of the state of legitimate power and territoriality may create complexity, instability and tension in protecting territory and managing relationships among territories, or between territory and environment.
Section II: The Themes of the Art

A set of themes is developed here in the hope that it will provide a conceptual foundation of a reinforced model of legitimacy for those who appreciate the strength and value of the ordinary. It is also built on the belief that the most fundamental problem for development today is not the expansion and refinement of a set of performance criteria, or even the invention of new forms, as important as these may be. It is rather the identification, appreciation and meaningful collaboration with ordinary people.

In order to achieve this, I consider the concept of education essential because I believe education is an embodiment of the future in present. Is it too naive to say that ordinary people send their sons and daughters to school for the presence of the future? The process of good education can exist everywhere between professionals and non-professionals, teachers and students, old and new, and developed and underdeveloped.
Let us suppose that proper education can be our new hope for the future in the everyday environment. That is why I wish to introduce new insights into our education, not to mention illuminating the fact that the concept of education will show us many important themes that will be discussed in the next part B.
A: The Story of the Campus City

* The Myth of the Two Boxes

Modern man has lost so much of his memory of myth. When mother told us a story, we believed it for a long time. And I hope we still do. So, let's hear a myth from our mother one more time. This time, it is for the future because it is a myth in the future, not in the past.

... And it is good. There is a night sky above us. There is a legend, a secret, a memory and maybe even a hope up there. We do not have to go to church to be of a religious mind. Just look up at the sky and read the darkness that is shining and blooming. There, a thousand smiles and wonders. Just ask a wind to take your dream through the Milky Way and pray for a dawn....
When there is a gleam of light, the three vagabonds get up early to find two strange boxes before them. They suddenly are afraid something is going to happen to them because they notice one box is closed and wonder what is inside. But they are less afraid when they know the other is open and vacant because they can see inside. When they see a key in the box, in their eyes reflects wonder: "Oh! there is a key!"

After catching a short breath, they start talking and discussing what they are going to do. One of them is a historian. He says, "Let's not open it. It may be a box of misfortune." The other is a mathematician. He says, "There may be nothing inside. It may be just another vacant box." The last is an engineer. He says, "Let's open it. There may be a compass."

The sky is losing its smiles. The East is becoming red. The World is changing. Then the historian breaks the silence. He says, "It does not seem to contain the precious. It may be just a junkbox." Next, the mathematician,
measuring the size and shape of it, says, "It can be
nothing more than a personal item." Lastly, the engineer,
touching it, says, "The box is not strong enough to hold
any heavy material. It may contain nothing."

They are glad to be talking with each other because
they are less afraid now. It helps them to believe that
there may be nothing in the box. More than that, they
realize the reason they are afraid of the box is because it
is closed; thus they are uncertain of what is inside. They
are certain about the other box because it is open. Thus
they come to think that one way they can obtain a feeling
of certainty is to open the box and see what is inside.
Then, they can do something about it. So they decide to face
the uncertainty and to open it.

The world is coming out of the dark. Even a little
bird is singing. Nobody can be afraid of anything anymore.
They start helping each other. The historian says, "I can
show you which side may be the top." The mathematician says,
"I can examine how to open it." The engineer says, "I can
try to open it with the key." After they open it, there is a light and smoke. They find it is vacant. When they laugh, there is a certainty at last.
*Uncertainty and Certainty, Responsibility and Communication*

The theme in the myth of the two boxes illuminates for us two important perspectives on the world: uncertainty (the sustainability of the future) and certainty (the interdependence in the world). The issue of responsibility and communication will center around these two perspectives.

There are two underlying concerns in these perspectives. First, unless we recognize our capacity to influence the future and further to expand the ability and energy to make change, we cannot sustain any confidence in our efforts to challenge such diverse issues as energy, the global environment, economic matters, and the development of space. Second, unless we recognize and deal with problems of scarcity and finite resources, any capacity we achieve will be very short-lived. Altogether, it is imperative to take seriously interdependence in the world and the need to ensure...
that the future is sustainable.

Now, the questions seem to be how to make uncertainty certain and how to make the best use of certainty. Our first discussion will be about uncertainty - the sustainability of the future. To answer this question, I would like to start with the notion of capacity, because I think people who believe in their capacity can bear the certainty that the future is sustainable. But the important thing is what constitutes and further expands capacity. I can emphasize two things: a specialty as a tool and an opportunity as a stage.

A specialty could be a particular area where we have a deep interest and strength. But it cannot be secure without our expectation, enthusiasm and belief in it. Thus, if we want our specialty to help us to strengthen our capacity, we need an opportunity where we can not only appreciate the value and strength of specialty, but also feel a sense of reward for serving other people and society at large which are in need of our expertise. When we experience that our specialty contributes to making change through opportunity, we can
sense achievement and confidence in our life; together, they nourish our capacity.

Now we should keep in mind that unless we fulfill a certain agreement between ourselves and society, our opportunity will be jeopardized. The underlying notion here is an idea of responsibility as a condition of opportunity. When the opportunity comes and society needs us, it means people appreciate and believe in our expertise and efforts to achieve a designated goal. Here, the mutual agreement is based on a trust in one another. In other words, they want the certainty of strength and commitment from us in order to make the uncertainty of their future certain. Thus, our awareness of the responsibility built on this trust makes us want to secure the certainty, and challenge the uncertainty.

Now, once we understand and define our responsibility we need to keep our mutual agreement alive and valid at last. We need to be certain about how our responsibility can best be carried out. It thus, requires two parties to interact constantly. This interaction is, what I call, a process of
communication. In fact, the reason people are trying to create opportunity is because they are interdependent. That is why we need to communicate. In the next part, I will discuss how to make the best use of certainty - the interdependence in the world.

First of all, I should say that we should feel grateful about being interdependent because it means that somebody needs us. There are, however, two reasons why the world is interdependent: one, scarcity and finite resources; two, limits in the scope of a specialty. What we should do then is maximize the exchange of information and skills through opportunities. The reason is, that besides finite resources, a specialty by definition is limited in its application.

That is why people in this interdependent world should try to create the opportunities to overcome their own limits and survive. It is now clear then that good communication involves not only an exchange of ideas but also a creation of opportunities. Communication thus enables us to set the moment of understanding of what we need, what others need and
how to help each other. Now, let's think of our interdependence as our only certainty in an uncertain future, because we are inevitably interdependent. Then, let's reinforce and make the best use of our only certainty because an answer will be in our interdependence when we communicate properly and frequently.

In sum, today our schools produce a vast amount of experts in a thousand different fields throughout the world. We admire their deep strength and rich diversity. But the fact that the world has become increasingly interdependent and the future is uncertain demands something more than that. As the myth shows us, the world is composed of uncertainty and certainty; our education in school should be geared to provide students new insights into them.

I believe one way to do this is to teach students how to be responsible and to communicate. Responsibility and communication will strengthen a student's capacity to challenge the issues that the world faces, not only in an individual discipline, but also across different fields. That is
why I introduce the story of the campus city finally in the next part.
The story of the campus city.

The idea of a campus city is nothing new. History tells us our university was, in fact, a universe city. Now one more time, I assure you that there is a truth in the myth. The concept, a campus as a city, captures the idea of responsibility and communication.

When a myth tells a story, it means a myth is still alive. When the campus tells a story, it means the campus is alive too because we are responsible and willing to communicate. So let us tell our story and hear from others, too.

There is a city called a campus city. This city is unique because people here learn from and educate each other. The city has its own story to tell because it has a life. The city has plazas which give birth to many little stories. In this city, everybody has his own story to tell somebody else in the plaza. At the same time, everybody hears a story of others in the campus city plaza.
One plaza has the story of your own dream but you will hear about the dreams of others too in the campus city plaza. In your own plaza, you remember a legend of its own heritage, but in the campus city plaza, you will appreciate the legends of the city's heritage and you will be proud of them. In your own plaza, there is the joy in your own work as you search for meanings, but there is also the joy of watching others work in the campus city plaza. In your own plaza, you have a canvas to fill with your own imagination but in the campus city plaza, nature in the city will be praised in chorus. In your own plaza, you will speak your own language, but in the campus city plaza, everybody speaks one language of drama.

To deal with issues such as energy, the global environment, economic matters, and the development of space, is not just to depend on one man's ingenuity, but to require a lot more new insights into our mentality. A new mentality is much more important than new science and technology because when our ingenuity is built on a solid consciousness of responsibility and good communication skills, our capacity to
meet these challenges can very well be converted into a practical and powerful strength.

While preserving current diversity in our schools, and if new perspectives on responsibility and communication in education enrich our view on certainty and uncertainty in the world, the future can never be far from us. Let us share our certainty and uncertainty now and in the future.
B: The Themes

Theme: Identity - existence in legitimacy and legitimation.

Man's identity depends on his belonging to territory: action and place. Also it relies on his legitimizing the two. Territory is constantly redefined according to a constant adaptation to change; this is stability. The steady state owes its form to the interaction of internality (territory) and externality (environment). Thus, it is a relative but dynamic state.

Identity is kept alive when stability is maintained, as in the case of candlelight. A candle flame has the stable identity of the interaction of oxygen and available fuel. Thus people's search for identity is an attempt to maintain the stability of a subjective world by continuous adaptation and legitimization.

An organic system maintains its steady state of identity by the constant adjustment of all its parts to arrive at the harmony of existence. To do so, this self-regulating system
requires a legitimate power to ensure an autonomy of adaptation in the process of survival. Thus, a legitimate power strengthens people's capacity to control their lives and environment in their search for identity.

TWO KINDS OF DIFFERENT IDENTITIES ARE CONTINUALLY CONFIRMED: COMMUNAL AND INDIVIDUAL. THESE ANIMALS ARE RECOGNIZED AS DOGS. ON THE OTHER HAND, EACH ONE IS CALLED BY A PARTICULAR NAME.

THE "PATTERN" OF EXISTENCE MAKES THE WORLD UNDERSTANDABLE; "ELEMENTS" MAKE THE WORLD RICH AND DIVERSE.
Stage: Everyday Environment

Let us remember that all of us belong to an everyday environment. In this environment, we do not need to deny others but to welcome them to our world. We do not need to pretend, but to speak in truth. We do not have to worry about prestige, arrogance, expertise, and full dress, but can be humble and sincere. We will be then, more open to the new possibilities and new dreams.

We can understand others and they will appreciate us too because we share a common language: an ordinary but fertile language. This language makes us more perceptive, understandable, and brings us rich lives in the world of the everyday environment. Thus, this world is more for dreaming, exploring, learning, and enjoying.
Heroes: Individual and Social

I have my own story to tell society and society has its own story to tell me. My story is alive because society listens to me. The story of society is alive, too, because I listen to it. My life is meaningful because society needs me. Societal life is meaningful because I need it.

Society and I are heroes not because we are kings of our kingdom, but because each is responsible for its own role in a drama that we play. Lives are playing in the everyday drama; "You are the sun, I am the moon. You are the word, I am the tune. Play us."
Story I: Communalism, New Festival Ethic

A part (the individual) and the whole (the societal) are mutually contingent elements of a shared reality of existence that is held together in a dynamic tension. A communal order is that which is shared among the members of society.

Being human arises from dialogue. In dialogue with others, we seek the confirmation of our own existence. In act of confirming, we are ourself confirmed and so are others. All social experience rests on this communal encounter between one human being and another. The highest value is found in self-realization through works of creation in community with others.

Recall that our ancestors lived through a lot of festivals where life, the world and the gods came together and realized themselves. Regretfully, we have lost much of this tradition and consequently our meaning is disappearing too. Let us have a festival one more time in our village. There, we are going to meet someone we have missed for a long time.
Story II: Stability and Security

The security that comes from a stable image stemming from childhood provides a backdrop against which change is subjectively appraised. A house consists of a body of image that gives people proofs or illusions of stability. People's innate needs for stability are preserved by customs, habits, traditions and the concretisation of man's existential space in the form of buildings or objects which are equated with permanence, stability and security.
Preservation of parts of the environment conveys a sense of security and continuity. When a portion of the past has been saved as being valuable, this promises that the future will so save the present.

The environment must remain demonstrably stable while undergoing change and must exhibit a degree of completeness at any stage so that its dwellers can experience stability and security and the feeling of living in the present of certainty rather than in the future of uncertainty. The environment is an organism which is never quite finished but which renews itself continually so that matter gains some of the dynamics of life, and life receives some of the permanence of matter.

Continuity is something familiar. Change is something new. Stability depends on both. We need both for security and vitality. If we want to make change but preserve continuity, we can try to do so by maintaining the same function and changing the form.
Story IV: Certainty and Uncertainty

The world consists of certainty and uncertainty. Both depend on a degree of familiarity and manageability. When we increase the level of certainty, our chances of preserving stability will increase.

The world is open-ended; it is never quite certain but is embodied in reality so that life receives some of the mystery of the world, and thus we learn some of the new insights of hopes and dreams, and the world gains some of the mobility of life.
A myth in the past tells us of our origin, heritage, and certainty in the past. It gives us pride. A myth in the present is for our hope in the future. It strengthens our capacity to challenge uncertainty. We need a myth of the past as well as the present for permanence and a new meaning of self-renewal.
Story VI: Memory of Grandfather

When we have a computer and expertise, we lose our trust in our grandfather's memory. Memory was a rule by which he understood the world. Memory was a way in which he was connected to the everyday environment. Memory was a place where he met ordinary people. Memory was a reason why he still is alive. Memory brings people together with stories, dreams, and meaning.
Story VII: The Ritual of the Modern World

This is where people share one hope and pray for one god. Like a wedding ceremony, this is where people gather and bless together. It is fortunate that we still have ritual. This is what keeps tradition alive. This institutionalization of ritual strengthens a common bond of continuity and security.
Story VIII: The Candlelight Legend

When life is boring and you are tired of confusion and business, just watch alone the candlelight blooming over a deep and dark night. Its silence and tranquility will make you dream of the cosmos. Its quiet dynamics will make you wonder about the uncertainty.

Its past lives in the present and its present lives in the future. It brings memory which connects your present to your grandfather's present: permanence. Life is never of death. Every moment of its blossoming is one of delight and beauty. It never brings joy and hope with haste and noise; it is an aesthetics of patience.
CHAPTER IV - POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE LEGITIMACY MODEL
Communal Development Approach

Introduction

The model of legitimacy implies basically that there are two central concepts in dealing with the issue of identity: stability and legitimacy. As in the case of candle-light, identity is kept alive in stability. Stability is referred to as a function, and is recognized as a process of continuous adaptation to change, whereas identity is a form of this function.

Thus, what should be maintained is to make the function work and keep the process alive because when this process stops, identity becomes extinct. This is where the concept of a legitimate power is introduced. A legitimate power in people's search for identity is an essential agent in the process of human cultivation. On the other hand, what restricts the strength of legitimate power is the relativity of the definition of territoriality.
This suggests that we need a modified model of legitimacy to maintain a communal relationship; that is, what I call "communal legitimacy." It enables us to seek the confirmation of our own existence with the environment. In the act of confirming, we are ourselves confirmed, and the environment is itself confirmed.

Therefore, I propose an alternative development approach which would strengthen the power of communal legitimacy and at the same time preserve the communal relationship between territory and environment.

There are several implications of this approach with respect to the meaning of development. It becomes clear that neither modernization (modernism) nor traditionalization (traditionalism) is a central means for dealing with the problem of identity. The issue is how to manage stability, the process which leads us to the form of identity. Thus, the meaning of development draws its value from the process itself, not from the product. It is a continuous process of cultivating resources of the part and the whole.
The meaning of development lies in the value of the autonomous and communal actions of individuals and society. It is like when a self-regulating system such as a bridge maintains its steady state by the constant adjustment of all its parts. The system requires the power of communal legitimacy to ensure the autonomy of the parts which have the capacity to make the whole survive.

Thus, the communal development approach should guide us in strengthening our capacity and autonomy and in ensuring the communal relationship between individuals and society. When we fulfill this process, the form - our identity - will become self-evident.
Section I: Concepts

The whole philosophy of modernization has been based on an image of the rampant growth and progress. I propose, instead, that preservation of stability and enforcement of communal legitimacy should be main themes in the philosophy of development if we want to maintain or recover our identity. A set of concept will be stressed to support the philosophy of a communal development approach to the process of change.
Concept 1: Communal Legitimacy

Communal legitimacy should be kept alive not only to reinforce the capacity of an individual's self-determination but also to ensure the survival of a whole. When the development outcome is reduced to a market commodity that is designed, produced and distributed only by professionals and those who control capital, people become alienated not only from the communal order but also from their own environments, even when they own and manage them.

As an example, many formal housing projects have evolved around the theme of legitimacy of bureaucracies and professionals, meaning that, the primary intention has been, not to fulfill a communal ethic but to satisfy bureaucratic and professional mechanisms and norms.

Together, these mechanisms also frustrate the creative potential of those who are aware that they have lost control over their lives and culture. Those who are aware of their loss of control over their territory need to join efforts
and to cooperate to regain the power of communal legitimacy to alter their condition.
Concept 2: Culture of Process

The policy of modernization has been set up mainly for fulfilling the visible outcome of a product. A product-oriented culture, though symbolically visible for the time being, does not have meaning and continuity in the long run. On the other hand, the culture of process contains memory, meaning and permanence because the value of development lies in a very eternal process of cultivating human evolution.

This product mentality concerns us also in that when people simply want to look modern or demonstrate modernity just by copying a Western product, this results in a culture of superficiality. Unless we understand fully the process of how products of Westernity are made and used, blind-minded acts of copying can never help us to govern ourselves and to think conceptually by ourselves. Copying will, instead, result in our dependence on Westernity.

The primary step in addressing this is to employ the communal development process. The communal development approach should focus the attention on those who make decisions.
What is primary is the very process of creating, implementing, and transforming a development project and how these stimulating activities of life will affect the external and internal relations of people who undertake the process.

If you take an example of the built environment, the architectural product is important as an influence on individual and social behavior in so far as it instigates a complex network of inventive human interactions to bring it into being, to maintain it, to use it, and to transform it over time. In that complex exchange, the physical environment is sometimes an unnoticed backdrop, sometimes a helpful participant, and sometimes an annoying but necessary presence.

But, most important of all, the environment becomes to those who use it a reminder of the many creative activities of their lives that have enveloped it, rather than becoming a determinant that envelops human activity. In this sense, the environment becomes a symbol to its users. Hence, evaluating an array of proposed development ideas on the basis of how well they may symbolize the future life of a people is
asking for mystical powers of cultural foresight.

Symbolism is a label that does not describe a property inherent to architectural form itself but is a label of the process of exchange between form and the maker/user, a relationship that evolves over time between the two because they are evolving themselves.

Therefore, the environment cannot be designed to be symbolic before it evolves in the integrated process of making/using, nor can its full symbolic meaning be sensed through historical retrospection after this process ends. Neither designer nor historian can sense the full meaning of the environment unless they are participants in the process of creating, maintaining, using and transforming it.

The very act of participation by a group in generating, evaluating, and selecting development options for their environment is the necessary exchange between users and the emergent form for establishing already a symbolic union between the two. With dweller participation in development, the process of symbolization commences.
Concept 3: Learning by Cross-education

A communal development approach facilitates learning through the cross-educational method between professionals and ordinary people. During this kind of development process, interaction is designed in a manner so that they learn from and educate each other.

It is a conventional belief that only professionals can and should educate nonprofessionals who continue to be defined merely as users and consumers. This is because professionals or officials want to satisfy their legitimacies of professionalism or bureaucraticism. Their legitimacies also drive them to be visible in their efforts to fulfill their obligations to nonprofessionals. But it is a mistake to say that professionals do not need to learn and appreciate ordinary people's insights into dealing with problems in their lives and territory.

The best form professionalism can take is a model of facilitation. It is the obligation of professionals to facilitate the cross-educational process where by mutual
agreement based on an awareness of responsibility is shared and people can draw a consensus. The purpose of this process is to prevent ordinary people from remaining crippled by an inability to conceptualize an alternative process for the production of their environment. This process aims at encouraging dramatic displays of individual initiative and inventiveness and developing the desire and skills in people to shape their environments.

To do so cross-education inevitably requires a shared language for analysis and criticism of "What is?" and for conceptualization of "What could be?" To ensure that the making of the environment achieves its full cultural and political potential, the language for dialogue concerning "What could be?" must simulate the same physical and visual images that will exist in reality. In order for these images to have meaning and significance, they must emerge from those who will eventually use them when they become physical realities.
Just as the abstract symbols of verbal language impart no meaning without frequent use and without a communally agreed upon semantic content and syntactic structure, so too the environment will impart no meaning unless people are interactively engaged in the act of educating each other in the process of shaping their environments, using a shared language from which the environment will eventually be made.
Concept 4: Aesthetics of Patience - Learning from the Candlelight

Let us learn to be patient. There are so many stories and days to come.

Let us feel and remember every moment of learning and experience. A story is full of joys and expectations.

Let us ask people little by little, piece by piece. They will come to see us with more stories tomorrow morning.

Let us hope one by one. There are many hopes to come before the new world really begins.

Buddha, Korea - Our culture had lain in the patience of a quiet calling voice. The voice had resided in the form of permanence, because Buddha is not a Buddha of today but a Buddha of eternity.
Section II: Form

The form of the communal development approach given in this thesis is neither new nor definitive. The purpose here has been, first, to draw new attention to and refresh our insights. Second, it has aimed at laying out a map for structuring our thinking about development. In schematic form our map looks like this:

1) Human-oriented rather than corporate or institution-oriented.

2) Owners as main actors rather than owners as observers.

3) Local and regional rather than national and international.

4) An approach of responsibility and communication rather than that of authority and dogmatism.


6) A bottom up design approach rather than a top-down design approach.
7) Inclusive rather than exclusive.

8) A concern with meaning and context rather than style and ornament.

9) Low cost rather than high cost.

10) Small scale rather than large scale.

11) Appropriate and available technology rather than high technology.
Section III: Function

These functions are given here as examples for people, in order to enable them to strengthen the potential of the communal approach as they implement its concepts during the process of development. These functions also attempt to reunite professionals and laymen in creating an appropriate shared language for the mutual task of re-examining existing relations and conceptualizing an alternative process.

The communal development approach should fulfill the function of

1) Increasing the exposure of people to a variety of environmental settings and potential interactions.
2) Stimulating and facilitating exploration of the environment.
3) Increasing the perceptual accessibility of environment.
4) Increasing the relative exposure of environmental elements and the setting of highest common significance, both functional and social.
5) Increasing the plasticity and manipulability of the environment through the actions of small groups and individuals.

6) Adapting the forms of environmental settings to facilitate the predominant plans being executed within them.

These functions are presented here with the expectation that they can achieve several aims central to the concepts of the communal development approach. These aims are as follows.

These functions first try to provide for choice and allow for individual differences; also, they have important effects on increasing people's sense of the possible and their level of aspiration.

Second, exploration can satisfy what may be a basic human need for new experience. Increasing individual interaction with novel and complex environments leads to growth, both by broadening the individual's categories and concepts of the world and by increasing his or her sense of competence to formulate and execute new plans.
Third, by decreasing ambiguity and incongruity in the environment, people can increase conventionality, familiarity and certainty, and reduce complexity and uncertainty.

Fourth, the functions will increase the amount of real experience of environmental settings and thus, increase the realization of personal meaning and value for more individuals. These will also tend to reinforce their common significance, adding to communal solidarity.

Lastly, but more importantly, the functions will allow laymen to know what development plans are actually being carried out within various typical settings and help develop laymen-centered techniques for establishing the relative importance of the development.
CONCLUSION - WORLDS WITHOUT END

Through this study, we have learned that losing identity is a state of mind. Also, we have realized that neither modernism nor traditionalism are, by themselves, central means in recovering and preserving identity. Instead, the concern lies in how to maintain stability which leads us to our identity in the modernization process.

In fact, as we have observed, the reason we are struggling for identity is mainly because the modernization policy of "visionary" progress and "instant" growth in the Third World has made us lose our mental control over our lives and territory in the development process. Thus, from now on, we should put primary stress on the preservation of stability, rather than on the rampant growth of modernization.

While preserving stability, as we have realized, people essentially seek "existence in legitimacy" in their search for identity. People struggle not only for ownership of their territory and lives but also membership in a larger order;
they are in a constant process of identification of themselves and of the environment. I have found that, in this process, "a legitimate power" strengthens people's capacity for autonomy over their lives and helps them to create stability while adapting to change. On the other hand, "the act of legitimation" involves a variety of symbols, images, behaviors, and conflicts; however, we should recognize that this complexity itself is full of beauty and potential.

Although this legitimate power has those strengths, it has some drawbacks too. The main weakness, as we have noticed, is that dissimilar legitimacies of different people collide with each other in shaping the environment. Even if it is true that a legitimate power helps people identify themselves and recognize others, one person's legitimacy is often replaced or overpowered by other's

Thus, I believe that there is a need to illuminate the new insights into our mentality to improve these problems in recovering our identity. Specifically, in recognizing that laymen are the owners of their lives and territory, officials
and professionals should bring to ordinary people their own authority in making change and provide them with confidence in coping with change.

To do so, officials and professionals should facilitate "the communal development process" in which first, people learn from and educate each other and share a mutual agreement and expectation for the future in the process of cross-education, and second, people seek communal legitimacy by which to enable them to identify and recognize the value of the individual and the societal and to make the best use of the power of both.

I realize that there are some difficulties of practical application of this approach especially in the context of the Third World; officials, professionals and ordinary people rarely meet together in the same place and time on the same issue. I believe that this is not only because officials and professionals are not confident with what ordinary people can do, but because they are often not aware of what ordinary people have accomplished throughout history. At the same
time, they are afraid of losing official or professional identity and legitimacy. Also, often, they do not realize that resources of their own and others are already there, and what is missing is a new mind set of old values, such as confidence, belief, and trust in controlling resources.

A first step in addressing this problem is to promote a dialogue among people, to identify where the resources are and to find out how to cultivate them. For example, people in the Third World have experienced the ideal of democracy in the wrong way. They should have learned the ideas in "the everyday environment" not in the bureaucratic and professional "kingdom"; democratism does not lie in governing others, but rather in how one governs oneself in one's life.

Given the potential of these unutilized and mistreated or misinformed resources, the wave of Westernism and the surge of internationalism, people in the Third World should pay careful consideration to the appropriate media and its timing in the process of controlling change and coping with it.
But, at this stage of my thesis, the only practical solution I can think of for this problem lies at the very basic: education. Unfortunately, however, the fundamental values, strengths and potential of education are often ignored and underestimated by society at large.

Thus, our education should aim at teaching students responsibility, communication skills and conceptual thinking. These values and skills will not only strengthen the students' capacity to challenge diverse issues in many different contexts, but also help them to recognize and appreciate their specific roles as well as those of others. Ideally, this would help develop expertise and to preserve identity of "parts" and "the whole" in the process of change.

Before I close my thesis, there is one little story that I want to share. I once talked about my thesis with an educator and professional in an influential position at one of the most well-known architectural schools in U.S.A. In responding to the concept of the everyday environment, he said, "What I am getting from this is that, 'Why do not we just sit
In fact, I believe he is right; I might even have responded, "You mean, just watch things happen in the distance and let them happen by themselves?" However, I could sense that his "professional ego" was a bit disturbed by my concept of the everyday environment. He might have been afraid of "nonprofessionalism," or "deprofessionalization," or, perhaps, of losing his professional legitimacy, or he might have been laughing at the potential of "the ordinary."

Nonetheless, I need to point out his "linear way" of understanding the ordinary and the world and considering development; officials and professionals should realize that the linear approach needs far more insights in order to perceive "the non-linear" reality of human evolution in the World. If they cannot do this, they had better relax and make love with their logic or watch TV in a bedroom - in the everyday environment.
I introduced the concept of everyday environment and the model of legitimacy not because I believe they are the only major issues in search of identity but because I use them to draw people's new attention to and to organize many related issues central to the theme of identity: certainty, uncertainty, myth, legend, memory, familiarity, symbolism, ritual, manageability, security, and stability.

We should realize that these issues all interrelate and shape each other in people's search for identity. The future research in the area of identity should be based on equal attention to each of these issues.

Finally, in this thesis, I continually have dealt with three groups of people - professionals, officials and ordinary persons - as heroes on the everyday stage. My reflection on the modernization story has been made possible through my research of the model of legitimacy in reviewing people's search for identity in the process of change.
Although their search is existence in legitimacy, the theory of legitimacy has never been fully studied with respect to the issue of identity. Therefore, a lot of subsequent research should be initiated in this area in order to expand our knowledge.

The act of legitimation is an ongoing process, not circumscribable or definitive in outcome; as worlds are continually reborn in permanence, so the story of legitimacy can never end. The only proof that new worlds might have just begun somewhere near us lies in the endless, quiet calling voice of the people which survives through the process of self-renewal: the very act of legitimizing new meaning - or burning like a candlelight with memory in a new ritual.
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