Cultural Clash among Old and New Culture in Haruki Murakami's "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism"

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Abstract: Culture is a set of norms and behavior that continued to be passed down from generation to generation. However, as time passed, the values in the past could have changed because it was no longer relatable in society. Consequently, society would have two opposing views, one that adheres to old values and the other that had embraced the new values. The combination of these two perspectives could be found in Haruki Murakami's short story entitled "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism". Thus, this research objective was to describe on how Murakami represented those two values in this short story. Using qualitative analytic methods and literature study, this paper combined Stuart Hall's representation theory and Sylvia Walby's patriarchal hegemony theory to reach our research objective. As for the result, we found that the teenagers' views in the 60s about virginity and women's emancipation came into conflict with the old culture. In the old culture, women were expected to remain virgins until they married, whereas teens in the 60s no longer considered virginity as something important. Furthermore, the old culture also emphasized the role of domestic affairs for women but on the other side, men dominate the household due to their role as the head of the household. Thus, it can be concluded that the cultural dominance of the view on virginity and women's emancipation had shifted.

Keywords: cultural clash; Japan; patriarchal hegemony; representation

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Culture is a complex thing that includes various things, such as knowledge systems, beliefs, moral customs, and laws, which are then passed down from generation to generation. It is common for culture to have taken root in society and used as a standard for determining good and bad behavior. However, as time goes by, the old values can be replaced by new ones that emerge later in society. The phenomenon of the emergence of new values, or according to Raymond Williams, called emergent culture (Faruk, 2019, pp. 156–157), is caused by the emergence of a new class that brings a culture. This new culture is contrary to the dominant culture, where the dominant culture cannot cover all aspects of life. This phenomenon will cause society to have two opposing views; one that adheres to old values and the other that has embraced the new values.

This social phenomenon is often expressed through literary work because it often reflects things that happen in society, and the authors experience it as part of the reality of the society they grew up in. According to Damono (2022, p. 1), literature illustrates social reality. One of the authors who present some illustrations of social reality, especially those related to cultural clash, is Japanese writer Haruki Murakami. As a contemporary writer, Murakami is known for his work that brings new colors. During his career, he has conducted various works, both fiction and non-fiction, such as proses and essays. Western writers inspire Murakami's writing style; he often writes about the other side of Japan, including the cultural clash in some of his works. One of Murakami's works that shows the cultural clash of old and new cultures is a short story entitled "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism". This story is a part of the anthology of short stories entitled "Blind Willow, Sleeping Woman".

The short story "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism" not just tells about a love story of two teenagers who are hindered by differences in cultural views. It also implicitly tells about a cultural clash between the old and new culture related to the Japanese view on women. The old culture is represented through the thoughts of Fujisawa Yoshiko as the female main character, that views women as the ones who have various limitations. Her family formed her view on women. Since the beginning, Yoshiko's marriage partner has been chosen, and her dream to continue her study to a higher level and have an independent career is denied. In addition, there is also a view that women must maintain their virginity, whereas, after 1960s Japan, virginity was not something that had a significant value anymore. Yoshiko's view was caused by her family still adhering to the old patriarchal principles and the Japanese family structure called *ie* structure. Women are domiciled as private figures and men as public figures (Sari, 2020, p. 361). Meanwhile, the new culture is represented by the actions of Kare, who rejects the view of the character Fujisawa Yoshiko regarding marriage partners because the character Kare intends to marry the character Fujisawa Yoshiko. In the 1960s, the thoughts of the character Kare were common, and even women already had freedom over themselves.

Haruki Murakami's short story titled "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism", which is included in *Blind Willow, Sleeping Woman* will be used as a data source, considering that in this short story, there are issues regarding the cultural clash between an old and new culture which is still relevant to the current state of society. This study describes the forms of cultural clashes that exist in the short story "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism".

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

State of the Art

This research takes Haruki Murakami's "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-history of Late-stage Capitalism", which is included in the *Blind Willow, Sleeping Woman* (Murakami, 2007, 2009) short stories that Shinchosha published on November 9th, 2009.

According to the internet and research catalogs, only one research uses Haruki Murakami's "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-history of Late-stage Capitalism" as the data source. The research title is "Story Meaning in Warera no Jidai no Fuukuroa -Koodo Shihon Shugi Zenshi by Haruki Murakami" by Zaki Ainul Fadli included in proceedings of e3s web of conferences vol. 202 (2020). Fadli's research aims to describe the story's meaning and its relation to social problems in Japanese society. The similarity between Fadli's research and our research is the use of the sociology of literature approach and data source; both are Haruki Murakami's "A

Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-history of Late-stage Capitalism". The difference is that Fadli's research focuses only on the story's meaning. In contrast, our research focuses on analyzing the forms of patriarchal hegemony and cultural clash among old and new cultures related to patriarchal views.

The research uses Haruki Murakami's literary work, telling about the cultural clash. The research conducted by Intan Suri is included in Ayumi journal vol. 7, titled "Menyelisik Hegemoni Budaya Barat Dalam Novel *Noruwei no Mori* Karya Haruki Murakami" (Suri, 2020). The chosen data source, *Norwegian Wood,* talks about teenage love between Boku and Naoko and the cultural transition from old Japanese culture to Western culture, which has a similar outline to "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism". In Suri's research, she describes the cultural hegemony presented in *Norwegian Wood.* The similarity between Suri's research and our research is the data source; both use Haruki Murakami's literary work, which contains the cultural clash of Japanese society. Suri's research focuses on cultural hegemony related to people's lifestyles, while our research focuses on hegemony related to gender issues.

Additionally, some researchers use the sociology of literature approach that focuses on gender issues. They are titled "Hegemoni Patriarki Publik Terhadap Tokoh Perempuan Dalam Novel Hanauzumi Karya Junichi Watanabe" by Retno Putri Utami (Utami et al., 2018) and "Gender Inequality in Japanese Fairy Tales with Female Main Character" by Fajria Noviana (2020). Utami's research describes the forms of public patriarchal hegemony in *Hanauzumi* using Sylvia Walby's patriarchal hegemony theory. At the same time, Noviana's research describes the forms of gender inequality in the folklore titled *Kaguyahime* and *Tsuru no Ongaeshi* using Mansour Fakih's theory. Both focus on gender issues that were expressed through literary work. Another similarity between Utami's research and our research is that both use literary work that chose the 19th-century setting when there are cultural transitions in Japan and various social problems, one of which was gender issues. The difference between Utami and our research apart from the data source is the theory. Although our research and Utami's research use Walby's patriarchal hegemony theory, Utami's research only focuses on the public patriarchal hegemony while our research discusses private and public hegemony's forms. Meanwhile, although Noviana's research did not use Walby's theory, it also discusses the private patriarchal hegemony as a form of women domestication.

Theoretical Framework

Sylvia Walby's Hegemony Patriarchal Theory

Walby's theory of patriarchal hegemony in his book *Theorization of Patriarchy* (2014, p. 28) states that patriarchal culture consists of two types, private and public. As a result of private patriarchy, women are primarily oppressed in the household and family. Meanwhile, public patriarchy is a form of domination that occurs in public places, such as at work and school. The purpose of using this theory is to analyze the forms of patriarchal domination observed in the research data source.

Stuart Hall's Representation Theory

Hall (2005, pp. 18–20) describes representation as to the ability to imagine or describe. Representation is important because culture takes the form of meaning and language, and language is itself a form of representation. Stuart Hall, in Representation: Cultural representations and Signifying Practices (1997, p. 15)), divides representation into three types: reflective, intentional, and constructive. Hall's representation theory will examine a few forms

of cultural clashes related to gender issues. This theory will be used to describe the forms of cultural clash that are related to gender issues.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was referred to as qualitative research, with the sociology of literature approach focusing on gender analysis of the data source, "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism". Data were collected through observation and record techniques and then analyzed in line with Sylvia Walby's theory of patriarchal hegemony, supported by Stuart Hall's literary representation theory, by following these steps: (1) close-reading the data source; (2) collect that related to patriarchal hegemony, and cultural clash; (3) analyze the data collected using the Sylvia Walby patriarchal hegemony theory supported by Stuart Hall's representation theory, this analysis was completed by classifying the data into six basic patriarchal structures identified in Walby's theory, then looking for cultural clash related to the patriarchy.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sylvia Walby stated that there are six structures of patriarchy: paid work, housework, culture, sexuality, violence, and the state. Among the six structures, there are three patriarchal structures described in "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism", housework, culture, and sexuality. The structure of housework is a form of a household system that marginalizes the role of women in the household as housewives. Cultural structures limit women's rights to education. The structure of sexuality seems to give a stereotype that women are objects of male sexuality.

Housework

The housework is a role that men and women carry; men carry out instrumental roles, and women carry out expressive roles. Men must earn a living while women are obliged to take care of all household matters. This role can be seen in the Fujisawa Yoshiko and Kare families.

彼と藤沢嘉子はいわば精神的な双生児だった。二人の育った環境は不気味なほど似ていた。二人とも顔立ちが徹っていて、成績が良くて、生来のリーダーだった。クラスのスーパースターだった。どちらの家庭も裕福で、両親の仲が悪かった。母親の方が少し歳上で、父親は外に女を作って、ろくに家には帰ってこなかった。離婚しなかったのは世間体をはばかってのことだった。家庭では母親が権力を持っていた。 (Murakami, 2009)

He and Yoshiko were spiritual twins. It was almost uncanny how similar their backgrounds were. As I have said, they were both attractive, smart, natural-born leaders. Class superstars. Both of them were from affluent families, with parents who did not get along. Both had mothers who were older than their fathers and fathers who kept a mistress and stayed away from home as much as they could. Fear of public opinion kept their parents from divorcing. At home, then, their mothers ruled the roost. (Murakami, 2007)

In the quote above, it could be seen that both Fujisawa Yoshiko and Boku's fathers had an instrumental role as the breadwinner, and their mothers took care of the children at home. Even their father had an affair hidden outside, and even though their mother found out, no action was taken. Apart from the fear of public opinion, there were no protests made by women, which illustrates that they had a weak influence on their husbands. Because of the role of men as a breadwinner, if there was a divorce, the women would not have enough economy to support the family.

Along with the story, the roles of men and women in the household began to change. It can be

seen from the family of Boku figures after he married.

僕と彼とはあろうことかルッカという中都イタリアの町で出会った。中都イタリアだ。僕はその頃、ローマに
アパートメントを借りて住んでいた。ちょうど妻が用事で日本に帰っていたので、僕はそのあいだひとりでの
んびりと鉄道の旅を楽しんでいた。(Murakami, 2009)

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We happened to run across each other in Lucca, a town in central Italy. I was renting
an apartment in Rome at the time. My wife had to go back to Japan, so I was enjoying
a leisurely, solitary train trip, first from Venice to Verona, then on to Mantua and
Pisa, with a stopover in Lucca. (Murakami, 2007)
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In the quote above, it was explained that Boku met Kare in Lucca, Italy. Boku and Kare were on a business trip and happened to meet there. In the quote, Boku traveled with his wife, who had work needs in Italy. The business trip indicates that Boku's wife had an expressive role and had an opportunity to take part in making a living for the family. Also, it was seen that Boku was not dominating his wife because she had the freedom to return to Japan ahead of her husband. From this small freedom, it could be seen that the dominance of men in the household was starting to disappear.

Culture

Culture is an ideal structure where women are private figures and men are public figures. Culture structure in "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism" be seen in the view of education for women. In the short story, it is described that women do not need to get a higher education because, in the end, women will return to take care of their household.

私はとくに勉強がしたいわけじゃないのよ。大蔵省に入りたいわけでもないのよ。私は女の子なのよ。あなた
とは違うの。あなたはもっと上に行く人よ。でも私はこれから四年間少しのんびりしたいとのよ。ねえ、ひと
やすみるのよ。だって結婚しちゃったら何もできないでしょう？(Murakami, 2009)

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I don't particularly want to study or get into the Ministry of Finance, she explained.
I am a girl. I am different from you. You are going to go far. But I want to take a
break and spend the next four years enjoying myself. After I get married, I won't be
able to do that again. (Murakami, 2007)
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The quote above illustrated that women did not need to get higher education. In Fujisawa Yoshiko's opinion, she thinks that higher education will be in vain because, in the end, as a woman, she will return to taking care of the household. Yoshiko's opinion proves the existence of legitimacy in Japanese society regarding the powerful patriarchal ideology. The role of women would always be placed in private figures in the household.

Sexuality

The form of patriarchal hegemony in this structure is the views on the limitation of women's rights in choosing a marriage partner and virginity that must be maintained until marriage. The limitation indirectly makes a stereotype that women are objects of sexuality, as can be seen in the quote below.

「あなたのことはとても好きよ。でも私は結婚するまでは処女でいたいの」と彼女は静かな口調で言った。
(Murakami, 2009)

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"I love you so much," she quietly explained, "but I want to stay a virgin until I
get married." (Murakami, 2007)
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The quote above explains the old culture that requires women to maintain their virginity until marriage. It is represented through the thoughts of Fujisawa Yoshiko when he has a dialogue

with the character Kare. This view of virginity belongs to an old cultural form before the 1960s, which believed that virginity must be maintained before marriage. Women would be looked down on if they lose their virginity before the marriage. On the other side, there was no requirement for a man to keep his virginity until he gets married in the whole story, which proves that there was a gender gap between men and women.

However, there was a clash with thoughts related to virginity. This old cultural view of virginity was in clash with the thinking of teenagers of that era. In the minds of teenagers in the 1960s, losing virginity was not a big deal anymore.

一九六〇年代においては、処女性というのは、現在に比べればまだ大きな意味を持っていた。僕の感じでいけば一もちろんアンケートを取ったわけではないからおおよそとしか言いようがないわけだが一僕らの世代で二十歳前に処女を捨てた女の子は全体のおおよそ五割くらいではなかったかと思う。(Murakami, 2009)

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In the sixties, virginity was a much bigger deal than it is today. I am generalizing,
of course—I have not taken a survey or anything—but my sense of it is that about
fifty percent of the girls in my generation had lost their virginity by the time
they reached twenty. (Murakami, 2007)
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From the quote above, it was explained that teenagers believe losing their virginity is a natural thing. Before the 1960s, virginity still had a significant meaning, but nowadays, it was not considered necessary anymore. Losing virginity nowadays was expected; it indicated that a new culture had emerged in the community, and this view was contrary to the existing cultural values. The view that considers virginity to be something that is not too important is still held by some youth groups of that era. Fifty percent of the girls of this generation lost their virginity before 20. It indicates that a new culture had emerged and shifted the dominance of the existing culture, the old cultural view of virginity.

Furthermore, the view of married couples can be seen from the dialogue between the character Fujisawa Yoshiko and the character Kare.

ねえ、それは無理よ。私とあなたは結婚できないわ。私はいくつか蔵上の人と結婚するし、あなたはいくつか歳下の人と結婚するのよ。それが世の中の普通の流れなのよ。女というのは男の人より成長が早いの上。そして早く老化するの。あなたにはまだ世の中というものがよくわかってないのよ。私たちが大学を出てすぐに結婚しても、きっとうまくはいかないわ。私たちはきっと今のままではいられないわ。(Murakami, 2009)

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I cannot marry you, she said. I will marry someone a few years older than me, and
you will marry someone a few years younger. That is the way things are done. Women
mature faster than men and age more quickly. You do not know anything about the world
yet. Even if we were to marry right out of college, it would not work out. We would
never stay as happy as we are now. (Murakami, 2007)
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In the quote above, there is an overview of views of married couples. The quote explains that a woman will later marry someone older than her, and a man will marry someone younger than him. In addition, female marriage partners are also chosen by their families.

Views about virginity and marriage partners seem to limit women's freedom. Although in the development of the story, some groups of teenagers had considered that losing their virginity before marriage was not a big deal. However, there were still groups that oppose this.

In addition, there is also the action of Kare, who repeatedly tries to bed Fujisawa Yoshiko even though she has always refused. It can be seen in the quote below.

でも彼はそんな関係にすっかり満足していたわけではなかった。何かか欠けていると感じた。そう、彼は彼女と寝たかったのだ。本物のセックスを彼は求めていた。「肉体的一体感」、彼はそう表現した。僕にはそれが必要だった。そこまで行くことによって、僕らはもっと解放されて、もっとお互いを理解しあえると思った。(Murakami, 2009)

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Not that he was totally happy with their relationship. Something was missing. Actual
sex, in other words. "A sense of being one, physically," is how he put it. I felt we
had to take the next step, he said. I thought we would be freer in our relationship
and understand each other better if we did. (Murakami, 2007)
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僕が求めていたのは、何も包み隠さずに彼女と一体になることだった。所有し、所有されることだった。そういうしるしがほしかったんだ。(Murakami, 2009)

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What I wanted was to be one with her, with nothing coming between us. To possess
her, to be possessed. I needed a sign to prove that. (Murakami, 2007)
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These old views gave a stereotype that women were objects of sexuality for men. Although in the end, a new culture emerged among teenagers who tried to give opposition to the old culture. This new culture developed in Japan along with the Western influences into Japan. In the 1960s, Japan cooperated with many foreign countries, especially the United States. Those contacts provided many changes in the economy, social system, and lifestyle (Reischauer, 1992, p. 280). Even the views of teenagers at that time also changed, especially regarding virginity views. This new view indicates a cultural shift and begins to change stereotypes about women as sexual objects because, slowly, women could gain their freedom.

CONCLUSION

In Haruki Murakami's "A Folklore for My Generation: A Pre-History of Late-Stage Capitalism", several forms of patriarchal hegemony are represented. They were the role of women in the household, views on education for women, and the stereotype that women were sexual objects. It was not surprising because the system in Japanese society is patriarchal, and that system was carried over to domestic life. However, over time there had been a shift towards the dominance of the patriarchy. It could be seen from the start of freedom for women related to their virginity and the shift in women's roles which were previously only expressive roles but have begun to be allowed to carry out instrumental roles.

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