

The Seoul Rubber Duck Project: An Ideological Dichotomy

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ABSTRACT

An installation of Dutch artist Florentijn Hofman's "Rubber Duck Project" was on display in Seoul for one month in the fall of 2014 with financial backing from Lotte Group, a large Korean conglomerate. While the installation drew much positive attention, many critics voiced concerns over Lotte using the delightful duck as a way to covertly redirect negative media attention concerning the ongoing construction of the Lotte World Tower and mall towards a more lighthearted subject. Two conflicting themes of escapism and skepticism are identified, explored and discussed through a rhetorical and ideological analysis of this public art installation. Although the Lotte Corporation did not publicly state that the art installation was a means to diffuse or avoid the ongoing communication crisis associated with their tower and mall construction projects, many individuals assumed that to be the case. In addition to communication scholars, this paper could be of interest to business communicators and others interested in the use of public art to diffuse or divert crisis, as well as those interested in the risks involved in such an approach.

Keywords: Ideological analysis, public art, rhetoric, crisis communication

*Rubber Duckie, you're the one,
You make bathtime lots of fun,
Rubber Duckie, I'm awfully fond of you;*

*Rubber Duckie, joy of joys,
When I squeeze you, you make noise!
Rubber Duckie, you're my very best friend, it's true!*

*Every day when I
Make my way to the tubby
I find a little fella who's
Cute and yellow and chubby
(rub-a-dub-a-dubby!)*

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*Rubber Duckie, you're so fine
And I'm lucky that you're mine
Rubber Duckie, I'm awfully fond of you.*

*Rubber Duckie, you're so fine
And I'm lucky that you're mine
Rubber Duckie, I'd like a whole pond of -
Rubber Duckie I'm awfully fond of you!*

- "Rubber Duckie," by Jeff Moss (Sesame Street, 2009)

1. THE RUBBER DUCK – AN INTRODUCTION

After its television debut on February 20, 1970 on Sesame Street opposite Ernie in the bathtub, the rubber duck quickly became an icon for childhood happiness and a comfort for children resistant to bath time around the world. The song has been translated into multiple languages (Tofte, 2013) and the official Sesame Street YouTube video of the 1970 performance has over 18 million views (Sesame Street, 2009). The rubber duck has become a fixture in American culture and is often associated with the words "cute," "fun," and "play" (Meyer, 2006: 22).

While a child's love for the rubber duck might be more easily explained as a squeaky floating friend in the sometimes-terrifying bathtub, what is it about the rubber duck that continues to capture the hearts of adults and provide a momentary escape from the fears of everyday life?

People would generally like to think that as they mature, they leave childish ways behind, yet there are some objects and images that seem to connect them to the nostalgic simplicity of childhood, temporarily drawing them away from the reality they have come to know in life as adults (Meyer, 2006). The rubber duck, for many, is one such object, especially when it is presented in a larger than life format, as seen in the Dutch artist Florentijn Hofman's "Rubber Duck Project", a large inflatable sculpture of a rubber duck that has been installed in locations around the world (Hofman, n.d.; Rubber Duck Project Seoul, 2014).

There is something about public art that causes people to stop and think. What is that idea that gets us to stop, and is it the idea that the artist originally had in mind? Are these ideas always identical? Can the oddity of such public art be used by an organisation to address or respond to a crisis in direct or indirect ways? The strangeness of a large rubber duck floating in a lake may be the catalyst to "challenge and interrupt the consumers' landscape, inviting the gaze and curiosity of the passing public to aesthetically enhance the cityscape, to provoke, to experiment, or merely to provide a symbol of local identity" (Percy-Smith & Carney, 2011: 24). As such, there are many avenues through which such ideas and questions can be explored, but for the purposes of this paper, the following research questions are addressed:

RQ1: What ideologies can be identified by a viewer of the installation through the presented and suggested elements of Hofman's rubber duck?

RQ2: How do the ideologies presented by Hofman's rubber duck relate to the benefactor of the installation of this project in Seoul?

Through an ideological analysis, this essay examines the competing ideologies presented in Hofman's Fall 2014 installation of the project in Seoul, South Korea. The moments of escapism that emerge with the project brought feelings of nostalgia for simple childhood happiness and joy, which initially drew the viewer in, and subsequently revealed the skeptic realization that the pleasure and relief portrayed was merely an empty shell, a facade, ultimately inaccessible and uncertain.

Promotional material for the exhibit and Hofman's website bill the installation in the following manner: "The Rubber Duck knows no frontiers, it doesn't discriminate people and doesn't have a political connotation. The friendly, floating Rubber Duck has healing properties: it can relieve mondial tensions as well as define them. The rubber duck is soft, friendly and suitable for all ages!" (Hofman, n.d.; Rubber Duck Project Seoul, 2014).

In contrast, reports from the media leading up to and during the exhibition focused less on the joyful healing properties of the duck, and more on who funded the project and the desired effect of the sponsor on those who came to see it (Woo, 2014). Personal responses posted to social media and blogs indicate mixed reviews, some proclaiming the cuteness of the duck (Saranghae, 2014) with others lamenting the pushing and shoving of eager duck watchers and anticlimactic ending to their journeys to see the duck (Lexi, 2014).

In examining the dichotomy of ideologies presented in this art installation and the perceived goals of those funding its display, this essay examines desired and potential communication, or rhetorical impact of the installation on those who came to see or were otherwise impacted by it.

2. IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AS A METHOD

The application of rhetorical analysis to something other than classic oral rhetoric has over time become a more accepted form of study, at least in terms of accepting written works as objects of analysis. Some rhetorical scholars are coming around to the idea that "to confine their study of symbols to speech making is to miss a great many of the symbols that affect us daily" (Foss, 1994: 213). Blair (2001: 274), who has spent a good deal of time studying commemorative public art in the United States, makes it clear that the act of "being there" is a critical component to experiencing and understanding an object rhetorically, and that rhetorical scholars must incorporate such perspectives in their analyses. Using examples of tombs of unknown soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery and the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C., she makes a powerful case for the value in rhetorical analysis of objects apart from those orated or composed in words.

On the contrary, others while acknowledging a departure from an oral culture, continue to posit that a condition for high caliber rhetorical work is that the criticism "focuses on a worth rhetorical text or texts" (Hunt, 2003: 378). Hunt (2003: 378) includes transcripts, editorials, other printed products and even audio and video files in his list of acceptable objects of rhetorical analysis, so long as they "influence the values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of the public" and are within "the purview of modern persuasion".

Foss (1994: 214) makes an argument for the rhetorical analysis of two and three dimensional objects that are distinct from an aesthetic analysis, which relies on judgements about quality, presentation or uniqueness to name a few. Instead of these aesthetic attributes, Foss focuses on the function of the object being analysed, which separates the object from its creation and the intents of its creator. The function, instead of being what the artist or creator wants it to be, is “the action the image communicates, as named by the critic.”

The “rhetorical schema for the evaluation of visual imagery” that Foss (1994: 216) describes, identifies three primary judgements that the critic must make. First, the critic must analyse the image or object in a way that leads them to identify the “function communicated in the image”. However, Foss notes that an image is not limited to just one function, and that even one critic could identify multiple functions for the same object. Next, once the function is identified, the critic must assess “how well that function is communicated and the support available for that function in the image”. This assessment can be carried out through careful examination and reflection on the “stylistic and substantive dimensions” of the object. In the third and final judgement made by Foss (1994: 217), the critic must scrutinise the function and see if it accomplishes its purpose, through “reflection on its legitimacy or soundness, determined by the implications and consequences of the function”.

Foss (2009: 209) provides the description for the ideological analysis that serves as the framework for carrying out this study. In addition, Foss highlights, “the critic looks beyond the surface structure of an artifact to discover the beliefs, values, and assumptions it suggests” in this type of analysis. She goes on to explain that since ideologies are all around us, this method is useful in examining almost any artifact, as the artifact will reflect the “rhetorical choices that were made in creating that artifact.” Foss also suggests that artifacts in popular culture are “often sites where ideology is rhetorically packaged and sold and where ideological conflicts are played out” and because such ideologies are unexpected by viewers or partakers of such artifacts, this results in less resistance to the ideologies presented. With a reported 700,000 individuals coming to see the duck in its first week on display in Seoul (Woo, 2014), it certainly can be considered a popular attraction.

While it is difficult to know with certainty the reasoning behind the benefactor’s decision to sponsor the artwork or the impact it had on those who viewed it, an ideological analysis allows us to develop a supportable response to that question.

Using Foss’s method to analyse the ideologies presented by the Rubber Duck project in Seoul, a list of presented elements (2009: 214) describing the duck’s presence was first created. These presented elements were then considered in light of the references, themes, allusions, and concepts they suggest (2009: 216). They were then examined to unearth the major themes and ultimately, ideologies present in the artifact (2009: 218). Through this process, the function of the object was first judged, followed by the function carried out and the potential impact.

Two major themes were identified through this analysis, and these themes will be described in the section on findings. Simultaneously, there were a few elements that did not fit neatly into either of the two primary themes, and those aspects will be discussed as well. With the themes identified, their application can then be examined and the third judgement can be made. At the same time, the potential impacts of the installation and reasoning behind it are also examined.

3. THE RUBBER DUCK PROJECT IN SEOUL

The rubber duck project in Seoul was on display from October 14 through November 14, 2014 (Rubber Duck Project, 2014). A large local corporation, Lotte Group sponsored the installation (Soa, 2014).

The duck takes the shape of a modern child's bathtub rubber duck toy but is made rather large, towering 16 and half meters above the surface of the water and weighing in at 7 tonnes (Peach, 2014). It has an overall chubby appearance, being as wide as it is tall and slightly elongated, with a length of 19.8 metres (Figure 1).

The duck is bright yellow in color with the exception of an orange beak and two small black circles with white dots for eyes. The eyes are looking slightly up towards the sky, not down at the water. The beak is closed, with no discernable smile. The overall expression of the face is stoic. There is a small bulge on each side of the duck, suggesting small, non-functional wings, but no moving parts. No noise can be heard coming from the duck and there is no music or any other audio playing over the speakers in the viewing area near the duck.

There is nothing on the sculpture to indicate a gender for the duck, and on the artist's website, the gender-neutral pronoun "it" is used when referencing the sculpture. It is interesting to note that rubber ducks are considered by both parents and non-parents to be one of the most gender-neutral toys on the market in terms of appropriateness for one gender over the other (Campenni, 1999: 128).

The lines of the sculpture are soft and flowing, with no real hard edges or angles present. It is made of polyvinyl chloride commonly known as PVC and the surface appears to be smooth to the touch. Fans inside the sculpture on a barge inflate the PVC shell. After sunset, the duck is illuminated by spotlights, which focus on the face and front of the duck.

The barge on which the sculpture is placed was tethered in a stationary position about 50 meters off the shore of Seokchon Lake, in the Jamsil area of Seoul. A street divides this small lake in a bustling part of the city into two equally sized halves. On one side of the lake is the Lotte World Amusement Park, positioned on a peninsula that juts out into the middle of the lake. The other half of the lake does not normally have anything in it, and this is the half in which the Rubber Duck project was placed. The project site is also across the street from the partially constructed Lotte World Tower and recently, partially opened Lotte World Mall. While not completely stationary, the rubber duck was positioned in such a way that it was always looking up from the surface of the water and towards the mall and construction site.



Figure 1. Rubber duck project (Source: Jessica Kok, 2 November 2014)

There was no admission charge to view the installation, although a small “pop-up shop” was set up nearby to sell souvenirs. Additionally, a makeshift gallery on the 6th floor of the mall had a collection of photos from other installations of the Rubber Duck project around the world and information about the artist. A similar gallery and shop was set up on the 9th floor of the Lotte World Amusement Park across the street (Figure 2).

All the paths around the lake and the viewing areas for the duck are open to the public. As the duck was quite large, it could be viewed from any point on the shore from half of the lake that it was placed at, but there were multiple viewing platforms built near the shore facing the duck. There was also a tiered amphitheater style bench area near the duck site, which seemed to have been installed even before the duck. The site is a 5-minute walk from the closest subway station and is serviced directly by more than a dozen bus routes. Even if one was not purposely looking for the duck, it would be hard to miss.

Lotte Group is a diverse conglomerate, with businesses and investments in multiple sectors, including food, chemicals, petroleum, real estate, entertainment, finance, tourism and retail (Lotte Shopping, 2014). *Forbes* magazine ranked Lotte Shopping, Lotte Group’s retail division, as the world’s number three department store in 2013, with US\$22.2 billion in sales and \$1 billion net profit (Jin, 2013).

Construction on the mall and tower began about three years ago and has been a sensitive issue for local residents. Citizens are concerned about the lack of parking combined with the anticipated increase in residents and visitors to the area. There are also concerns that the current streets will not be able accommodate the increase in commercial, residential and tourist transportation. Additionally, there is speculation that the construction of the mall and tower has led to sink holes forming in and around the Jamsil area. Finally, some groups are reporting that the said construction has caused the water level of the lake to decrease over the last year. There is much speculation in the press that Lotte has paid for the duck to be installed in Seoul so that residents will forget about their worries and focus on the fun and cuteness of the duck (Lee, 2014; Soa, 2014; Woo, 2014).

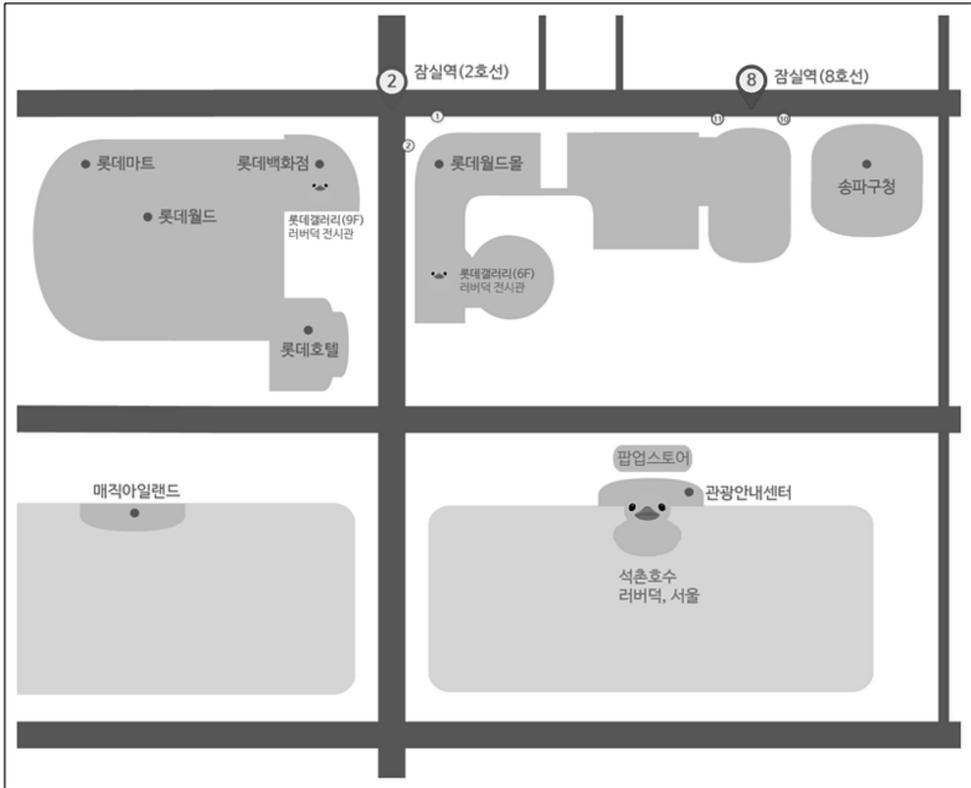


Figure 2. The layout of the installation in relation to the Lotte World Mall and Tower on the right and the Lotte World Amusement Park on the left. The colored circles indicate subway stops with numbers. The small duck icons indicate the locations of the galleries and gift shops, while the larger duck shows the position of the installation. While this map shows the duck looking away from the mall and tower, it was in fact rotated 180°, looking at the mall and tower, not out across the lake as indicated. (Rubber Duck Project, 2014)

4. FINDINGS

Two ideologies were identified through the course of analysis: escapism, meaning the desire to somehow be distracted from the realities surrounding oneself, and skepticism, the idea of questioning what has been presented for veracity. This narrative will look at escapism first as seen in the Rubber Duck Project, and then move on to skepticism before briefly discussing elements that do not seem strongly tied to either ideology. A complete listing of presented and suggested elements along with their corresponding ideologies is also provided (Table 1).

Table 1. Presented and suggested elements to corresponding ideologies

PRESENTED	SUGGESTED	ESCAPISM	SKEPTICISM	OTHER?
Rubber duck	childhood experience	×		
	recognisable icon	×		
	simplicity	×		
Yellow	bright	×		
	cheerful	×		
Rubber	flexible		×	
	bendable		×	
Chubby	wealthy	×		
	content	×		
	taken care of	×		
Large	out of the ordinary	×		
	unusual	×		
	unexpected	×		
	unrealistic			×
	larger than life	×		
Floating	separated from the viewer			×
	close but not able to touch			×
	reminiscent of the bath tub			
Soft lines	tub	×		
	comfortable	×		
	approachable	×		
	non-threatening	×		
Small wings	unnatural reproduction			×
	icon			×
	non-functional			×
	decorative			×
	disproportional			×
Silent	unrealistic			×
	peacefulness	×		
	mute			×
No moving parts	nothing to say			×
	simplicity	×		
	nothing to prove	×		
	contentment	×		
Eyes	incapable of action			×
	friendly	×		
	approachable	×		
	welcoming	×		
	hopeful	×		
	eager	×		

Table 1. (con't)

PRESENTED	SUGGESTED	ESCAPISM	SKEPTICISM	OTHER?
Orange beak	bright contrast			×
	distinctiveness			×
	contentment	×		
Not male or female Inflated	inclusive			×
	temporary		×	
	dependent on air		×	
Public	empty		×	
	able to be viewed by all			×
	spectacle		×	
	vulnerable		×	
Stoic expression	oddity	×		
	resolute			×
	unemotional		×	
	accepting	×		

The simplicity and familiarity of the rubber duck sets the stage for an attractive and enjoyable encounter with the artifact. As an icon recognised for the cleanliness and comfort of a young childhood (Meyer, 2006: 20), the viewer is immediately tempted to think back to a simpler and safer time in their lives. The familiar bright yellow color of the duck, portrayed in a larger than life manner, floating in an equally larger than life bathtub (Lake Seokchon) leaves the viewer with a feeling that he or she has progressed from the small version of life as a child, to the large and responsible, adult stage.

This childhood connection serves as the foundation for the encounter with the artifact. Additionally, the spectacle and oddity of it all, seemingly out of place and unusual in its grand scale, yet at the same time instantly familiar, continues to support the escapist ideology. The duck looks to be very well-fed, and not in want of sustenance, suggesting that it is well taken care of, content and well-off.

The soft and rounded lines create a non-threatening outline from afar and on approaching it nearer, relaxes the viewer and puts them at ease. With no moving parts, simplicity is once again reinforced and the duck appears to be content to just sit, with no agenda and nothing to prove. Furthermore, the duck makes no noise, contributing to a potentially quiet and peaceful environment. The eyes of the duck are looking slightly up, with an eager, hopeful and friendly expression that further reinforces other welcoming aspects of the icon. The orange beak is closed, resulting in a stoic yet content and accepting expression on its face.

Many of the presented and suggested elements discussed above can for the most part be perceived before arriving at the site of the Rubber Duck Project because many people have a pre-existing expectation or understanding of what a rubber duck is. The comforting images, lines and associated memories that come with this recollection and initial identification tempt the viewer to delve deeper, to get closer to, and to commit to the action of going to see the installation in an effort to escape the realities of life. In many ways, the suggested elements of comfort, simplicity and familiarity may be what

the viewer is missing in the reality of life, and so, seeing the duck is driven by a desire for a short and temporary escape from that reality. The rubber duck encompasses these nostalgic elements (Meyer, 2006) that they are looking for.

Leading up to and during the exhibition of the duck, there was speculation in the Korean press that such an ideology is the expectation that the sponsor, Lotte Group was looking to instill in those who viewed the duck. In other words, the company's intention was for people to forget about the fear of the unknown, or worry about local impact of the nearby construction and instead, focus on the peaceful cuteness brought by the duck. While the artist's statement on the project clearly indicates that there is no intention to send any political message with the placement and sponsorship of the project, it would be naïve to think that Lotte Group did not have similar notions. An entirely separate analysis could be conducted on the actions and words of Lotte Group in this regard, but even in looking at the duck itself, there are suggested elements that bolster a skeptical view of the project and the intentions of Lotte Group.

While the initial impression of the artifact may promote an ideology of escapism, upon arrival at the exhibit site and closer examination, a skeptic ideology instantly emerges, causing the viewer to doubt the tenacity of the promised escape from conflict and concern.

The first indicator of a motive other than the innocent rekindling of childhood memories is evident in the positioning of the duck. Looking up from the surface of the lake towards the mall and tower under construction, a clear connection is made between the sculpture and its sponsor. Within days of the installation opening, this fact was a common critique among the locals. One news story quoted a local resident's reaction: "What took me by surprise is how they positioned the rubber duck. People have to walk by the entrance of the mall to see the installation. It's too obvious." (Lee, 2014).

The large nature, and sheer size of the duck is initially interesting and captures the attention of the viewer. The scale is used to "achieve reactions that are described both with shock and amazement," forcing the viewer to "define a position against something that is bigger than his or her own mental and physical capacity." (Schneemann, 2013: 285).

However, with some critical thought and observation, it becomes obvious that this duck is not a real rubber duck like the viewer would have had as a child or would have seen on Sesame Street. The rubber material is flexible and holds its firmness only because of the air that is forced inside. Without air being forced into it, the duck literally falls flat. In fact, on the opening day of the installation, there were technical difficulties with the inflation system, and the rubber duck partially deflated, falling face down into the lake (Figure 3). This understanding leads to further recognition that this icon of happiness is really nothing more than an empty shell, temporarily filled with air. Similarly, the escape it provides is empty and temporary as well.

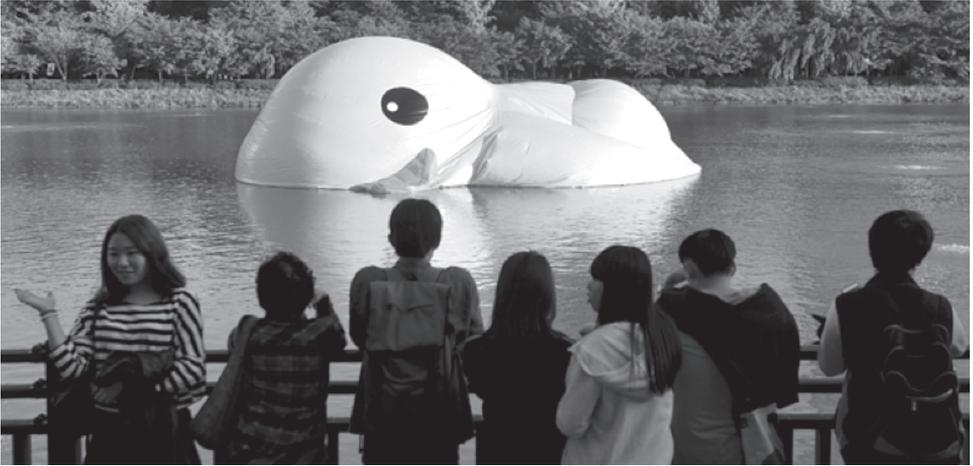


Figure 3. “People take pictures of a giant yellow rubber duck that deflated while floating in Seokchon Lake, southeastern Seoul, yesterday. The organisers of the Rubber Duck project in Korea said that the art installation would be soon be pumped up again. The large Rubber Duck, created by Dutch artist Florentijn Hofman, is on display in Seoul until Nov. 14.” (Kim, 2014)

The small wings placed on the sculpture are more easily noticed as the viewer approaches the exhibit. The wings reinforce the unrealistic, non-functional and unnatural existence of this public spectacle. They are purely decorative and disproportionate to what they should be on an actual duck. This duck, with no functioning parts is not going anywhere. This message runs counter to that of the nostalgic escape discussed earlier, and leads to skepticism, while the shallow promise for escape initially promised by the familiar image of the rubber duck continues to dwindle.

Floating in the lake, the duck is exposed and vulnerable. Multiple installations of the duck project have been vandalised when the PVC shell is slashed (CNN, 2013; RNL, 2009; Teague, 2014), displaying its actual vulnerability. The duck, which from afar and in the mind conjures thoughts of possible escape to the simplicity of childhood, is separated from the viewer, unable to be reached or realised. It sits silently on the water, with nothing to say to those who have made the excursion to see it.

The artist makes it quite clear that the sculpture is intended to provide some sort of relief or escape from the realities faced by those who view it. It suggests that joy and happiness can be found in simple pleasures, communicated in a simple, undetailed, childlike way. While from afar, the duck may emanate hope for pleasure and relief from the realities of life, however, upon close scrutiny, viewers are faced with a giant, yellow, non-interactive one-way communicator that broadcasts its presence but cannot engage its audience.

It seems likely that the art project was brought to Seoul in an effort to appease citizens’ concerns and complaints about the problems associated with the building of Korea’s tallest building in an already busy section of the city. Perhaps organisers

hoped that people in the area would “feel the love” of the duck, and forget about their very real concerns regarding additional traffic, sink holes and other impacts. Lotte Group would have had many options with regard to the kind of art installation that it wanted to fund. To think that this particular display was chosen purely for the “cuteness” of the duck is naïve. It was clearly on a mission of communication.

Some presented elements of the duck did not seem to directly support either the escapist or skeptic ideologies. This observation should not come as a surprise, as not every element observed will relate directly to a primary ideology. Additionally, these uncategorised elements support the premise of Foss (1994), Blair (2001) and other rhetorical scholars that each critic has the ability to identify different supporting elements and functions.

While the bright orange beak was a very noticeable attribute, its distinctiveness and bright contrast with the yellow of the rest of the duck seemed somewhat out of place. As a standard feature of rubber ducks (Meyer, 2006), perhaps this contributed to the escapist ideology, but the contrast against the rest of the duck kept it from fully making the connection. The undetermined and unstated gender of the rubber duck was also a noticeable element. While it may have explained the appeal to both male and female visitors due to its gender neutrality as a toy equally appropriate for boys and girls (Campenni, 1999), it did not clearly connect to either ideology. Finally, the accessibility of the project to the public was an enabler for both ideologies, but again did not reflect either ideology in itself.

In the end, Lotte Group’s attempt to divert a skeptical public’s attention with an escape from reality to a happy place may have at the same time strengthened the very skepticism they sought relief from those who viewed the project.

5. CONTRIBUTION TO RHETORICAL THEORY

Foss (2009: 3) defines rhetoric as “the human use of symbols to communicate” and identifies three primary dimensions of this definition: “(1) humans as the creators of rhetoric; (2) symbols as the medium for rhetoric; and (3) communication as the purpose for rhetoric”. The Rubber Duck project in Seoul is just one example of how public art can be interpreted through rhetorical criticism, clearly fulfilling each of the three dimensions outlined by Foss. Florentijn Hofman, the creator of the Rubber Duck project is clearly identified as the creator of the symbol that is used to communicate. Additionally, the conflict between Lotte Group and local residents creates a clear picture of the artwork being used in an effort to communicate.

Despite his claim that the Rubber Duck Project “doesn’t have any political connotation,” Hofman seems to clearly understand that his creations are communicating to the masses, on issues that are important to them. He writes in his web page: “My sculptures cause an uproar, astonishment and put a smile on your face. They give people a break from their daily routines. Passersby stop in front of them, get off their bicycles and enter into conversation with other spectators. People are making contact with each other again. That is the effect of my sculptures in the public domain” (Hofman, 2012).

Interpretations of art are as numerous as those who interpret art. Public art is

often accessible and available to many who would otherwise not see art in a more traditional venue such as a museum or a gallery. Many viewers may be drawn to the spectacle because of its popularity, without really knowing what it is they are going to see or partake in. While individual responses to a project may differ, it is important to think critically through the function of the object and what is being communicated through the presented and suggested elements in the work, before allowing oneself to simply be overcome by whatever visceral reaction one has upon viewing it. This type of disciplined approach has benefits in both the academic and everyday world.

If people are directly told to not worry about something, chances are, they will want to know more about what it is they should not worry about. Lotte Group has certainly made efforts to directly appease the fears of local citizens. With the sponsorship of the Rubber Duck, Lotte Group provided a distracting icon for people to come to see, perhaps in an effort to distract them from construction troubles and rumors of concern. At the same time, in doing so, a distinct opportunity was also created for a very different message to be sent to and received by those who flocked to see the duck.

The rhetorical schema presented by Foss (1994, 2009) provides a strong foundation on which additional analyses can take place. While judgements of critics may differ, the schema offers scholars an opportunity to meet Hunt's (2003: 378) second and third requirements of good rhetorical criticism; it identifies applicable rhetorical questions and criteria to the subject of study, and the end result is "well-written and argued".

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