Habitus, Social Space and Media Representation

The 'Romantic' Contemporary Taiwanese 'Wenyi Qingnian' Discourse in the Local Lifestyle Magazine 'One Day'

Hoi Yee Chau

ABSTRACT

'Wenyi qingnian', or 'wenqing' in short, is a Chinese term which literally means 'literary-artistic youth', as wenyi refers to literature and art, and qingnian means youth. Inspired by the lack of empirical research on the relationship between the media and the identity of the contemporary wenqing, the aim of this dissertation is to investigate how the contemporary Taiwanese wenqing are represented by the best-selling local lifestyle magazine, One Day, in relation to the concepts of habitus, social space and media representation. Through a critical discourse analysis of eight media texts relating to the theme of independent café of One Day, the study has addressed [1] in what sense the values of One Day are represented as the values of the contemporary wenqing, [2] in what sense the independent café is represented as a sense of wenqing's space, [3] to what extent the habitus, or taste and lifestyle, and space of wenqing are constructed by 'othering' the mainstream beliefs and lifestyle through the work of media representations, and finally [4] what discourses have been constituted and maintained through the work of the media representations in One Day. Particularly, the analysis found that the magazine has established a legitimate division between the wenqing and metropolitans through the work of representations and discourses, that is, the representation of 'slow- living' wenqing – discourse of 'wenqing-ism' – is constructed by 'othering' the representation of the 'busy-living' metropolitans – discourse of 'metropolitanism' –, which legitimates and normalises the meanings of 'wenqing' within the complex system of power relations.

1 INTRODUCTION

'Wenyi qingnian', or 'wenqing' in short, is a Chinese term which literally means 'literary-artistic youth', as wenyi refers to literature and art, and qingnian means youth. Yet, this Chinese term cannot be fully explained without being socially, historically, and politically contextualised. About a century ago when Taiwan was still a Japanese colony, there was an emerging group of well-educated youths, who loved using literature and art to express their thoughts and doubts, to satirise the social condition and to challenge the dominant institutional power. They read. They wrote. They created. They met in the cafés. They hanged out in the bookshops. At that time, they still had not been given a 'label' (Su et al., 2015). Until the Chinese scholar Guo (1928) had published the article 'Echoes from the gramophone: an investigation of the appropriate attitude of wenyi qingnian', those Taiwanese youths gained a new name – wenyi qingnian, henceforth wenqing (a term that can act as a singular or plural noun, and sometimes as an adjective).

In Guo's (1928) words, wenqing were expected to use their talent to act as a 'gramophone' for politics, that is, they were encouraged to use their literature and art to give 'voice' and 'echo' in social movements, such as a gramophone (Luo, 2010). Not only in Taiwan, the term wenqing was also widely used in mainland China and Hong Kong. Before the 1990s, however, one of the differences between the wenqing in these three areas was the political party affiliation, as the wenqing in mainland China and Hong Kong were likely to be the Communists but those in Taiwan tended to be the Nationalists (Luo, 2010). There were also some other wenqing who were not interested in politics but only enamoured with nostalgic literature and art. In short, wenqing were described as a subcultural group of youths who loved to express either political opinions or nostalgia through literature and art. In this sense, their integrity and passion for literature and art were the signifiers of the 'wenqing'.

Later, since the 1990s, the Taiwanese wenqing have 'evolved' into the 'gramophones for anarchy' from the 'gramophones for the Chinese Nationalist Party' (Ma, 1990; Luo, 2010), as most of them tend to use their literature and art to express their own belief and dream rather than giving 'voice' and 'echo' in social movements. It is in this sense that they are the 'gramophones' for only themselves instead of political events. They still read. They still write. They still create. They still meet in the cafés. They still hang out in the bookshops. But they are different now. Most of today's wenqing grow up in the urban city, unlike the wenqing in the past who experienced the rural life during the wartime. Instead of collective memories, the old rural village picture is only a pure fantasy for the wenqing in this generation (Wang, 2012).

Then, what in their literature or art now is full of the dissatisfaction of the urban life. Moreover, along with the emergence of consumer culture, the contemporary wenqing have become more and more 'recognisable' and 'visible', as they started to appear with particular similar 'non-mainstream' lifestyle and interests to distinguish themselves from the mainstream culture of urban life (AdverTimes, 2015; Luo, 2010; Wong, 2016b). It does not suggest that every wenqing is unpassionate about literature and art nowadays, but the 'alternative' lifestyle has instead become their signifier, such as listening to independent music and going to independent café. In particular, the local lifestyle magazines are usually seen as the 'promoters' of the 'wenqing trend', as they often present similar stories and headings like 'Must Go! The Wenqing Cafés in Taipei' (Nuo, 2017). The term 'wenqing' seems to become a sales gimmick and media seem to become its salesman. Due to this reason, the concept of 'wenqing' has started to attract

academic attention. Yet, when a few Chinese scholars (Lai, 2011; Luo, 2010; Wang, 2012; Wong, 2016b) attempted to investigate the contemporary wenqing phenomenon of the 21st Century, they only tend to focus on how the subcultural wenqing have become the popular culture, without a clear theoretical framework or an in-depth analysis. Academic research about the contemporary wenqing identity still remains undeveloped. Also, although the researchers of wenqing have tried to review why the wenqing subculture is 'dead' to a certain extent with the 'help' of media, they seem to fail in explaining how the wenqing identity is represented by the media and how the identity is constructed thereby, either in terms of subculture or popular culture. Therefore, prior to studying why today's wenqing might have become the trend-followers or victims of consumer culture under the influence of mass media, an in-depth research for the media representation of the contemporary wenqing is necessary in the first place. It is also why this dissertation could potentially contribute, by showing how the contemporary wenqing are represented through the work of media representations.

Specifically, the media representation of the contemporary Taiwanese wenqing is chosen to be studied, because Taiwan is perceived as an 'original place' for cultivating 'the contemporary wenqing' including those in mainland China and Hong Kong nowadays, with its local wenqing magazines, films and alternative music. Thus, before studying the representation of the contemporary mainland Chinese and Hong Kong wenqing, those of Taiwan are worth investigating in the first place. Not to advocate or criticise 'wenqing', the aim of this dissertation is to investigate how the contemporary Taiwanese wenqing is represented by a specific local lifestyle magazine – the well-known 'wenqing bible', *One Day* – in relation to the concepts of habitus, social space and media representation.

2   LITERATURE REVIEW

Given that no academic research has given a concrete analysis of how the social group of wenqing is formed and represented by the media, a sociological vision of Bourdieu will mainly be adopted in this chapter. Particularly, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, social space and symbolic power will be discussed in the first place, to address how different social groups could be 'created' through the symbolic system and means of differentiation. Lai's (2011) case study on wenqing and Featherstone's Lifestyle and Consumer Culture (1987) will then be reviewed to investigate how lifestyle and consumption choice can contribute to differentiate one's identity. Finally, Hall's concept of representation will be examined and framed as a dialogue with Bourdieu's idea of symbolic power, in order to provide an account of how 'common sense' and 'meanings' can be structured and produced through media representation within the symbolic system. It is noted that the concepts introduced above are not entirely unproblematic, which have been critiqued as being too deterministic (Reay, 2004; Webb et al., 2002). However, these theories do provide us an initial framework for analysing the construction and representation of different collective identities. Therefore, intending to mainly examine how the identity of wenqing is represented by the local magazine in terms of social space, lifestyle and representation, I choose not to join the debate on the possibility that 'individuals are equipped with the ability to understand and control their own actions, regardless of the circumstances of their lives' (Webb et al., 2002: ix), but instead choose to focus on the aspect: ways of being can be invented but they are still limited within structuring mechanisms (Bourdieu, 1989).

2.1 Habitus

> They are into literature, poetry, and music. They strive to be different...

> (Dawson, 2015)

Nowadays, wenyi qingnian, or wenqing in short, is an all-over-the-place, everyday term which refers to the one, self-perceived or perceived by others, who loves to pursue an alternative lifestyle and 'to take some interest in reading, writing, movies, or music' (Wu, 2012: 523). However, although this term has been widely used in our everyday life, wenqing is still a vague concept. In order to study the identity construction and representation of the contemporary wenqing within a Bourdieusian sociological framework, a useful starting point is to examine his concept of 'habitus'. This is a concept that allows us to investigate how practices can contribute to classify different social groups or agents. According to Bourdieu (1989: 19), 'habitus is both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices', which helps to construct different social groups and identities. As Bourdieu (1989: 18) highlights, 'groups, such as social class, are to be made'; although the individuals, as social agents, 'do have an active appreciation of the world… [who can] construct their vision of the world… [,] this construction is carried out under structural constraints'. In other words, the way how the agents apprehend the social world is constructed through a complex system – internalisation of the structures of that world, that is, habitus. To unpack this idea, their habitus, the dispositions of agents, are the mental structures and cognitive structures through which they apprehend the social world.

More explicitly, the individuals will 'subscribe to' a particular habitus, which is to perform some particular cultural practices, to classify themselves into a specific and 'appropriate' social community. It means that one's social identity can be perceived by observing what habitus that he or she has. It is because the habitus is not only the system of classification of these practices, but also a constructed generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements. That is to say, habitus is, on the one hand, a structuring structure that governs practices and perception of practices, but on the other hand it is also a structured structure which is itself the product of internalisation of the division into social groups or classes (Bourdieu, 1984: 170). For Bourdieu, referring to Brubaker (1985: 758), 'the habitus is defined abstractly as the system of internalised depositions that mediates between social structures and practical activity, being shaped by the former and regulating the latter'. Therefore, the reason the habitus can act as a 'tool' or 'social groups guidebook' to classify and guide members in the society is that the habitus is actually itself a constructed generative formula. As Bourdieu (1984: 170) notes, 'habitus is constructed as the generative formula which makes it possible to account both for the classifiable practices and products and for the judgements, themselves classified, which make these practices and works into a system of distinctive signs'. It is in this sense that the habitus can generate meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions for people to 'classify themselves, expose themselves to classifications, by choosing, in conformity with their taste, different attributes that go well together with them or, more exactly, suit their position [and identity]' (Bourdieu. 1989: 19). It also suggests that nothing classifies the individuals more than the way they classify.

In Taiwan and Hong Kong, we say of the people who read poetry or listen to alternative music: 'they look pretty "wenqing"'. This classificatory judgement implies that we, as socialised agents, are able to perceive the 'relation between practices or representations [– habitus –] and positions' in the society (Bourdieu, 1989: 19). Nevertheless, it is emphasised that the habitus, those practices and representations, can only be perceived immediately by the individuals who possess the code or understand the social meaning of the code. It is because the habitus, 'as a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, cognitive and evaluative structures… [, is] acquired through the lasting experience of a social position' (Bourdieu, 1989: 19). It is this lasting experience of a social position that makes the agents see that relation between the habitus and identity as the 'common sense'. The agents are capable of associating the specific habitus with specific social group and identity. For example, when we realise that the habitus of the others is not similar or not the same to ours, we can immediately differentiate ourselves from them, that is, they are not in the same social group as us. Thus, the concept of habitus does not only imply a 'sense of one's place', but also a 'a sense of the place of others' for differentiating 'us' and 'them', in order to produce different social groups and identities in the society. As Bourdieu (1984: 170) mentions, the whole set of practices of the individuals 'are both systematic, inasmuch as they are the product of the application of identical schemes, and systematically distinct from the practices constituting another lifestyle'. It is this approach of differentiation that constitutes a world that seems self-evident, a world of 'common sense' – a social space of distinctive signs.

2.2   Social Space as Symbolic Space

First of all, we need to understand that social space is constitutive and not given in 'social reality' (social reality is also constitutive, which will be explained later in this chapter). Drawing on Thrift (2009: 94), social space 'is an outcome of the continuous work of building up and maintaining collectives by bringing different things into alignments'. Like what Bourdieu (1989: 17) states, the agents who have similar dispositions and interests occupy similar position and space. It is because the dispositions need to correspond with the position and space, that is, people with specific position and habitus, including interests and practices, are suitable to appear in its corresponding space but may not suitable in other space. For instance, the wenqing, who are into literature or art, like to meet in the independent cafés, bookshops or galleries, whereas the 'online gamers', who are into online games, like to hang out in the cybercafés. Wenqing and online gamers are two different types of people who have different dispositions and interests, so the spaces they occupy are different. Here, it brings together the concept of the 'sense of one's place' and the logic of differentiation.

According to Thrift (2009: 105), the social space refers to the spaces 'in which people live and create relationship with the others […] All kinds of different spaces can and therefore do exist which may or may not relate to each other'. In other words, each space relates to the sense of one's place, such as the independent cafés are seen as wenqing's place whereas the cybercafés are perceived as online gamers' place. It will be weird if we see the wenqing playing online games in the cybercafés or the online gamers reading literature in the cafés. To put it simply, 'the sense of one's place leads people to keep to it, "stay in character", as well as to recognise the place of others' (Nurmi, A. & Nevala, M., 2010: 165). As Goffman (1959: 75) also states, social space is a 'pattern of appropriate conduct', which is the 'standards of conduct and appearance that one's social grouping attaches to'. In short, the social space is characterised by

different lifestyle and status groups, which is constituted by distinctive signs as a symbolic space.

Referring to Bourdieu (1989: 20), 'differences function as distinctive signs and as signs of distinctions'. In the social space, there are several distinctive signs and symbols for classifying and differentiating the social groups and identities. The social space therefore 'tends to function as a symbolic space' (Bourdieu, 1989: 20), a space of 'common sense' constructed by symbolic power. For Bourdieu (1994: 164), 'symbolic power is an [invisible] power of constructing reality', which 'can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it'. As Jenkin (1992: 104) also puts it: symbolic power is exercised through an 'indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than by direct, coercive social control'. In other words, the individuals may not aware of the existence of symbolic power, but they only know that there is the 'common sense' in their society. In fact, the so-called 'common sense' and 'social reality' are structured by the mechanisms of symbolic power, that is, discourse.

In Bourdieu's (1994: 169) words, discourse is 'a structured and structuring medium tending to impose an apprehension of the established order as natural'. It is the symbolic power that constructs the discourses and signs in the society as 'natural' and 'normal', normalising the sense that certain practices and spaces are only appropriate for certain groups of people to perform and stay. It is also the symbolic power that labels everything in the society as the signs. To unpack this idea, everything in the society has its 'meanings', and these meanings can be constructed through the symbolic system. For example, if an agent who would like to become a wenqing, he or she has to follow the signs and discourses of wenqing, which may be 'reading literature', 'going to gallery' or 'listening to alternative music'. Once the agent has followed and performed the signs of wenqing, the agents in the society, who are also 'surviving' within this symbolic system, can then 'naturally' recognise the 'fact' that he or she is a wenqing. In this sense, the 'social reality', discourses and signs are actually 'the [structured] set of fundamental, pre-reflexive assumptions that social agents engage by the mere fact of taking the world for granted, of accepting the world as it is, and of finding it natural' (Bourdieu, 1994: 168). In particular, taste and lifestyle are seen as the 'signs' and 'constructs', which have been labelled and 'taken for granted', that provide 'recognition' in the society.

2.3   Taste, Lifestyle and Consumption

> Wenqing love to read in the very dark cafés… Wenqing love coffee…

> *(*Lai, 2011: 22*)*

In Lai's *The Recasting of Place Identity in Commercial Gentrification* (2011), one of his focuses is placed on the relationship between the identity of the contemporary Taiwanese wenqing and their consumption in the independent cafés in Shida Business District, Taiwan. First of all, Lai (2011: 22) defines the contemporary wenqing as a group of creative and cultured people who are into literature, art or music; these groups of people tend to have non-mainstream mind and taste, and pursue alternative lifestyle. As Lai (2011: 69) says, wenqing love to differentiate themselves from the majority of urban dwellers, by tasting coffee and listening to the alternative music at the independent café. Referring to one of the interviewees of Lai's case study, the wenqing says, 'I just don't want to drink the Starbucks coffee like the white-collar

workers'. Here, the identity of wenqing represents a sense of taste, an alternative taste that is opposed to those who drink Starbuck coffee. Like what Bourdieu (1989: 19) asserts, taste, like habitus, is a system of schemes of classification. Similarly, Wong (2016b: 5) also mentions, wenqing now has become 'visible' through lifestyle, and their 'consumption mode' has showed their 'integrity'. In this sense, as Featherstone (1987: 57) infers, 'consumption… must not be understood as the consumption of use-values, a material utility, but primarily as the consumption of signs'.

For Baudrillard, in Todd's (2011: 48) words, 'what we purchase is not just a product, but also a piece of a "language" [– taste and lifestyle –] that creates a sense of who we are'. Just as the saying goes, 'be a real wenqing by reading *One Day*' (Wong, 2016a). *One Day* is a local independent lifestyle magazine in Taiwan, which wins the title of 'wenqing bible' (Hung, 2015: 41; Ong, 2016: 28). This magazine is not a 'meaningless' product, but it rather represents a sense of wenqing identity. It also infers the concept of symbolic branding. Here, *One Day* is seen as 'the symbolic resources for the construction and maintenance of identity' (Elliot & Davies, 2005: 155) of wenqing, as the magazine itself carries much of the shared cultural meanings and 'signs' of wenqing. In evidence of this, the content of *One Day* is mainly about 'alternative taste and lifestyle' (Huang, 2012: 35) which are pursued by the contemporary wenqing (Lai, 2011: 20; Wong, 2016b: 5). Hence, the magazine itself gradually builds up a sense: *One Day* is made for wenqing. In other words, *One Day* has branded its customers as wenqing as well. It also suggests the ideas that 'we are what we buy' and 'we are what we live like'.

In this sense, consuming or reading *One Day* is not just a 'senseless' practice, but it instead functions as a 'differential practice', a lifestyle, that implies a 'sense of wenqing'. In fact, lifestyle is one of the expressions of the 'practices' engendered by the mechanism of habitus, which therefore functions as 'a system of distinctive signs or tastes that are socially qualified' (Lawson, 2016: 23). Lifestyle is a life project actively 'conducted' by the agents, rather than something unreflexively adopted. It is also an ongoing cultural project that enables the individuals to display their position and identity. It is because the lifestyle refers to one's 'active' design of 'the assemblage of goods, clothes, practices, experiences, appearances and bodily dispositions' (Featherstone, 1987: 59). In other words, the agents would design and custom their own specific 'assemblage of goods… bodily dispositions' (Featherstone, 1987: 59) into a lifestyle, for fitting in with the corresponding identity, social community or group. For wenqing, they would also have their own 'choice' to design and custom their own distinct lifestyle for showing the 'fact' that they are wenqing (Lai, 2011: 20). Yet, the so-called 'choice' of taste and lifestyle actually depends on the volume of one's economic and cultural capital, that is, the sense of 'choice' is inscribed on the social space, as each 'choice' has been symbolised as specific culture and social group. Nonetheless, according to Featherstone (1987: 60), 'the tendency for consumer culture to differentiate, to encourage the play of difference, must be tempered by the observation that differences must be socially recognised and legitimated'. In the light of this, for the next section, we will go back to the idea of symbolic power, to its deeper level, to explain how the legitimate division of tastes and lifestyle, or habitus, can be established with the help of media representation.

2.4   Symbolic Power and Media Representation

> Media, like the education system, are both mechanism (of representation) and source (of taken for-granted frameworks for understanding the reality they represent).

> *(Couldry, 2003: 1)*

As we have discussed earlier, symbolic power can be seen as a power of constitution, which constructs the social space as the symbolic space. It is also 'a power of consecration and revelation… to consecrate or to reveal things that are already there' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23). That is to say, the 'social reality' begins to exist only when it is selected, designated, differentiated, legitimated and recognised structured through the relations of symbolic power and capital (Bourdieu, 1989: 23). As such, in Bourdieu's (1989: 23) words, 'symbolic power must be based on the possession of symbolic capital…[which] is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition'. In other words, the symbolic power, as the power of making 'common sense', is actually an outcome of a long process of institutionalisation. Specifically, media institutions such as magazines or newspapers could be considered as 'one of those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23), since they are the body of specialists and experts, what Bourdieu (1984: 359) calls 'the new petite bourgeoisie', who are powerful and creditable enough to produce and reproduce representations for maintaining certain discourses and excluding subordinate ones. This relates to the concepts of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'. More precisely, the media are good at 'promoting' certain ideas or groups – inclusion – that dominate the others – exclusion – through discourses and representations.

According to Hall (1997: 15), 'representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people', that is, representation is a means to represent things meaningfully, by producing and exchanging meaningful meanings among the agents in the social space. It is the work of representation that offers frames for people to recognise meanings of things and therefore 'make sense of' the world. Instead of a means of mirroring reality, representation is actually an act of construction, as a site of power, which shapes what we know and get to know about the world. It is because the core of representation 'is the symbolic production of difference and the symbolic marking of frontiers' (Orgad, 2012: 30). As Hall (1997: 238) reminds, the 'representation of difference' is the heart of representation, which contributes to construct discourses and differentiate social identities and groups.

Particularly, the mechanism of representation involves the processes of selection, designation, differentiation, legitimation and recognition. Yet, like what we have mentioned previously, this series of processes are not carried out in a social vacuum themselves, but rather are managed through the relations of symbolic power and capital. In this way, as symbolic power is based on the possession of symbolic capital, and the media institutions are those who can be the symbolic capital, the idea of representation is in fact something 'fed' by the media. This does not mean all representations are constructed by the media, as if there are some constructed in academic field or other creditable institutions, but we should still admit that the media institutions are one of the central players in the symbolic system that help constituting the 'social reality' and organising our perception of the social world. As Orgad (2012: 17) hints, 'what distinguishes media representations [, including media texts and

images,] from… [the] other representational objects is that their essence is to represent... [and] to capture in some way "reality" in signs' which are inextricably inscribed in relations of power. For Orgad's (2012: 25), 'power relations are encoded in media representations, and media representations in turn produce and reproduce power relations by constructing [discourses,] knowledge, values, concepts and beliefs'. It is in this sense that the media can make the representation taken for granted, in terms of power relations. It is also the reason the media can construct the representations and discourses, such as habitus, taste or lifestyle, for every single social group such as wenqing, in relations of power.

2.5   Conceptual Framework and Research Question

Given the scope of this research, I hope that the discussion above is sufficient to show the foundations around each of the theoretical concepts. While the previous studies of wenqing (Lai, 2011; Wong, 2016b) have tackled that the identity of wenqing is related to the ideas of taste and lifestyle, they still seem to fail in providing a clear vision of how wenqing is constructed through these elements. Therefore, in this chapter, I have attempted to adopt the sociological vision of Bourdieu to explain how identities and groups can be constructed through the mechanisms of habitus, social space and symbolic power. From the literature review, we have also learnt that the taste and lifestyle can create a sense of 'who we are'; consumption is a practice that consume 'signs'. The literature has also highlighted that the habitus, taste, lifestyle and social space are constructed by the discourses through the media representations within the relations of symbolic capital and power. In other words, the media representations do contribute to construct identities and social groups in the society, by constituting and maintaining the discourses, and shaping and representing the habitus, taste, lifestyle and social space (It does not mean that discourse is a product of representation; rather, discourse can be seen as a system of representation (Hall, 1997: 44) that constitutes selective representations as well (Fairclough, 2015: 10), which will be discussed in the later part of the dissertation). However, as we understand that the identity is a very complex concept that cannot be seen as a 'product' shaped by the media representations, we therefore do not aim to answer how the wenqing identity and community are constructed by *One Day*, but rather intend to give an insight of how the wenqing identity is represented by the magazine. Furthermore, as we have mentioned earlier in the section of 'Taste, Lifestyle and Consumption' that the local magazine *One Day* is well-known as the 'wenqing bible' in Taiwan, we would like to specifically analyse this piece of media. In this way, we have formulated the research question (RQ) as below:

RQ: How are the contemporary Taiwanese 'wenyi qingnian' represented by the local lifestyle magazine, *One Day*, in relation to the concepts of habitus, social space and media representation?

Especially, when people talk about wenqing today, their first response is to 'naturally' associate the wenqing with coffee and independent café, rather than something else like fashion and music, or places like gallery and bookshops (Lai, 2011). Thus, when we attempt to examine the media representations of wenqing, the media texts about the topic of independent cafés will also be our focus points. In order to answer the research question with this notion, the following sub-questions (SQs), which assist the exploration and evaluation, will also be addressed:

SQ1: In what sense are the values of *One Day* represented as the values of wenqing?

<u>SQ2:</u> In what sense is the independent café represented as a sense of wenqing's space in *One Day*?

<u>SQ3:</u> To what extent are the habitus, or taste and lifestyle, and space of wenqing constructed by 'othering' the other beliefs and lifestyle through the work of media representations in *One Day*?

<u>SQ4:</u> What discourses have been constituted and maintained through the work of the media representations in *One Day*?

3 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

With respect to the intention to study how the identity of the contemporary Taiwanese wenqing is represented by the local lifestyle magazine through the media representations in power relations, it is necessary to examine the textual and discursive properties – discourses – constituted in the media text. In Foucault's (1972: 80) words, discourse is the 'general domain of all statements... and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number for all statements'. Discourse does not mean to translate the reality to language, but instead is something, as a regulated set of statements and unwritten rules, that always associating with power relations, which regulates everyday practices and govern the way we perceive 'reality'. Therefore, should we adopt this approach of discourse, we can propose that discourse is something constituted in the media representations and texts, which helps to construct the 'common sense' and 'reality' about the wenqing within the power relations. Hereby, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is the methodology that I choose to conduct in this dissertation, as this research method enables me to look into how 'texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power' (Fairclough, 1995: 132). Fairclough's (1992; 1995; 2001; 2003; 2013) critical discourse analysis, henceforth CDA, is a research method that allows the researcher to 'uncover how the use of language is connected to broader processes and practices, such as the reproduction of social relations or the construction of knowledge' (Hastings, 1998: 192). This methodology is especially useful for studying the ideas and relationships between text, discourse and social practice. Quantitative research methods, such as content analysis, are not considered for this research, as they do not enable the analyst to focus on the 'dialectical relations between discourse and power, and their effects on other relations within the social process and their elements' as CDA does (Fairclough, 2013: 8). Moreover, although other types of discourse analysis, such as thematic or narrative analysis, can also allow the analyst to study how texts are articulated to constitute certain discourses which construct and reinforce specific meanings and views, none of them places as much emphasis on discursive power as CDA does (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It is one of the reasons CDA is chosen for this dissertation, as this methodology connects language and power better than other discourse analysis approaches. According to Van Dijk (2001: 352), if the analyst would like to investigate how power and dominance 'are enacted, reproduced and resisted through written and spoken words in a social and political context', CDA is the preferred research method.

Furthermore, another reason of utilising CDA rather than other types of discourse analysis in this study is that it offers a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, which can be easily applied and replicated by the analyst (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The three-dimensional framework of CDA is crucially useful for the researcher to analyse the discourse

by focusing on the levels of text, discourse and social relations, by respectively asking: '[firstly,] why these choice and structure of text?', '[secondly,] what discourse is "echoed" in the text?' and [lastly,] which social-cultural identity does this text make dominant?' (Fairclough, 1992: 62). Thus, for addressing how the work of media representations – language – can construct the knowledge and perception – discourses – of the wenqing identity – social relations –, CDA is the most suitable methodological tool for this dissertation.

3.2   Sampling

To begin with, *One Day*, the best-selling local lifestyle magazine in Taiwan (Tang, 2013: 132) which is well-known as the 'wenqing bible' (Hung, 2015: 41; Ong, 2016: 28), is chosen to be analysed for this research. The magazine has claimed itself as a 'monthly magazine with a distinctly stylish taste for cuisine, film, music and travel experience' (One Day, 2017b). Referring to the article published by Taipei New Horizon (2017), it states: 'don't say that you like design and wenqing style if you never read *One Day*'. As Ong (2016: 28) also notes, the magazine *One Day* has already presented itself as a wenqing magazine, due to its wenqing values and ethos. It is also told that the magazine is directed and written by a group of editors who pursue the distinctly wenqing taste and lifestyle (Huang, 2012: 42; One Day, 2017b). Pursuant to the saying 'be a real wenqing by reading *One Day*' (Wong, 2016a), it suggests that there is 'something' in the content of *One Day* that can guide one to be a 'real' wenqing. From the literature review, we understand that this 'something' is actually the discourses constituted in the media representations and texts that shape the sense and 'norm' of wenqing. As a recognised iconic wenqing magazine in Taiwan, *One Day* is therefore relevant to be studied in this research to reveal how the contemporary wenqing is represented through its symbolic production.

Especially, as we have indicated that in the conceptual framework, wenqing has always been associated with the topics of coffee and independent café nowadays, rather than something else like clothing or music (Lai, 2011). The media texts about coffee and independent cafés are then also the focus points in this study. Hence, instead of randomly gathering texts from different topics in *One Day*, two particular issues about coffee and independent café are purposively selected, which are *No. 042: The people who work in the café. The lost youth in the café* (One Day, 2015) and *No. 061: Coffee, please. The two lives of the café* (One Day, 2017a). Although the ideas about coffee and independent cafe almost appeared in every issue of *One Day*, only these two periodicals set those ideas as the theme of the month (Liu, 2017: 4), which offer a more specific set of data for the researcher to examine the relationship between wenqing and coffee or independent café for the purpose of this dissertation.

In particular, CDA is applied on a total of eight media texts from these two issues of *One Day*; a cover, an editor's letter and two cover stories are sampled from each issue. These three areas are chosen because they are the most representative parts of the magazine that potentially construct the discourses of wenqing, which were also tested in the pilot project of this research. Firstly, according to Iqani (2009: 63), the cover is the most 'visible' part of the magazine that represents the entire magazine and the magazine-brand… on both a symbolic and material level'. It is the cover that makes the magazine's existence especially socially implicated. Secondly, the 'editor's letter' is the area that conveys the indicative tones of the magazine's institutional values and ethos. It functions as an abstract or a 'micro story' that offers audiences the 'directional summary' of the whole magazine, for them to catch the specific theme easily (Bell, 1991). Finally, the flashiest subject of the whole magazine is the cover story, which is

planned far in advance to present the theme of the month. Taken as a whole, the cover, editor's letter and cover story are the most salient parts of *One Day*, which best represent the magazine and therefore potentially constitute the discourses of wenqing identity.

Following an analysis of these eight media texts collected from the two periodicals of *One Day*, a sample for this dissertation project is built due to the purpose in retaining the quality and clear focus of the analysis. The sample (see Appendices 1 to 8) is built by extracting the media texts from these eight media texts, which fulfils at least one of the following selection criteria for the inquiry of the research questions: the texts should be contributing to the articulation of [1] wenqing's belief and habitus (or taste and lifestyle), [2] wenqing's 'space', [3] coffee and independent café as attitude and style, [4] 'I' and a unified 'we' wenqing as 'insider', [5] other lifestyles and tastes as 'outsider', and [6] a binary construction of the wenqing and other beliefs and habitus, or differentiation of wenqing lifestyle from the other lifestyles. Additionally, for the purpose of the analysis, the sample will be translated to English. Particular care will also be taken to intonate and punctuate the sample for retaining the semantic, grammatical and lexical relations of the original written Chinese text.

3.3   Design of Research Tool and Analytical Techniques

The three-dimensional framework of CDA is used as a guideline for the analysis, which are language, discourse and social relations (Fairclough, 1992; 1995). Regarding to the textual dimension, the generic structure of the texts should be revealed in the first place to show whether there are similar patterns of phrasing in terms of language. With respect to the discursive dimension, the ideological stance shaped by the text and the work of media representations, such as 'binary construction' (Derrida, 1972; Hall, 1997; Orgad, 2012), should be carefully examined to explain what discourse have been 'echoed' in the text to produce meanings, with also considering the other excluded oppositional constructions. Lastly, the social dimension should combine the discursive dimension into broader social contexts to reveal how the identity and 'norms' of wenqing is represented by and constructed in the media texts of One Day within power relations. Although these three dimensions do provide a very clear guideline for the researcher to analyse the data, they are not so straightforward and tend to merge (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Therefore, I choose to take freedom and adopt a holistic approach in the presentation of analysis and discussion. Also, in order to integrate the results thematically with the theoretical concepts discussed in the literature review, I choose to categorise the analysis into a few sections that respectively relates to certain particular concepts. Furthermore, I decided to use two different sets of colour coding, in order to provide a clear vision for interpreting the articulation of the wenqing-ism discourse – insider – and other discourses – outsider (see Appendices 1 to 8).

3.4   Limitations of CDA and Researcher's Reflexivity

In spite of overall suitability of CDA to this research, there are still a number of limitations of using this methodology for media studies. Due to its textual-based approach, CDA has been criticised for ignoring the practice of audience reception that could be mitigated through conducting ethnographic studies and media interviews (Ang, 1989; Morley, 1992). For instance, the way the researcher interprets the media texts in *One Day* may not be the same as how other audiences do. In this sense, CDA suffers from interpretation bias, as it can be excessively subjective to prejudices, which may jeopardise the validity of the interpretation and analysis (Janks, 1997: 30). As Gill (1996: 147) also argues, 'our own discourse as discourse

analysts is no less constructed, occasioned and action oriented than the discourse that we are studying'. Therefore, in order to ease any concerns of subjectivity and bias, the researcher has to take extra measures and ethical consideration for the study, such as addressing her standpoint.

Having these in mind, I decided to be fully transparent in this study and to be constantly attentive to my position and prejudices. As a 24-year-old Hong Kong woman, I am a freelance writer and illustrator who is into literature, art, and alternative lifestyle. I like to produce creative writings, design illustrations and make animations. I also enjoy meeting friends and working in the quiet independent cafés with a cup of cappuccino or latte. Should we adopt Lai's (2011: 22) definition of the contemporary wenqing – a group of creative and cultured people who are into literature, art or music; these groups of people tend to have non-mainstream mind and taste, and pursue alternative lifestyle –, I can be defined as a wenqing as well. Yet, instead of a weakness, I perceive my identity as a strength which allows me to investigate the discourses of wenqing in a critical and reflexive manner. As Gill (1996: 147) implies, rather than claiming 'to "discover" the "truth" or even to produce a "definitive" reading', what discourse analyst aims to do 'is to produce readings that are warranted by attention to the detail of texts and what lend coherence to the discourse being studied', as the analyst is 'aware that the same text can be read and interrogated in many different ways'.

Regarding to another notable criticism of CDA, it is the selection bias, that is, the researcher may subjectively select the sample of the most relevant texts to confirm the hypothesis of the study (Rose, 2001). This can be a significant issue that renders the analysis futile. In response, each methodological decision has been given in this chapter, from sampling to analysis structure. A clear and impartial data gathering and analysis structure has been given in this chapter, in order to reduce the risk that the researcher intentionally chooses aspects of the communicative event to answer the research question. Rather than selecting the sample that depends on the researcher's subjectivity, three parts of the magazine, the cover, editor's letter and cover stories, are chosen to examine, as they are the most representative parts of the magazine that potentially construct the discourses of wenqing. Also, a set of criteria has also been made for building the sample, which allows the researcher to set up the sample as systematically as possible. However, there is also another bias that the researcher may only target media texts that talk about 'wenqing' as she understands it from the preconceived knowledge systems she is embedded. In order to reduce this bias, I choose to adopt Lai's (2011: 22) definition of wenqing to understand what wenqing is about in the first place, in order to make the interpretation and analysis as objectively as possible. Nevertheless, due to the fact that this research project is also part of the discourse that reinforces, or is reinforced by, existing power relations, I acknowledge that this project cannot be a perfectly objective, value-free analysis, as power domination is relational and contingent (Foucault, 1980).

4   ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Drawing on the data collected from *One Day*, three themes are set for the analysis and discussion. These themes will be integrated with the concepts discussed in the literature review, which aim to provide a clear framework for answering the sub-questions in the first place. Specifically, the first theme about '*One Day*'s wenqing values' will address [1] 'in what sense the values of *One Day* are represented as the values of the contemporary wenqing'. Then,

the second theme about 'social space' will answer [2] 'in what sense the independent café is represented as a sense of wenqing's space'. Finally, the last theme about the 'media representation' will explain [3] 'to what extent the habitus, or taste and lifestyle, and space of wenqing are constructed by 'othering' the mainstream beliefs and lifestyle through the work of media representations' and [4] 'what discourses have been constituted and maintained through the work of the media representations in *One Day*'. When going through all of these sub-questions, the idea of the representation of wenqing identity will then be revealed and brought to light, which allows us to 'see the wood from the tree' (Bourdieu, 1989: 19), to address how the identity of the contemporary Taiwanese wenqing is represented by *One Day* within the complex system of power relations.

4.1 The 'Creditable' and 'Romantic' Wenqing Values in *One Day*

In Taiwan, *One Day* is a well-known 'wenqing bible' (Ong, 2016: 28), a top wenqing magazine, which is recognised by every wenqing in Taiwan (Li et al., 2015: 14). Yet, the title 'wenqing bible' was not 'born' in a social vacuum itself. Rather, the 'wenqing image' of *One Day* is largely constructed and represented by the content of the magazine itself. First of all, drawing on the sample, the 'identities' of the interviewees in these four cover stories were proudly introduced under their respective headlines as:

> Yi Jun Lo, the most representative novelist in Taiwan… (Appendix 3)

> Tommy Yu, a busy director, photographer and screenwriter who always
> 'keeps hands in pocket' … (Appendix 4)

> Ji Zhang Ji, the owner of 'Hua Yi Shi' studio and 'Black Kite' café, who hopes
> to use the art of flower and plant to give energy to people. (Appendix 7)

> Xi Kai Hong, a barista and the vocalist of the independent band Staycool…
> (Appendix 8)

Referring to Lai's (2011: 22) definition of the contemporary wenqing, all of these interviewees are also categorised as the wenqing too, as they are cultured people who are into literature, art or music. They are 'novelist', 'director, photographer and screenwriter', 'art studio owner' and 'vocalist of independent music band'. They are the 'creditable' wenqing based on their careers and practical experiences about literature, art and music, so nobody will reject the 'fact' that they are wenqing. Based on their social status and credibility, these interviewees are the powerful social actors who are able to impose a vision of the social world to establish meanings and a consensus about the meaning of wenqing, 'and in particular about the identity and unity of the group, which creates the reality of the unity and the identity of the group' (Bourdieu, 1994: 221). However, the 'power to make things and produce meanings' is not generated from the social actors themselves, but rather is generated through the forms of the direct enactment

of institutional power. As Van Dijk (1995: 21) argues, it is the institution, including media institution, that 'opens the door' for specific social actors to engage in (verbal) action to construct meanings, interpretation and understanding that may affect minds of others. In this sense, it is *One Day* that allows these interviewees, as the 'powerful social actors', to engage in (verbal) action to represent the values of wenqing. As we have discussed in the literature review, the media institutions, including *One Day*, are the symbolic capital, which have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition, and therefore establish legitimate vision for constructing meanings and 'common sense' in the society.

Especially, in these four cover stories, three of them were edited into and presented as the first-person narratives, that is, the interviewees were presented as 'I' in the cover stories. As a form of 'personal experience', the first-person narration is a means to enhance credibility of the texts to emphasise what beliefs and values that the narrators have (Van Dijk, 1995: 23). In particular, the degree of credibility of the texts depends on how significant the storyteller is. According to Sfard and Prusak's (2005: 18), 'significant narrators, the owners of the most influential voices, are carriers of those cultural messages that will have the greatest impact on' influencing others. Here, in these three cover stories of *One Day*, the storytellers are the creditable wenqing who tell their own stories about who they are. Should we also accept the concept that 'identity is a set of reifying, significant, endorsable stories about a person (Sfard & Prusak, 2005: 14), we can suggest that identity is a storytelling of a person about what he or she does, how he or she lives like and what attitudes, conceptions and beliefs he or she holds. Then, if one's identity is a storytelling, the collective identity can also be seen as a collective storytelling. In these three cover stories, the wenqing storytellers are collectively telling their own similar, if not the same, collective belief, taste and lifestyle (which will be discussed later in this chapter). This eventually brings a notion of the collective wenqing identity, a shared sense of belonging to a group. To unpack this idea, wenqing is an identity instituted through a stylised repetition of acts and lifestyles, which has been consolidated into formulations and norms for other wenqing to 'subscribe to'. In this sense, wenqing is a shared experience and collective action. Nevertheless, it does not suggest that the collective wenqing identity is represented by just how the storytellers tell their wenqing life; rather, it is represented by the editing style of *One Day*.

Noted that the cover stories were edited into the first-person narratives from the angles of the interviewees, the stories were selectively corrected, cropped and presented by the editors of *One Day*, as we can see that there are the editors' names above the interviewees' introduction (Appendices 3, 4 and 7). Although the 'I' in the stories are the interviewees themselves, they were the products managed and controlled by the magazine, which relates to the concept of 'agenda setting'. As McCombs and Shaw (1972: 176) argue, 'in choosing and displaying news [, stories or features], editors… play an important part in shaping… reality'. Editors are the ones who decide to give how much information and knowledge to the readers for setting the 'agenda' of the magazine's campaign. In *One Day*, the creditable wenqing's values were presented not only by the construction of the first-person narratives in the cover stories, but also by the editor's 'approval' to those values. As evidence of this, from the extract of the editor's letters in our sample, we found that the editor usually first 'quoted' what the creditable wenqing had mentioned, and then made the statements for the quotations, such as:

[Quotation from the creditable wenqing who is the vocalist of the independent band '1976':] 'I do not appreciate the 'progress' achieved by the profit. A good life should be defined by 'everyone can do whatever they like'. (Appendix 2)

[Statement made by the editor:] Success is not equal to make big money. Not keeping up with the 'progress' is not equal to failure. Anyway, the most important thing is to find out own belief and style. (Appendix 2)

[Quotation from the creditable wenqing who is the vocalist of the independent band 'Staycool':] 'The joy of life is far greater than the consideration of money and cost'. (Appendix 6)

[Statement made by the editor:] We believe that the joy of life is actually the 'highest' and most important 'cost' of life. We also believe that these café owners have made the best and most romantic choice. (Appendix 6)

The findings above show that the editor of *One Day* has 'approved' and praised the values of the creditable wenqing with using phrases like 'we also believe' and 'the best and most romantic choice'. Instead of concerning and worrying about the 'money thing', the wenqing is presented here as the ones who are 'romantic' and who pursue their 'own belief and style'. This notion once again suggests that the wenqing identity is represented as a collective enterprise rather than an individual enterprise, since these similar wenqing values were not presented as one single person's thought but instead a group of people's thoughts, including those of creditable social actors and editors of *One Day*. Through these politeness forms of language, grammar and lexical style, *One Day* has constructed itself as something that entails the wenqing beliefs. It is in this sense that the values of *One Day* are represented as the values of wenqing, by showing that their values are the same as the creditable wenqing, the creditable social actors. This kind of consecutive editing pattern – reporting, approving and praising wenqing's values – has eventually made *One Day* become something that can represent wenqing and construct the 'common sense' and perception for wenqing.

4.2 Physical Space as Social Space: Independent Café as 'A Sense of Wenqing's Space'

While the association between independent café and wenqing seems as an evident 'fact' (Lai, 2011), there is actually something behind the scene to construct this 'reality'. To be more explicit, as we have repeatedly highlighted in this dissertation, it is media institution, including *One Day*, as one of the central players in the symbolic system, that governs our perception of the social world. It is *One Day* represents the values of wenqing and constructs the relationship between the independent café and wenqing identity. Yet, before performing the following analysis and in order to avoid any confusion, I would like to clarify and confirm that all the cafés in our sample are the small independent cafés in Taiwan, which is double-checked by conducting an extra search of the information about those cafés (Beans & Beats, 2017; Black Kiris, 2017; Pai & Liu, 2017; Ruins Coffee Roasters, 2017; Sugar Man Café, 2017; Yaboo Café, 2017).

Drawing on the sample, the theme of *One Day No. 042* is 'The people who work in the café. The lost youth in the café', which are also the cover lines of the magazine (Appendix 1). First of all, the second sentence here is the further details of the first sentence, which suggests that the 'people' who work in the café are the 'lost youths'. This idea can be further strengthened by the sentence written in the cover story of 'The sky with leaves and flowers…' in *One Day No. 061* when Li described her 'Black Kiris' café: 'the café seems as a "shelter" to accommodate "every lost soul" in the city' (Appendix 7). In this sense, both periodicals of *One Day* – *No. 042* and *No. 061* – seem to be constructed as a collection to present the café as an exclusive space for the 'lost youths with lost soul'. This also implies the notion that, whenever in 2015 or in 2017 today, *One Day* always promotes the same value. It is a long process of institutionalisation which consolidates the magazine's ethos and also gives power to the magazine in making certain 'common sense' and norms of the social world.

Secondly, the people, which are presented as 'lost youths', who work in the café are not limited to the staffs or the owner of the cafés, but rather include the customers who bring their own work to do in the café. Specifically, we found that all of the first-person-narrative cover stories tend to be written and edited in a similar pattern, showing that the wenqing like to work and also relax at the cafés, such as:

> If I want to find a place to stay, it will be café for sure. Sitting quietly to read books and enjoy the leisure are the meanings of the existence of the café, isn't it? (Appendix 3)

> I don't know why I am very relaxed here. Then I started to come here frequently. (Appendix 3)

> I have developed the habit of going to café when I want to write something… (Appendix 4)

Due to the fact that the cover lines are the 'short statements found on the cover of the magazine that allude to or describe the articles inside' (The Society of Publication Designers, 2009), the 'lost youths [who work] in the café' are actually referring to the wenqing who like to write and read in the café, that is, lost youths symbolises wenqing. Besides, pursuant to the second finding above, the café is a comfortable and relaxing space for the wenqing. In fact, it is because the surrounding environment is very 'wenqing' as well, which is highlighted in the cover story of 'The nomad in the "dead wood" café…' (Appendix 3) as below:

> Different groups of people, who do not know each other, seem to usually have a gathering here; there are some directors, some photographer… and some designers who are at the same time the staffs of the café. I always cannot differentiate them… (Appendix 3)

Although the text states that there are different groups of people in the café, those people are still the ones who are into art and their careers are still classified as 'wenqing-type' jobs. They cannot be differentiated from each other, because they have the similar attitude and lifestyle, as the cover story also notes that as the following:

> The café seems to be full of 'dead wood' people. The so-called 'dead wood' does not refer to useless or unnecessary, but refers to the attitude which is reluctant to be regulated by the general values of the society, associating with the people who hope to choose their own way to live… (Appendix 3)

Should we now combine the concepts of 'lost youths' and 'dead wood' people with wenqing together, we can propose that *One Day* was trying to use the terms 'lost youth' and 'dead wood' to symbolise the collective wenqing identity, presenting wenqing as a group of people who do not want to follow the 'general values of the society', but rather hope to live in 'their own way'. The magazine has also attempted to represent the café as a sense of wenqing's space, by emphasising the wenqing's writing and reading habits in the cafes, and underlining how relaxed they feel in the cafés and how frequent they would go to the cafés. Those specific habits and feelings – practices – are actually the wenqing's collective habitus or lifestyle (properties) in the social space, which function to differentiate them from the other social groups and identities. As Bourdieu (1995: 17) suggests, habitus are both structured structures and structuring structures, which are both the system of classification of the social practices and also the means to classify division between the social groups in the social space.

Similarly, the basis of the very notion of social space is the idea of difference, as the social space is 'a structure of juxtaposition of social position' defined by the mutual exclusion or distinction (Bourdieu, 1995: 12). Except the wenqing, *One Day* has illustrated that there seems no any other type of people 'existing' in the cafés. For instance, the 'dead wood' attitude and style in the café are the collective 'properties' and 'dispositions' only shared by the wenqing. It is in this sense that the independent café is represented as a sense of wenqing's space, a space occupied by wenqing but not for the other distinct social agents. In short, the café is a symbolic, collective wenqing space instead of a pure chaos. Nonetheless, we need to always keep in mind that it is *One Day*, as a symbolic capital here, that maintains certain discourses by excluding the subordinate ones to represent the café as a sense of wenqing's space, through its symbolic production – the work of representations.

4.3 The Work of Media Representation and Discourse: The Binary Oppositions of 'Alternative Wenqing' and 'Mainstream' Lifestyles

According to Orgad (2012: 30, drawing on Silverstone, 2007: 19), the primary cultural role of media is to constantly produce and reproduce difference in the social world, that is, 'boundary work', 'the symbolic production of difference and symbolic marking of frontiers' through the work of media representations. In other words, the media continuously produce the marking of difference through the act of representing, in order to produce the 'symbolic boundary' (Georgiou, 2013: 72) between 'us' and 'them', 'here' and 'there'. Specifically, drawing on our sample, we found that there are usually some binary oppositions that differentiate the 'relaxing café' from the 'busy metropolis'. For example, in the cover story of 'The "Ruins Coffee Roasters"' (Appendix 8) when the editor was describing the 'slow living' preferred by the

wenqing, Hong, in his 'hidden' café in the metropolis, there are the binary oppositions between the different lifestyles in the café and the busy city as below:

> The metropolitans walk too fast; they are used to be fast and ignore the people around them. In contrast, people here are relatively relaxed. The 'rhythm of life' here is slow. Driving from the crowded street of the busy city, he enjoys the quiet and secret feeling here. (Appendix 8)

The binary construction shown in the findings above is not the neutral comments on different lifestyles, but rather is a discursive practice that differentiates the lifestyles of different social groups. From the text, the ideas of 'too fast', 'used to be fast', 'crowded' and 'busy city' are the representations for the metropolitan lifestyle (they), whereas the lifestyle of the wenqing (here) in the café is conversely represented as 'relatively relaxed', 'slow', 'quiet' and 'secret'. This set of 'oppositional representations', also given as 'oppositional signs', has eventually produced the 'knowledge' through language, that is, discourse. On the one hand, media representations can work to 'legitimise certain discourses, and inscribe them in the mainstream, the acceptable, the legitimate' (Orgad, 2012: 28). On the other hand, media representations can also render other discourses as marginal or oppositional. However, it does not mean that the representation is something that simply controls or governs discourses. Instead, discourse is a system of representation (Hall, 1997: 44), that is, discourses are diverse representations of social life (Fairclough, 2015: 4). As Fairclough (2015: 2) argues, '"discourse" as a count noun, as a category of designating particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life'. Discourse and representation are constituted through each other, which are inextricably entangled within the power relations, as both of them work together to produce knowledge.

It is the notion of knowledge that brings us to the concept of power, as where there is knowledge, there is power. Referring to Foucault (1980: 52), 'it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power'. In this sense, knowledge and power are inseparable, as they are constituted through each other. Yet, while we understand that knowledge can be an integral part of struggles over power, the focus point in this dissertation is the knowledge constructed in *One Day*. Therefore, instead of investigating how knowledge, as a power form itself, can act as a resistance against other forms of power, we aim to focus on how the 'dominant' knowledge and norms are formed and reinforced by the discourses presented in *One Day*. Specifically, we will concentrate on, what Fairclough (2015: 4) terms, "order of discourse", 'a social structuring of semiotic differences – a particular social ordering of relationships amongst… different discourses'.

Back to the binary oppositions in the cover story we mentioned above, there are actually a 'slow living' discourse of the wenqing lifestyle and a 'busy living' discourse of the metropolitan lifestyle. Especially, the 'busy living' discourse of the metropolitans is described by negative lexical phrases such as 'ignore the people around them'. The metropolitans are presented here as indifferent. In contrast, the wenqing lifestyle is represented in a positive way that implies the enjoyable and relaxing feelings. Moreover, taking together the beliefs of the 'romantic', 'lost' and 'dead wood' wenqing – who reject to make big money but just want to find out one's own belief, style and happiness (Appendix 2), and who are reluctant to be regulated by the general values of the society and hope to live in 'their own way' (Appendix

3) – into consideration, we can then further assure that there is indeed an order of discourse constructed in *One Day*. The 'general [mainstream] values' – 'busy living' and 'making money' – mentioned above are actually the discourses of the 'metropolitanism' constructed by the magazine, whereas the ideas of 'slow living' and 'alternative, relaxing lifestyle' shared by wenqing are the discourses of the 'wenqing-ism' against the former one.

In general, as Fairclough (2015: 4) notes, the order of discourse is mainly for retaining certain 'mainstream' discourses by 'othering' the 'alternative' discourses as marginal and oppositional. In *One Day*, the 'ordering' is reversed, as the discourses of the 'alternative wenqing values and lifestyles in the relaxing café' – wenqing-ism – are the 'dominant discourses' that dominate, 'other' and 'background' the discourses of the 'general mainstream values and lifestyles on the busy street' – metropolitanism. Although the 'ordering' is reversed, it still suggests that *One Day* does have power to produce and reproduce symbolic boundary for maintaining certain discourses by 'othering' the 'subordinate' ones, which establishes the legitimate division of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' to represent the wenqing identity. To unpack this concept, the wenqing represented in *One Day* is a symbolic construct that is manipulated through the symbolic power, which legitimates the sense: if the social agents 'subscribe to' the discourses of wenqing-ism, they will be counted as the 'insider' of wenqing culture and given the identity, 'wenqing'; conversely, if the social agents do not follow the discourses of wenqing-ism, they will then be judged as the 'outsider' of the wenqing culture. In this sense, the construction of the discourse of wenqing-ism is a relational and dialectical process, an interdiscursive social practice. That is to say, the discourses of wenqing-ism can be formed, recognised and 'visualised' in *One Day* because there are the 'subordinate' and 'oppositional' discourses of metropolitanism. Or more precisely, the discourses of wenqing-ism are constructed by 'othering' the discourses of metropolitanism.

Even though the wenqing are actually the urban dwellers living in the busy city and those independent cafés are also located in this metropolis, *One Day* has established the symbolic boundary and legitimate division to differentiate the social group of wenqing from what it defines the 'general' metropolitans. Therefore, the key for the representation of the wenqing identity is the notion of 'distinction' constituted through the symbolic production and reproduction. Especially, the 'distinction' can be revealed by the practices and expressions – signs – through the systems of social space, habitus and consumption (Woodward, 2011: 200), that is, in *One Day*, drawing on our sample, the wenqing identity is represented by the wenqing habitus (or taste and lifestyle) in the wenqing's space: consuming and drinking coffee in an independent café and staying calm and relaxed, differing from the stressful and busy metropolitans. It is this 'distinction' constructed by *One Day* – in relation to the concepts of social space, habitus, lifestyle and taste constructed by the work of representations and discourses within power relations – that legitimates and normalises the meanings of 'wenqing'.

5   CONCLUSION

In studying social identity, we have to study it as contradictory, as composed always across the system of classification and differentiation (Hall, 1991: 49). In examining the representation of a social identity, we have also suggested that the notion of 'distinction' constituted through symbolic production is the key for the work of representation. Through a CDA of the eight

media texts relating to the theme of independent café of *One Day*, we have first figured out that it is the consecutive editing pattern, approving and praising the creditable wenqing's values, that eventually made *One Day* as a 'wenqing magazine'. Then, the analysis also found that the independent café is represented as a wenqing's space in *One Day*, by highlighting wenqing's writing and reading habits – collective habitus or lifestyle – in the café, and emphasising that the café is a place only shared by the wenqing, but not for the other distinct social agents who have different 'properties' and 'dispositions', such as the metropolitans. Specifically, the analysis revealed that there are two discourses maintained by a set of 'oppositional representations' in *One Day*, which are the discourse of wenqing-ism referring to 'alternative wenqing values and slow living lifestyles' and the discourse of metropolitanism referring to 'general mainstream values and fast living lifestyles'.

In this way, there is an order of discourse in *One Day*, as the discourse of wenqing-ism has been constructed as the dominant discourse that dominates and 'others' the discourse of metropolitanism. It also implies the notion that the discourse of wenqing-ism is formed by 'othering' the discourse of metropolitanism, that is, the representation of wenqing identity is constructed by 'othering' the representation of metropolitans. To be more precise, the 'wenqing' is represented as a collective identity instituted through a stylised and normalised repetition of acts and lifestyles that can be differentiated from the 'others'. In other words, the wenqing identity is represented by the distinctions of habitus, lifestyle and social space, and the legitimate division of these distinctions are constructed by the work of representations and discourses within the power relations in *One Day*. It is the work of media representations that constructs and normalises the meanings of 'wenqing'.

Overall, I hope that the analysis and discussion in this dissertation are sufficient to show how the identity of wenqing is represented in the local magazine in terms of habitus, lifestyle and social space. Then again, as we acknowledge that the notion of identity is far more than a 'product' shaped and constructed by the media, this study did not intend to answer how the wenqing community is constructed by *One Day* (which involves complex processes such as one's self-construction that needs to be investigated by research method such as interview), but instead aims to address how the wenqing identity is represented by the magazine (which has been justified in the methodology chapter that CDA is the most appropriate research method). However, the literature chapter in this dissertation has provided a critical review of the theories in the construction of identity and the CDA has also highlighted the importance of media representations that might influence the process of identity construction, offering a solid foundation for the future study to investigate how the wenqing identity is formed and constructed. Moreover, the CDA shows that the values and styles of wenqing presented in *One Day* are contradictory to the 'general mainstream values', which fulfil one of the 'criteria' of being a subculture in Hebdige's (1979: 18) definition: subculture as a style that challenges and interrupts the process of 'normalisation' of the mainstream values. Nevertheless, as a well-known 'wenqing bible' and the best-selling local lifestyle magazine in Taiwan, is the 'alternative wenqing style' – discourse of wenqing-ism – dominated and presented in *One Day* still 'alternative'? Or, is this 'alternative value' eventually becoming a part of the mainstream values and popular cultures? Undoubtedly, those questions would be the challenges for further research on the contemporary wenqing.

6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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7   APPENDICES

- **Colour code** refers to the articulation of 'insider' of wenqing culture: wenqing's beliefs, habitus (or taste and lifestyle) and 'space' (the cafés)

- **Colour code** refers to the articulation of 'outsider' of wenqing culture: other beliefs, habitus (or taste and lifestyle) and 'space'

Appendix 1

The cover lines from the cover of *One Day No. 042* (One Day, 2015: 1)

在咖啡館工作的人

Dans le caf de la jeunesse perdue

在急速變動的城市，點一杯咖啡，在小方桌前持續蹲點

The people who work in the café

The lost youth in the café

In the rapidly changing city, order a cup of coffee and take a rest in front of the small square table.

Appendix 2

Extract from the editor's letter of *One Day No. 042* (Liu, 2015: 4)

我們談論的不只是咖啡

[文:] 劉冠吟

咖啡館跟咖啡幾乎是每個生活風格媒體必談跟必寫的題目，光是今年剛過去的八月和九月，談論咖啡館／咖啡專題的雜誌媒體就不少，那小日子又何必在大家一窩風談完的十月，又發了一刊咖啡的主題呢？

雖不盲目跟隨趨勢做報導，但因為總能提出不同的觀察，我們也從不避諱與其他刊物做類似的題目。近日咖啡館又再度蔚為顯學，我們認為，跟什麼工業風的文青裝潢走紅無關，跟創業的流行無關，而是跟「態度」及「風格」有關。風格及態度在咖啡廳的細節處處呈現，在咖啡廳的主人、去咖啡廳工作的人們裡彰顯，所以，小日子談論的不只是咖啡而已。

We are not only talking about coffee

[Editor:] Guan Yin Liu

Café and coffee seem as the 'must' topics that every lifestyle media will write about. Last August and September, there were a lot of magazines writing stories about coffee and café, but why did *One Day* still choose to publish an issue about coffee?

We do not aim to follow the trend to write the stories. It does not mean that we are afraid to write the same topics as other magazines, but it is because we can always provide different perspectives on the same topics. Recently, 'café' has become the popular 'philosophy' again. We believe that the phenomenon does not relate to the popularity of wenqing decoration or the trend of entrepreneurship, but instead relates to 'attitude' and 'style'. Style and attitude appear in every aspect of the café, including the people who work for the café and people who consume in the café. Therefore, *One Day* is not only talking about the coffee 'literally'.

這次專訪到當代最重要作家之一駱以軍，擁有豐富的咖啡館駐點寫作的生活經驗，現常落腳於一間他口中「充滿廢材氣息」的咖啡館。他所謂廢材，並不是毫無出息，而是不願受成規限制、做自己的氣息。樂團 1976 的阿凱跟我們聊到他的咖啡館，說「不欣賞純粹因為利益而產生的進步。美好的生活，應該是讓人人能做自己想做的事情。」

In this issue, we interviewed one of the most influential contemporary authors, Yi Jun Luo, who has rich writing experiences in the café. He often stays at a 'dead wood' café. The so-called 'dead wood' described by him does not refer to useless or unnecessary, but rather refers to the sense of 'unrestricted' which associates with the people who choose their own way to live. As A Kai from the independent band '1976' says, 'I do not appreciate the 'progress' achieved by the profit. A good life should be defined by 'everyone can do whatever they like'.

顏社的老闆迪拉胖，在嘗試發行雜誌、挖掘饒舌歌手、經營唱片品牌等，現在開了一間咖啡館，把所有努力過的痕跡與成績，看似隨意、但實則華麗又慎重的展示。如果請長輩們列一個「不務正業」的 Checklist，上面的事情迪拉胖大概都幹過了。我跟迪拉胖是學生時代就認識的好友，這麼多年來他從來沒改變過初衷，對於目標及細節的龜毛堅持，在他的咖啡館、同時也是他的辦公場域裡處處展現。

Not only publishing magazines, promoting rappers and recording albums, the owner of Beans and Beats, Dela Chang, also opened a café. The café seems simple but actually gorgeous and prudent, which is full of the traces of Dela's efforts and achievements. If there is a 'goofing around' checklist compiled by the elderly, Dela is likely to commit all on the list. Dela and I have been good friends since our school days. For many years, he has never changed his dream. He always clings to his belief and puts in a great deal of effort, demonstrating in his café where is at the same time his office.

所以說，我們談論的不只是咖啡館或咖啡，而是一種態度。駱以軍的「廢材」、阿凱口中的「不願改變及進步」、迪拉胖的「不務正業」，以往都是負面詞彙，然而在這個時代，價值已不是二元的分別，不是非黑即白、成功＝賺大錢，不跟上進步＝失敗。能找出自己的執著與風格，反而是真正亮眼的點。

So, rather than only discussing coffee or café literally, what we are really concerning is the attitude. In the past, Yi Jun Lo's 'dead wood', A Kai's 'unwillingness to change and progress' and Dela's 'goofing around' were all negative terms. However, in today's era, value is not a 'dualism'; things are not always black or white, like success = making big money, not keeping up with the 'progress' = failure. Anyway, the most important thing is to find out our own belief and style.

Appendix 3

Extract from the cover story of *One Day No. 042* (Tina, 2015: 50-53)

在廢材氣息的咖啡館間遊牧
抽兩根煙就進入寫作狀態

The nomad in the 'dead wood' café who always starts writing after two cigarettes

[撰文:] Tina

[訪問對象:] 駱以軍．臺灣最具代表性的中生代小說家……

既然要找地方窩，能待的自然是咖啡館……

坐著靜靜看書，享受一段悠哉，不就是咖啡館的存在意義？

常跑的結果，就是這些年去過不少咖啡館。其中也有熱門的文青咖啡館。我都稱自己像遊牧民族，每天去的咖啡館可能都不同間，每次都待上三、四個小時，時間一到就離開，而在那幾個小時裡，我訓練自己抽個兩根煙後就進入狀況寫稿，讓自己維持一個穩定寫稿的習慣和模式。

最近最常待著的咖啡館就是 YABOO Café，一開始來這裡，只因為他們有個院子可以抽煙，冬天還有火爐可取暖。大概是兩三年前，來到 YABOO 的時候正好是我寫長篇小說《女兒》後期。每次來都是靜靜窩在院子抽煙、修稿或看書。不知道為什麼，待在這很輕鬆，就開始常來……

因為我常常待到四、五點，每次快離去的時候，YABOO 的庭院就開始變得很熱鬧，像是來自四面八方的人馬開始聚集，有的好像是導演，有的是攝影師……有的像是做設計又同時是店員。我常搞不清楚哪些是客人、哪些是在這裡上班的……

這裡有一種像聚集了很多廢材的感覺，我所謂的廢材不是真的很廢，而是指不願受到社會一般價值觀規範，很做自己的那種廢材之氣；就像我夢想中的咖啡館。或許就如同保羅．奧斯特小說《布魯克林的納善先

[Editor:] Tina

[Interviewee:] Yi Jun Luo, the most representative novelist in Taiwan…

If I want to find a place to stay, it will be café for sure.

Sitting quietly to read books and enjoy the leisure are the meanings of the existence of the café, isn't it?

During these years, I have been to many cafés including some popular wenqing cafés. I call myself as a nomad, who roves around different cafes every day. I often stay at the café for three to four hours. In these few hours, I have trained myself to enter the 'writing mode' after smoking two cigarettes, which is my writing habit and pattern.

Recently, I usually stay at the YABOO Café because it has a garden where allows people to smoke. In winter, there is a heating stove. The first time I came here was around two or three years ago when I was writing the last few chapters of my novel *Daughter*. I always sit in the garden quietly, smoking, editing and reading books. I don't know why I am very relaxed here. Then I started to come here frequently…

Sometimes when I was leaving the café at four or five o'clock, the café began to become very lively. Different groups of people, who do not know each other, seem to usually have a gathering here; there are some directors, some photographers… some designers who are at the same time the staffs of the café. I always cannot differentiate them…

The café seems to be full of 'dead wood' people. The so-called 'dead wood' does not refer to useless or unnecessary, but refers to the attitude which is reluctant to be regulated by the general values of the society, associating with the people who hope to choose their own way to live; this is

生》書中所寫的，聚集了眾多獨特之人在同一個空間，交織出一段又一段的故事。

my dream café. Like what Paul Auster wrote in his book, *The Brooklyn Follies*, the unique people were 'gathered' and 'assembled' in one specific space, starting the 'journey' again and again.

漸漸熟悉了這裡的人後，很怪異的是不會對我的寫作造成影響。常常和他們聊著聊著，我就開始寫書……漸漸的，我連跟朋友相聚大部分時間都約在這裡，因為即使是坐在客滿的室內，明明是開放空間，但和隔壁桌卻彼此自成一區，像是一個小世界。

Interestingly, my 'writing mode' has not been affected even if I am getting familiar with the people here. I usually start writing when I am chatting to them… Gradually, I even love dating my friends to meet here. Although the café is an open space and sometimes crowded, I still feel that is my 'little world'.

和咖啡館的人熟悉後，每次離去都會開心道別，像老朋友一樣。

After getting familiar with the people in the café, it is always a pleasure to meet and say goodbye to them in the café, just like old friends.

Appendix 4

Extract from the cover story of *One Day No. 042* (Han, 2015: 54-57)

開到深夜的咖啡館 像人生的小站	The late-night café As a little stop of life
[撰文:] 韓小蒂	[Editor:] Xiao Di Han

[訪問對象:] Tommy Yu. 一個看似無所事事卻忙到擔子很重的導演、攝影和編劇……

[Interviewee:] Tommy Yu, a busy director, photographer and screenwriter who always 'keeps hands in pocket'…

從念電影系開始，我養成了去咖啡館的習慣……想寫東西時就會去咖啡館……

Since I started my degree in Film Studies, I have developed the habit of going to café when I want to write something…

我在咖啡館都在做些什麼？其實就是寫劇本……這間 Sugar Man Café 位置很隱密，偶然騎單車經過發現，正好是一家開到凌晨四點的咖啡館。Sugar Man 的空間很舒服，有音樂遊蕩著……很多人都來這兒安靜地工作，我也是其中一員；很享受這種大家互不相識，卻專心於做一件事的氛圍，就像另類的工作室。

What will I do in the café? Actually, I will just write the scripts… I discovered this 'hidden' Sugar Man Café when I was cycling. This is a late-night café which opens until 4 a.m.. Sugar Man is a very comfortable space with quiet music… Many people love coming to work, including myself. Although we don't know each other, we enjoy the atmosphere that everyone pays attention to do one thing, their own thing. It is like an alternative studio.

這裡也提供了一種恰到好處的人際氣氛......有時來到咖啡館偶爾會跟朋友不期而遇......當然在這兒遇到朋友，難免聊兩句，喝咖啡聊是非也是一種很正常的紓壓......

The café has provided me the right atmosphere for the interpersonal communication… Sometimes I meet my friends here… Of course, we will not only drink coffee, but will also exchange gossips, which is a quite normal way to relieve stress…

咖啡館之於我，像是深夜食堂，是都市中一個溫暖的空間，一桌一燈一杯咖啡，任由自己的想像天馬行空的奔馳。於是，我總是背個背包，挑個靠窗邊的座位，打開筆電，取出筆記本，在一盞小燈、一杯咖啡的氤氳或一瓶啤酒的冰涼中，日復一日地在小方桌前蹲點，寫劇本......

For me, the café seems as a late-night canteen, a warm and comfortable space in the metropolis. One table, one lamp and one coffee in the café can let me create something beyond anyone's imagination. So, I always bring my backpack, laptop and notes here to write the script, sitting near the window and 'melting' in the atmosphere of the warm light, coffee aroma or the cold beer…

Appendix 5

The cover lines from the cover of *One Day No. 061* (One Day, 2017a: 1)

Coffee, please
咖啡館的兩種生活

循著冉冉香氣
走入大隱於市的咖啡館
預約一杯用心烹煮的咖啡
啜飲人生的細微苦甜

Coffee, please
The two lives of the café

Follow the 'aroma' of leisure
Go into the hidden café of the metropolis
Reserve a cup of coffee
Take a sip of the 'bittersweet' of life

Appendix 6

Extract from the editor's letter of *One Day No. 061* (Liu, 2017: 4)

複合咖啡的浪漫人生

[文:] 劉冠吟

「如果全世界只剩一種飲料，我會選擇咖啡，所有讓人上癮的東西都不是甜的，是苦的。」本期的受訪者之一，身兼咖啡師、烘豆師、獨立樂隊主唱的「小廢墟」主人洪璽開的這句話，一語道盡本期企劃的精神。這期挑選了複合型咖啡館，主理人們融合了咖啡與人生中的其他夢想，打造出這個城市最迷人跟獨特的氣味。

The Romance of 'Combinative' Coffee

[Editor:] Guan Yin Liu

'If there is only one type of drinks left in the world, I hope that is coffee. All the addictive things are not sweet, but instead bitter', says Xi Kai Hong, one of the interviewees of this issue. He is a barista and owner of the café 'Ruins Coffee Roasters', who is at the same time the vocalist of an independent music band. The statement he made has exactly matched the spirit of this issue. This month, *One Day* chose to introduce the independent 'combinative café' and draw out how the café owners combine their dreams with

the 'romance' of coffee, creating the most attracting and unique 'soul' in the city.

咖啡這個題目幾乎穿梭在每一期的小日子裡，我們的著迷不言可喻。從第 42 期《在咖啡館工作的人》到這一期的《咖啡的兩種生活》，我們的視線把客人轉回主人，從每個咖啡館的生活模式，獨一無二的氛圍，到主理人的人生軌跡，試圖在紙上重現這個城市裡每個角落的夢想，將容易隨風散去的咖啡香化為文字好好收藏。

Our fascination in coffee is beyond words, as the topic 'coffee' almost appeared in every issue of *One Day*. From the *No. 042* 'The people who work in the café. The lost youth in the café' to the recent issue 'Coffee, please. The two lives of the café', our sights on customers have been turned to the owners. This time, we would like to write about the unique style and atmosphere of certain cafés, trying to present the pursuits of the café owners, show the dreams of every corner of the city and preserve the 'coffee aroma' into words.

結合花店與咖啡的「黑鳶」，彷彿「理解生命中需要棲身之所在」，提供旅人在漫天繁花陪伴中度過的咖啡時光裡，最馥郁芬芳的日常，讓顛沛或緊湊的城市生活步調因為一杯咖啡而趨緩……

Combining the elements of flower and coffee, 'Black Kiris' café seems as a 'shelter' for the 'flâneur', providing them a chance to relax with the flower and coffee aroma. It is also a space for them to slow down their rhythm in the busy city life, enabling them to 'pause and ponder' the meaning of life, with a cup of coffee…

開在宜蘭靜巷內的「開始」，結合陶瓷與咖啡，主理人分享：「也許在經濟層面多少會因人力或資金感到負擔艱辛，卻也堅信生活中的快樂皆來自身邊周遭萬物，不去刻意招攬生意，花若盛開，蝴蝶自來。」

In the quiet lane of Yilan, the café 'Kai Shi' has combined the elements of ceramic and coffee. 'From the economic perspective, perhaps it is quite tough to keep the café, but I believe that 'happiness' is not equal to money. I don't need to promote my café, as the 'butterflies will come when flowers in efflorescence'.

座落木柵河堤的「小廢墟」，夾在檳榔攤與修車場中間，裝修由主理人一手包辦，每個細節都充滿故事。主理人洪璽開說：「待在這裡很有安全感，像是被包覆著，有一種全世界也找不到我的感覺。」「生活的快樂遠大於營運成本的考量，『你不覺得這是一件很浪漫的事嗎？』」我們覺得，生活的快樂其實就是人生中最高也最重要的成本，而這幾個主理人的選擇，則為浪漫做了最好的示現。

Located between a betel nut stand and a garage near the river, the café 'Ruins Coffee Roasters' was furnished by the owner himself. Every detail of the café is full of stories and memories. 'There is a sense of security, like being hidden, which is a feeling that the whole world cannot find me', says the owner Xi Kai Hong. 'The joy of life is far greater than the consideration of money and cost. Don't you think that is a very romantic thing?' We believe that the joy of life is actually the 'highest' and most important 'cost' of life. We also believe that these café owners have made the best and most romantic choice.

Appendix 7

Extract from the cover story of *One Day No. 061* (Yang, 2017: 57-63)

漫天枝葉繁花
溫柔陪伴一杯咖啡的時間

[文:] 楊芷菡

[訪問對象:] 李濟章．期望能藉植物與花去貼近人的生活，滋養源源不絕的能量，現為「花疫室」、「黑鳶」負責人。

試著想像，在銅牆鐵壁的水泥叢林裡長滿了植物與花，會是什麼模樣？原本萎靡不振的生活狀態，因與大自然共生而獲得能量，彷彿一個棲身之所，容納了每個在城市裡流浪、徘徊的生命，對我而言，「黑鳶」就是這樣的所在……

頻率上我每兩、三個月飛一趟東京採買花材……日常與廠商洽談奔波整個上午之後，緊湊的步調在走進店裡後因為一杯咖啡趨緩。

坐在二樓工作臺，隨著咖啡香和音樂進入另一個世界……望向屋內，看見客人們開心地聊天，花草是這麼地與每個人貼近。在植物與花的環境之下，大口呼吸。從來沒想過，自己的生活可以是這個樣子。

The sky with leaves and flowers
The gentle time with a cup of coffee

[Editor:] Zhi Han Yang

[Interviewee:] Ji Zhang Li, the owner of 'Hua Yi Shi' studio and 'Black Kiris' café, who hopes to use the art of flower and plant to give energy to people.

Let's imagine. What will it be like if the inside of the 'concrete forest' is full of plants and flowers? The boring life has been given energy by the power of 'nature'. The café seems as a 'shelter' to accommodate 'every lost soul' in the city. At least, 'Black Kiris' is something like this to me.

In general, I will travel to Tokyo to purchase flowers every two or three months… Besides, I usually have busy morning due to the day-to-day arrangements with certain manufacturers. But then my fast-paced life will be slowed down after going back to the café, with a cup of coffee.

Sitting at the working corner on the second floor with coffee aroma and music, I have entered another 'world'… Here, I can see how enjoyable the people are to chat with each other and how close the distance is between the nature and people. Take a deep breath under the natural environment with flower and grass. I never thought that my life can be like this.

Appendix 8

Extract from the cover story of *One Day No. 061* (Zheng, 2017: 84-87)

小廢墟咖啡館

[文:] 鄭雅文

[訪問對象:] 洪璽開．咖啡師，另一個身份是獨立樂團 Staycool 主唱，在木柵河堤開了一間…小廢墟咖啡館…認為咖啡館是靈魂流通的場域。

The 'Ruins Coffee Roasters'

[Editor:] Ya Wen Zheng

[Interviewee:] Xi Kai Hong, a barista and the vocalist of the independent band 'Staycool', who opened the 'Ruins Coffee Roasters' café next to the Muzha river…He believes that the café is a place for 'soul communication'.

小廢墟夾在檳榔攤與修車廠中間，位置相當不明顯，曾經是個連郵差都找不到，一個沒有地址的地方。「待在這很有安全感，像是被包覆著，有一種全世界都找不到我的感覺。」……

Located between a betel nut stand and a garage near the river, the café 'Ruins Coffee Roasters' is a 'hidden' place where even the postman could not find. It seems as a space without an address. 'There is a sense of security, like being hidden, which is a feeling that the whole world cannot find me'…

大都會的人走得太快，習慣速成，反而忽略了別人，住在木柵的人相對慵懶，時間在這裡是緩慢的，他喜歡開車來這裡的感覺，穿過擁擠的車陣，安靜而隱密……

The metropolitans walk too fast; they are used to be fast and ignore the people around them. In contrast, people here are relatively relaxed. The 'rhythm of life' here is slow. Driving from the crowded street of the busy city, he enjoys the quiet and secret feeling here.

對他來說，生活的快樂大過於營運成本的考量。洪璽開：「你不覺得這是很浪漫的一件事嗎？」……

For him, the joy of life is far greater than the consideration of money and cost. 'Don't you think that is a very romantic thing?'…

「如果全世界只剩一種飲料，我會選擇咖啡。所有讓人上癮的東西都不是甜的，是苦的。」咖啡的苦澀與甘甜，洪璽開心裡最是明白。

'If there is only one type of drinks left in the world, I hope that is coffee. All the addictive things are not sweet, but instead bitter'. From the bottom of his heart, Xi Kai Hong completely understands how 'bitter' and 'sweet' the 'coffee' is.