Art Education as Exhibition: Reconceptualizing Cultural History in Singapore through an Art Response to Ah Ku and Karayuki-san Prostitution

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ABSTRACT

In this essay, the author discusses her understanding of art education in relation to her exhibited artworks, which were developed on the basis of research on particular historical figures in Singapore. These historical figures were referred to in the book entitled *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940*, written by James Francis Warren who is a renowned ethnohistorian and professor at Murdoch University in Australia. According to Warren (2003), both terms referred to prostitutes. *Ah Ku* was a term that was used to address a Chinese prostitute in colonial Singapore. *Karayuki-san* was the word used traditionally by the Japanese of Amakusa Island and the Shimabara Peninsula, Northwest Kyushu, to describe rural women who emigrated to Southeast Asia and the Pacific in search of a livelihood.

The author translated the contents of Warren’s book into a series of paintings that were used as an art education tool to educate viewers about the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. In this essay, the author addresses her understanding of art education, re-define the history of Chinese and Japanese immigrant prostitutes as part of Singapore cultural heritage, and describes the research methods used to derive the artworks as well as the exhibition format to explain the relationship between the meanings of the paintings and Warren’s book.

Introduction

In introducing their anthology *Remembering Others: Making Invisible Histories of Art Education Visible*, Bolin, Blandy and Congdon (2000) wrote,

> The purpose of this anthology is to introduce art educators, and other professionals concerned with art and culture, to historical

1 Correspondence regarding this article may be sent to the author at cokuan@googlemail.com
2 Cantonese is a dialect in Singapore.
3 Singapore was under the British colony from 1826 to 1959 (Landow, n.d.)
perspectives on art education that are inclusive of stories, experiences, teaching methods, and cultural groups whose histories have not been fully explored and documented. (pp. 4-5)

In view of the above, I am motivated to write this article to discuss my artistic endeavour that is not commonly explored by many artists in Singapore. It is to translate the contents of a book into a series of paintings to be used as an art education tool to promote knowledge of and understanding about a little recognized group of individuals in Singapore’s history and cultural heritage. In this article, I share with readers how I created these artworks as an educational tool to learn about the histories of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. As a painter, art has become a primary medium for me to express my personal history and culture in Singapore. I use art to express my thoughts, and to educate and promote history and culture derived from research on historical literature and historical documents. I use symbols to depict the historical and cultural contexts of Singapore history. I display my artworks with short write-ups to enable audiences to relate the symbols to historical and cultural contexts of Singapore history. My aim is to help viewers to understand how symbols are used to create an art form to relate history and culture of Singapore. The creation and exhibition of art based on history is central to my understanding of art education.

A project that reflects my views of art education is a series of artworks that were exhibited in the Roots exhibition in early 2012 in Singapore. The theme was the cultural heritage of Singapore. The exhibition was organized by a group of undergraduates from the Department of Arts Management at one of the art institutions in Singapore. I was invited as one of the five featured artists. The invitation provided an opportunity for me to utilize social science research methods to examine historical literature and historical documents as my resources in creating artworks as a platform to educate audiences on a historical theme in Singapore and to show how I translated historical research into a series of paintings.

The theme for my paintings was based on a book entitled Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940. The book was written by Professor James Francis Warren. I focus on his book because of his desire to educate people about misconceptions of prostitutes at the turn of the 20th century. His history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san (different terms for prostitutes in Singapore, as explained more fully below) challenges the conception of these women as choosing a life of promiscuity. Warren’s research inspired and propelled me to offer a broader understanding of these undervalued “voices” by undertaking background research on the historical prostitutes from Professor Warren’s book. The study gave me insights to frame the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san as part of Singapore’s cultural heritage in order to provide the correct contexts of the history of these women for the audiences who visited the exhibition. The study on the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san also enabled me to comprehend how women arrived at a profession of prostitution. Furthermore, undertaking this research assisted me in discovering a method to translate literature into visual images for the exhibition.

Three premises were developed to create and display the artworks:


2. Development of research methods to translate literature from Warren’s book into visual images.

3. Development of an exhibition format to serve as an art education platform.

Definition of Singapore’s History and Culture with Reference to Ah Ku and Karayuki-san

This section highlights my argument with regard to Ah Ku and Karayuki-san as part of Singapore’s history and cultural heritage because many people in Singapore are not aware of the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san.

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In other words, daughters were considered insignificant in traditional Chinese and Japanese families resulting in not opposing their daughters becoming prostitutes. Warren (2003) also explained the reason for the British government’s encouragement of prostitution in Singapore:

The intensity of the male demand for women who were sexually able and willing was great enough to justify the existence of the Ah Ku and Karayuki-san in the eyes of the colonial government. British officials could not neatly resolve the paradox of the indispensable links between prostitution, immigration, and urban-economic development to give these migrant-labourers a more “normal” life. (p. 34)

The British government encouraged prostitution in Singapore for the purpose of enhancing and supporting the needs of the large influx of male migrants such as the rickshaw coolies⁴ from China and labourers working at the warehouses in Singapore. The government supported prostitution guided by the patriarchal belief that migrant coolies would be motivated to work and contribute to the economy of Singapore, a belief lacking in consideration for the women involved.

In summary, the conditions under which these women became prostitutes were largely affected by the poverty they and their families suffered in patriarchal China and Japan. As the status of a girl or a woman was undervalued, most of them were either compelled or motivated to become prostitutes in order to remit money to their families so the families would have a better livelihood. Additionally, prostitution was highly encouraged by the British government (Warren, 2003).

Understanding Ah Ku and Karayuki-san, then, must be understood not as women of a lowly nature, but on the contrary, as people whose history was very much driven by survival and both economic and political exploitation. Their history, however, has often been misrepresented and or unknown in Singapore (Warren, 2003).

One of the reasons that many people are not aware of the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san was because it has not been taught during history lessons in schools in Singapore. Hence, I felt that it was crucial to share with Singaporean audiences the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san before it is completely forgotten.

For this exhibition, Roots, the theme centred on cultural heritage, often defined as inherited practices, beliefs, myths, oral history and historical documents (Blake, 2000). As Warren’s (2003) history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san was written based on oral histories of Singapore and

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⁴ Coolies were male labourers, mainly from China and India, who were not equipped with any skills.
historical evidence that the author gathered, I argue that the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san qualifies as part of Singapore’s cultural heritage. Though Ah Ku and Karayuki-san could not be defined as a personal cultural heritage among many Singaporeans, the history of these women should be considered as part of Singaporeans’ history because “migrants” and “migration” played a key role in early Singaporean history and cultural heritage (Ee, 1961).

The concepts of “migrants” and “migration” also relate to the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san too. Our Singaporean forefathers migrated to Singapore from China or India settling and building their families (About Singapore History, n.d.; Chew, n.d.). As such, the term “migrant” is important to Singapore’s history and cultural heritage. Many of these early migrants contributed to the early Singapore economy as some of them worked as coolies and labourers. Although their needs were overlooked, Ah Ku and Karayuki-san met the needs of the early male migrants who were lonely. Although some of them were married, their meagre wages meant they could not afford to bring their families to live with them (Warren, 2003). They became lonely and homesick, which motivated them to seek emotional and physical comfort from Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. Hence, I argue that Ah Ku and Karayuki-san contributed significantly to building early Singapore’s culture and economy and they should be considered as part of Singapore’s history’s and cultural heritage.

As I have mentioned earlier, the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san is absent from history lessons in schools, prompting a need to address their history. Moreover, cultural heritage should be translated and transferred from generation to generation for the purpose of understanding personal and national history. The historical theme on Ah Ku and Karayuki-san was, therefore, appropriate and essential to reflect part of the cultural heritage of Singapore.

Research Methods to Translate the Text into Visual Images

In this section, I discuss the research method of content analysis that I used to examine Warren’s book and develop and conceptualise an artistic theme to create the artworks for the Roots exhibition.

“To become part of the community of disciplines,” argue Baxter, Lopez, Serig and (2008),

fledgling fields such as art education had to show that research practices could be just as rigorous and clinical as the best social science. . . . Consequently many practitioners have infused the arts into research, or used the arts as a basis from which research can originate. (p. 5)

These authors highlight that in order to justify that artworks are appropriate as an educational tool in art exhibitions, it is necessary for visual artists to search for sound research methods to assist them in developing well-conceived art ideas. Hence, it was crucial that I develop a good understanding about Ah Ku and Karayuki-san, that I isolate key ideas I wanted to convey about them, and that I identify artistic means of conveying key ideas. In addition, it was important to consider what Baxter et al. identify as “the challenge” of “how the intrinsic knowledge structure and language of an art practitioner… is accepted as evidence and valid testimony of a research event for academic standards” (p. 8). In other words, throughout my process, it was important for me to make sure that my artworks were generated through rigorous research methods that met academic standards. These research methods ensured that I conducted a thorough analysis of Warren’s book so that I would be able to translate some of his key understandings into artworks.

The contents of Warren’s book can be examined and broken into various categories based on a method that is known as content analysis, searching for words, themes, events, and/or a names that occur in the text a number of times (Hodson, 1999). After examining the contents of the book, the following three common issues were identified: gender discrimination, abuse, and disillusion. A sample quotation extracted from Warren’s book to describe gender discrimination is:

The birth of a girl was rarely a joyous occasion in rural China
and Japan, both countries being shackled by patriarchal traditions. Centuries-old prejudices against the birth of females are recorded in bitter proverbs, such as “one deformed son is worth a daughter as wise as the eighteen Lohans” or “a boy is worth ten girls.” (2003, pp. 29-30; italics added)

The following examples indicate the commonality of physical and emotional abuses that Ah Ku and Karayuki-san suffered:

Why was the prostitute and brothel such a focal point of attraction and hatred for many of these young labourers? Assailants knew the easiest person to take their anger out on and vent their frustration was a prostitute because she was so vulnerable. (2003, p. 293; italics added)

Violence and harsh treatment by brothel-keepers against the prostitutes was most evident in lower-class brothels. Chinese and Japanese women found themselves pitted not only against the cruelty of clients, but also the beatings, punches, and kicks of keepers who held the women in bondage. (2003, pp. 313; italics added)

These were the factors that may have led the labourers to unfairly vent their frustration on people even less powerful than they were, such as the Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. The following quotations show the commonality of disillusion that Ah Ku and Karayuki-san suffered.

The relationship between the passage of time and age, personality traits and life experience had a marked effect on the “well-being”-satisfaction and self-fulfilment-and “ill-being”-anxiety or depression-of a majority of the prostitutes. In terms of the ebb and flow of human life, the closing days of a prostitute’s career could be compared to “a revolving lantern painted with shifting scenes...while their soul resembles a drop of water that appears reddish on a maple-leaf and greenish on a laurel-leaf. (2003, p. 341; italics added)

Age and looks largely determined a prostitute’s place in the hierarchy, the type of customers she would serve, and how much money she could earn. With increasing age, and especially if she was not careful about her body, face, and personality, her earning capacity, as a rapidly deteriorating piece of capital, slowly declined. An ageing and fading beauty often tried in vain to recapture her youth, only to find that the artificiality of her profession had robbed her of her personality and appearance. (2003, p. 341; italics added)

The Ah Ku and Karayuki-san suffered because they were aware that they were deemed undesirable to their clients as they aged. Without other professional options, they became disillusioned.

The Roots exhibition was a group exhibition; each artist was advised to display a maximum of five artworks. I decided to display work that related the issues about gender discrimination, abuses, and disillusion for Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. Sullivan (2004) has argued that the artist plays an important role in making artworks that provoke viewers to see and understand things from new angles. The artist’s artmaking process is the time for him/her to embark on research to find new ways to create artworks that can help viewers to see things from new perspectives within their social and cultural contexts. Beyond this, Sullivan (2004) notes that,

The artwork carries its own status as a form of knowledge. Research of art subsequently communicates new insights into the ways that objects carry meaning about ideas, themes, and issues. As an object of study, an artwork is an individually and culturally constructed form that can be used to represent ideas and thus can be examined as a source of knowledge. (p. 803)

In other words, viewers are able to learn, perceive and discover new things from an artwork and, as such, artworks are a useful platform to educate viewers. Saldaña (2007) has translated the research of scholars into theatrical plays that make the research more broadly accessible to audiences outside academia, something I am doing in this series of paintings based on the work of Professor Warren.

As a visual artist, my artworks revolve around the field of geometry. This is, in part, because I have been greatly inspired by the works
of particular Russian *avant garde* artists, especially El Lissitzky and Kazimir Malevich. These artists have used geometric shapes, a form of mathematical expression, and a linear language that can link art to science and technology to help forge a sense of identity and a sense of the past, as well as express the trajectory of a developing nation. This mathematical perspective is also ideal to represent the history and culture of Singapore in the new millennium, for Singapore is a nation of constant seekers in areas of mathematics, science, and technology.

For the *Roots* exhibition, I used geometric shapes to draw Chinese lattices and numerology as an artistic language to express my thoughts on the history of *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san* and simultaneously to relate to cultural symbols in Singapore. I incorporated Chinese lattices (Dye, 1949) that are architectural design patterns found on doors, windows, handrails and railings in Singapore. Numerology is the study of numbers that reflects certain meanings in our lives. As Chinese lattices and numerology are elements that many Singaporeans are able to relate to, I integrated Chinese lattices and numerology to create symbols to depict the common issues concerning the history of *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san*. Details of the symbols to depict the women are as follows:

1. A female gender sign represents *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san*.

2. Numerology in regards to using numbers as in 1, 2, or 3, connotes the idea that the women were regarded as “digits” for economical purposes such as remitting money to their families and boosting the welfare of the male migrants working in Singapore. The connotation of “digit” associates with numerology. For example, number 14 depicts “death,” 10 depicts “balance,” 4 depicts “death” and 5 depicts “eroticism.”

3. Chinese lattices, which are ancient Chinese architectural patterns for windows, represent that these women looked out of their “windows” for better horizons and brighter futures.

4. Geometric shapes to construct Chinese lattices and gender signs emulate how these women “constructed” their lives as daughters to their families and prostitutes to their clients. The intensity of the construction of these complex geometric shapes is to demonstrate the extremity of the roles of the women. In addition, the vibrant colours are to celebrate the women’s histories and their undervalued voices.

Baxter, Lopez, Serig & Sullivan (2008) argue that, “as a primary educational end is to excite others about the value of art, the message and the means needs [sic] to be expressed in ways that others understand and appreciate” (p. 16). According to these authors, the artist is responsible for ensuring that viewers are able to understand meanings in artworks. Additionally, the artist desires to exhibit artworks that arouse the interests of viewers.

I chose to display each piece of artwork accompanied by a selected quotation from the book *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san*: Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940 as well as a short synopsis to explain how I translated the quotations, and used them as my reference points to create symbolic artworks. An A4 size black folder was placed along with the exhibited artworks. This black folder contained a write-up to provide visitors with the rationale that the artist used to depict the history of *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san* as a cultural heritage theme. The write-up also included the rationales for the use of symbols to connote the history of *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san* as well as the research undertaken to develop the theme into visual images. In what follows, you will see a reproduction of the artwork, the accompanying symbolic information, and relevant excerpts from Warren’s (2003) book.

*Fig. 1* Kay Kok Chung Oi, *Hope*, 2012, acrylic and ink on canvas, 62cm x 62cm.
Quotation

In many cases an Ah Ku or Karayuki-san entered prostitution mainly to obtain much needed financial assistance for parents or kin. The appeal to an ill-fed daughter’s filial devotion, by starving or irresponsible parents during periods of pestilence or famine, often resulted in her going abroad to take up a life of prostitution in a brothel in Singapore, under the compromise of debt. Ironically, in a case where either parents or relatives received money upon her entry into a brothel abroad, unselfish filial loyalty often compelled the young Ah Ku or Karayuki-san to honour the debt. Parents took full advantage of this ideology to raise money on the saleable value of their daughters as they would on any negotiable property. (Warren, 2003, p. 31)

Artist statement for Hope:

In this painting, there are fourteen female gender symbols. Three of these symbols are at the top and bottom of the vertical axis of the cross. Four are on the left and right of the horizontal axis of the cross. Two partial female gender symbols are on the left and right of the horizontal axis of the cross. The total number, 14, represents death in Chinese numerology. The lives of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san were filled with sorrows and hardship until the day they died. The cross represents hope because Ah Ku and Karayuki-san brought hope for their families through their earnings as prostitutes. Although Ah Ku and Karayuki-san gave hope to their families, they had also lost their own hopes to live a happy life. Therefore, the fourteen female gender symbols make up the cross depicting hope for their families as well as death of hope and happiness for Ah Ku and Karayuki-san.

Quotation

The intensity of the male demand for women who were sexually able and willing was great enough to justify the existence of the Ah Ku and Karayuki-san in the eyes of the colonial government. British officials could not neatly resolve the paradox of the indispensable links between prostitution, immigration, and urban-economic development to give these migrant-labourers a more “normal” life. The unresolved dilemma and issues surrounding this gender imbalance were repeatedly mentioned in the Legislative Council and in the annual reports of the Chinese Protectorate. (Warren, 2003, p. 34)

Artist statement for Balance:

There are five male gender symbols and five female gender symbols in the painting. The two gender symbols along the titled axis that divides the male and female gender symbols represents both male and female. The ten symbols are congregated at the center of the Yin and Yang symbol to connote balance in Chinese numerology. Ah Ku and Karayuki-san offered sexual services to fulfil the sexual needs of male migrants’ workers in order for them to lead a balanced life.
Quotation

There was little furniture or atmosphere in the brothels and the sex was convenient, quick, and cheap. These inexpensive brothels were locally referred to as *pau chai*, while the numerous customers - poor coolies, sailors, soldiers, and drunkards who patronized these brothels were known as *ta pau*. The *Ah Ku* in these *pau chai* were called *pau po*. Pau means firecracker, suggesting the sexual service in these lower grade brothels was as quick as burning a string of firecrackers. (Warren, 2003, p. 50)

**Artist statement for Spark:**
Five male gender symbols form a star symbol to represent spark, suggesting that *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san* offered quick sexual services to the male migrant workers in Singapore and that these prostitutes were treated like sexual machines, without sufficient rest and at the risk of contracting sexual diseases.

**Artist statement for Immortality:**
The four female gender symbols in this painting represent death in Chinese numerology suggesting how *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san* were caught up in a cycle of death in the light of their overwork, exhaustion, poverty, and the bleakness of their lives. In this painting, the artist wishes to resurrect their voices in order to remind people of the hardship and pain they undertook. Their voices are immortalised by joining four female gender symbols without a beginning or an end.

**Quotation**

Chinese and Japanese prostitutes were generally hard-working, poverty-stricken women who lived a bleak joyless existence. (Warren, 2003, p. 290)

**Artist statement for Awareness:**
The symbol of the ribbon suggests awareness in understanding what and how *Ah Ku* and *Karayuki-san* were physically and emotionally abused in their lives.

**Conclusion**
Using content analysis research method enabled me to examine and search for common themes from Warren’s book. Three common themes—abuses, gender discrimination and disillusion—were identified. I used these common themes to develop five artworks that related to these themes. My first objective in creating this series of artworks was to include the Ah Ku and Karayuki-san as part of Singapore history and cultural heritage, as these prostitutes were migrants in early Singapore. My second objective was to use geometric shapes, numerology, and Chinese lattices to create symbols to relate to the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san to help viewers see how these individual cultural elements could represent Singapore history. It was also to give viewers a fresh perspective in appreciating art. My third objective was to show viewers how I translated Warren’s book into five artworks. This was demonstrated by displaying each artwork with a selected quotation from Warren’s book and my own statement as the artist, explaining the relationship between the artwork and the selected quotation. It brought academic research to a demographic that would not normally be exposed to this scholarship, and translated it into visual means that emphasized cultural symbols and visual understanding.

The above three objectives were used as a basis to approach informal art education. Through the artworks, viewers were able to see how geometric shapes could be used to integrate numerology and Chinese lattices in expressing the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. Displaying a thorough synopsis and artist explanation helped viewers to relate to the quotations that were extracted from Warren’s book. McCollister (2000) argues that, many uncommon and unknown art educators have been brought to our attention, good people who have done good work. They have created new understandings, attended to needs, noticed potential, and been resourceful (p. 149)

As a form of education through art I capitalized on the potential of Roots exhibition that was organized to promote Singapore history and heritage for the people of Singapore to enable them to learn about Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. I received many positive comments from viewers based on organizer’s feedback. Many viewers felt that it was refreshing to see how I translated Warren’s book into the paintings by using Chinese numerology, Chinese lattices, and geometric shapes to depict the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san. According to the organizer’s feedback, viewers felt that they learned a new way to appreciate and understand Singapore history through an art form that helped them to relate the artist’s statement for each painting with a quotation from Warren’s book. This suggests the potential of art-based research in making academic research accessible to audiences outside the academy.

**References**


A Special Mountain Place and Sunrise Ceremony for Apache Students
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ABSTRACT

In this case study I document several visits to the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona, but describe/interpret in detail one special class when we asked the children to draw and share their “Special Mountain Home.” I analyzed their artwork according to the emerging categories of subject matter, themes, scenes, and symbols that I discovered in my previous study of Apache children (Stokrocki & Buckpitt, 2002). Dominant findings in this new study were that participants’ drawings included their sacred mountain, animals, and the Sunrise Ceremony that included traditional dancers, dwellings, female regalia, and part of a young maiden’s “coming of age” ritual. Apache girls tend to draw feminine content of social experiences, care and concern, and domestic life. Boys depict male thunder god dancers for protection, and fishing and hunting scenes. No symbols of violence were noted. Apache cultural symbols seem to be slowly changing, indicated by the inclusion of graffiti in the community, a school painting of Jesus dressed as a Mescalero Apache, and a pickup truck, drawn by a female.

Introduction

In this study, the researcher aims to inquire about what it might be like to live on the Apache Reservation from the perspective of a child. I spent a day with the children at the St. Charles Mission School in Arizona and they drew their “special mountain place” and wrote rich descriptions of their drawings. Drawing results included their gorgeous mountain setting and Sunrise Ceremony. Their teachers further elaborated on the meaning of the children’s drawings. So what specifically did they want to share? What can art education teachers and researchers learn from such experiences about the culture and the children’s artworks and ideas? Finally, what can visitors learn about cultural mergence?

I have been doing research with several of the Native tribes in Arizona, especially the Navajo (Stokrocki, 1995). My work with the

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