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Director of the Center for the Teaching of Foreign
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Mrs Elly Zaniewicka

Political Correspondent
BBC Political Programmes, London, UK

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Social Capital and Human Well-Being: A Southeast Asian Perspective

Ekkarat Chainamkem

University of Antwerp, Belgium

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Abstract

The essay reveals the contingent development and failures of the development process. It concludes that developing countries in Southeast Asia need community organizations to strengthen social capital as it is one of the indispensable factors to improve human well-being, in particular those living in rural areas. To improve Southeast Asian economic development, the essay implies that it is necessary to avoid a one-size-fits-all approach to implementing development policies and, as a consequence, there is a need for further research on social capital, individual characteristics, and community contexts.

1. INTRODUCTION

The central idea of this essay is to propose the role of community organizations, and to delineate why community organizations outperform other strategies or interventions that attempt to benefit low-income people and communities within Southeast Asia. The developing countries in Southeast Asia mentioned in this essay include Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar. Whilst Singapore and Brunei are located in the same region they are not included in this essay since they are much more advanced than the others.

The unit of analysis is at the community level and effective community organizations are of interest because local communities in developing countries often find themselves inefficient due to issues such as a lack of information, unequal power, principal-agent problems, an absence of coordination and control, and so forth. To handle these obstacles directly, it is clear that the community itself needs to be well-organized.

The concepts on which this essay relies include a collective action view, institutionalism, contingency, and embeddedness. Although there is a wide-ranging debate about human nature, namely the duality between social determinism and free will, which relate directly to the point we discuss about whether or not communities can possibly adapt, this essay intends to support the role of agents. The paper is offered on the conceptual basis that everyone experiences both deterministic and voluntaristic circumstances. Individuals and their institutions may be determined by exogenous forces such as social contexts and environments in their localities; yet an interactive and proactive role of agents is still possible and must be done in order to overcome structural difficulties.

The essay is presented step by step. The problem of growth without development in Southeast Asia is raised for discussion first as it is the point where the idea sparked, leading to further discussion on the contingency of rural development caused by market and government failures, and divergent community characteristics. A solution is then proposed asserting that community organizations are needed to work directly for the community. In order to get the community organizations right and effective, they must accompany social capital. The conclusion drawn here implies that further empirical research on dimensions of social capital is needed to prove the proposition of this essay.

2. CONTINGENT NATURE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Development policies focus on economic growth, resulting in an extensive monoculture and the expansion of industry and international trade, and have an affect on natural resources. In return, those who are most influenced by environmental degradation are poor people living and depending on such natural resources. Streeten (2001) has warned that globalization through international trade and investment appears to be good for the richer countries characterized by, for instance, asset holders, well-educated actors, risk-takers, large firms and so on, but negative for poorer countries, unskilled labor and local communities. Nonetheless, this essay is not written to argue that globalization is an evil. It is written to insist that local communities can do something meaningful to handle the dynamic world.

Considering economic growth and income distribution, most of the local communities in Southeast Asian countries consist of people who currently experience livelihood problems; even though GDP in each country continues to grow. This difficulty results from the fact that incomes are not equally distributed. Economic growth has benefited some people and made them richer – bringing about an affluent urban middle class – while the majority, especially in the countryside, has seen only a slight share of this prosperity.

Table 1: Measures of Income Distribution

Country	GDP Growth (%) (Average 2008 – 11)	Year	Gini Coefficient	Lowest 20% Over Highest 20%
Cambodia	3.8	2009	36.0	0.18 (7.9/44.5)
Indonesia	4.7	2010	35.6	0.18 (7.6/43.7)
Laos	6.4	2008	36.7	0.17 (7.6/44.8)
Malaysia	2.2	2009	46.2	0.09 (4.5/51.5)
Philippines	2.5	2009	43.0	0.12 (6.0/49.7)
Thailand	1.4	2010	39.4	0.15 (6.8/46.7)
Vietnam	5.0	2008	35.6	0.17 (7.4/43.4)

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators Online, 2012

Note: Data not available for Myanmar

Table 1 represents the income distribution of developing countries in Southeast Asia. Although there were some shocks that impacted on economic growth, for example the subprime crisis in 2008-2009; and the 2010 violence and 2011 severe flooding that occurred in Thailand, the average GDP growth 2008-2011 in each country was still positive at satisfactory rates.

Considering the inequality, Vietnam and Indonesia have the lowest Gini coefficient of 35.6, whereas Malaysia has the highest of 46.2, which means it is the most uneven among its neighboring countries. The Philippines is comparable to Malaysia, while the other countries seem to have somewhat lower values of the Gini index. To see the trend of inequality between the two extreme groups – the very rich and the very poor – the ratio of "income share held by the lowest 20%" to "income share held by the highest 20%" also reveals a similar trend. In Malaysia, the disparity is more than ten times. Chongvilaivan (2013) underlined that this pattern of economic growth implies that increasing inequality in Southeast Asia is driven primarily by the extent to which incomes of the rich surge at a faster pace than those of the poor.

The failures of rural development, inequality of income distribution, and continuing poverty result in the level of human-well-being reflected by the Human Development Index (HDI) – a composite index measuring the levels of life expectancy, education, and income. Only Malaysia seems to be in a desirable position, while all others are at medium and low.

Table 2: Human Development Index, 2012

	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	Philippines	Thailand	Vietnam	Myanmar
HDI	0.54	0.63	0.54	0.77	0.65	0.69	0.62	0.5

Source: United Nations Development Programme, 2012

The above fact inevitably voices concerns about the uncertainty of an unreliable distribution of economic growth. As stated in the *Human Development Report 2013*, “Economic growth alone does not automatically reflect progress when it comes to human development.” This phenomenon is called growth without development. Thus, the essence of this section is to understand why developing countries in Southeast Asia are still far from satisfactory in terms of human well-being.

In Southeast Asian countries, ones that followed market or government orientation often have failed in bolstering development. This is because developing countries often encounter several obstacles that can distort market mechanism, and undercut the anticipated results of development programs provided by their governments.

Next, market and government failures, and community characteristics are viewed as the important factors that result in contingent development in the context of developing countries.

2.1 Market and Government Failures

In a free market economy, resources are allocated by invisible hands in accordance with consumer demand. The market is the place where those who supply and those who demand a product or service come to trade at an agreed price. Thus, the price will be a mechanism for clearing the market in which both transacting parties are satisfied. However, price mechanisms can never guarantee an equitable income in society (Thirlwall, 2006). In addition, it is possible that price mechanisms cannot reflect marginal costs due to market imperfections. When the market does not work as expected of the ideal, there will be failures. And if the market fails, the economy fails (Chang, 2002).

Market failures bring even more trouble to the poor in developing countries. Thus, there is a call from poor people, scholars, and those who are involved in rural development for government intervention in the development process or even to interfere with the market mechanism and to arrange plans for resource allocation. However, governments cannot possess sufficient knowledge to efficiently allocate resources. The governments of most developing countries often fail to deliver even the most fundamental public goods such as law and property rights, as well as essential infrastructure such as education, health services and transport. To push these types of intervention, many go deeper into fiscal crisis due to the increasing expenditure. It is suggested that the government has a crucial role to play in economic development, but not too much as a direct provider; rather as the facilitator to build up a good environment in which economic activities can flourish (Thirlwall, 2006). Thus, there is available space for local communities to play an active role in economic development.

However, the fact that market and government often have failed to enhance rural development does not mean to reject price mechanisms absolutely. In fact, it is a matter of an alternative possibility. Here, it is proposed that developing countries in Southeast Asia are in the contexts that are far from the assumptions required to make price mechanisms work properly – reflected by a lack of infrastructure, limited knowledge and skills, unequal power,

principal-agent problems, and so on. As a result, ideal markets do not exist in these contexts and that causes inequality of opportunity, income distribution, and transactions between various parties. Of course, the alternatives to price mechanisms are manifold (Douma and Schreuder, 1998) but in this essay the community characteristics are paramount. Therefore, community organizations are the proposed alternative expected to work best for spurring rural development in these contexts.

2.2 Community Characteristics

Putnam et al. (1993) studied the community characteristics that affect economic development in Italy. He found that horizontal association between people can foster cooperation for the mutual benefit of the community. The critical factor in explaining the effectiveness of the regional governments in Italy is to be found in differences in social capital. Rich regions in the northern part of Italy have more social capital than the poorer southern regions. Relationships of people living in northern Italy are based on mutual trust and shared values, whilst based on power and control for those living in the southern regions – the activities of the Mafia for example. This implies that community characteristics do matter in the economic development process.

Comparing the role of market mechanisms, government intervention and community characteristics, it is argued that community features play a more important role in rural development in the context of Southeast Asian countries. Again, this is not to reject the role of markets and the governments, but according to Knack and Keefer (1997), Boix and Posner (1998), and Özcan and Bjørnskov (2011), the effects of such approaches tend to occur in politically free countries, especially in the Western world, in which the preferences and expectations of individuals are more likely to affect formal institutions and policy. In addition, the development process could not work effectively in the community that upholds some of the bad characteristics of social structure, for example inactive participation, free riding, and opportunistic behavior.

Rigg (2012) has made this clearer by asserting that community contexts matter sub-nationally, in terms of type of household and livelihood, and the specific geographical characteristics of areas in terms of culture, environment and economy (Table 3). Rigg pointed out that even when income is equivalent households would exhibit varying levels of resilience responding to economic and political and social phenomena. People living in the community will be unequally vulnerable, and their chances of falling into poverty or exiting from it will be different.

Table 3: Community contexts

Context	Example
Geographical characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Proximity to a town or other centre ○ Availability and access to transport infrastructure ○ Customary norms (dowries, funeral feasts, etc.) ○ Community support structures (social capital)
Household characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Asset profile ○ Age structure (life course moment) of household ○ Balance between farm and non-farm income ○ Headship (female-headed plus age of household head) ○ Household size and ratio of dependents ○ Education level of adult household members
Event character	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Serious illness/injury ○ Production fall (crop failure) due to flood, drought or pest attack ○ Economic crises/failure, either general leading to redundancy or inflation or specific (for example, steep fall in commodity prices)

Source: Rigg, 2012

Rigg also voiced concerns about spatial, social and temporal contingencies by proposing the four axes of development contingency, including:

- **Country conditions**

The capacities of a country emerge from existing political, institutional, social and economic conditions. Thus, it is clear that the capacity of developing countries to make structural adjustment and to adapt to change properly is limited. This often leads the governments of these states to fail in the development process.

- **Historical contexts**

The political, social, cultural and economic setting for a particular community also matter. An historical background is viewed as the key source of knowledge concerning human behavior, and economic and social issues. In this perspective, economics is culture-specific. Cultural contexts shape divergent patterns of behaviors. Thus, economic approaches to development are not generalizable over space and time.

- **Personal circumstances**

Personal circumstances involve a complex assemblage of assets and capitals that individuals and households bring to bear in their lives. In order to solve the problem of poverty in developing countries, it is necessary to bear in mind that poverty is not about low income below the poverty line. Rather, it is all about the circumstances that cause difficulties to one's livelihood. For example, the population living below the national poverty line in Thailand in 2009 was just 8.1%. However, there were many more people who still suffered from being deep in debt and lacked basic needs.

- **Human characteristics**

Human characteristics influence the choice and behaviors of individuals and collectives in responding to economic and social activities. Culture and societal norms play an important role in shaping human behaviors and cause differences between people living in different cultural contexts. Weber (1958) wrote the economic function of culture brings about different

economic outcomes. The example was European Protestantism, which differed from the existing medieval Catholic worldview. Ethically, Protestants acted in different ways. For instance, children were expected to read the Bible, and that improved the literacy rate; the reduction of holy days improved productivity. Harding (1987) and Haraway (1988) also found that institutions, such as ethnic, class and gender backgrounds influence work carried out and the knowledge produced by people.

The conclusion arrived here is that a community's characteristics play a crucial role where development is situated in time and space. This implies that both contexts and policies require smooth adjustment. It is in the sense that contexts should change to accommodate policies and, at the same time, policies should also be adjusted for a given context. This is the matter of contingent development intentionally emphasized in this section. And this also is the rationale to raise the role of local community organizations as active agents in adjusting their contexts through coordination and control.

3. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Part 2 revealed the contingent nature of rural development, the question of how to deal with such contingencies arises. This section is devoted to discussing this matter. Primarily, this essay emphasizes the contingent nature of rural development, claiming that there are several factors that subdue the effectiveness of the development process in the context of developing countries in Southeast Asia. It is reflected that development projects should not be designed, dealing with all communities uniformly, but, rather be adapted to different levels of existing community contexts.

On the community side, what action would be appropriate for developing countries in Southeast Asia to take? Based on the previous discussion, the answer must be an approach that takes spatial, social and temporal contingencies into account. Consequently, community-based organizations are recommended in this essay. The reason behind this is simple but sufficient that no one knows the problems of a local community better than that community itself. It is suggested in the study of Uphoff (1993) that formal and informal groups in a local community are important as channels for development.¹ These groups are revitalized especially when the government and market fail to meet people's expectations and needs. This suggestion follows Ostrom (1990), an institutional economist, who showed solutions that go beyond the state and market when addressing problems related to common resources in developing countries. Ostrom insisted that collective action is more effective than enforcing rules imposed from external sources.

But what is the fuel that makes local communities work? It is argued in this essay that the answer is social capital. Social capital plays a significant role in economic and social life at community level since production and consumption are simultaneously physical and social activities and take place in given social contexts, which are organized in particular ways. Social relations strongly influence the ways in which production and consumption are organized and, as a consequence, structure the nature of everyday life (Perrons, 1999: pp.94).

¹ It is possible to have negative effects if the groups are built up with negative purposes, such as lobbying behavior, mafia, etc. However, these kinds of groups can be dealt with through effective coordination and control.

If considering social capital as fuel, community organizations would be the vehicle. When they are ready, these two factors will move members of local communities forward.

3.1 Effective Community Organizations

The roles of markets normally are: 1) to efficiently allocate resources, 2) to enhance full employment, 3) to stimulate economic development, and 4) to distribute knowledge and information. But all of these have often failed in developing countries. To answer why, it is possible that the market alone cannot work to completely accomplish these four tasks because the market is not just an institution in the economy. Institutions in terms of trust, norms, culture, religions, and so on also influence the outcomes of the economy. It is in accordance with North (1994), who has asserted that institutions form the incentive structure of a society, and [social], political and economic institutions, in consequence, are the underlying determinants of economic performance.

This would be the reason why developing countries have long been stuck in poverty although they followed a market-oriented economy. It is their institutional structure that still lags behind and causes mistiming when joining a modern economy. Thus, to, “get the price right” in accordance with a market-oriented economy is not enough. For developing countries, it is also necessary to, “get the institutions right”. To do that, effective community organizations are needed.²

Speaking of how to be more effective, Coase (1937) proposed organizations and markets as alternative coordination devices. He moved away from a traditional approach by assuming that within an organization, instead of the price mechanism frequently used in mainstream economics, authority is the alternative mechanism to determine resource allocation. It is necessary to add that the authority proposed in here must be in the form of a democratic authority since community organizations would be expected to respond to the needs suggested by people living in the district.

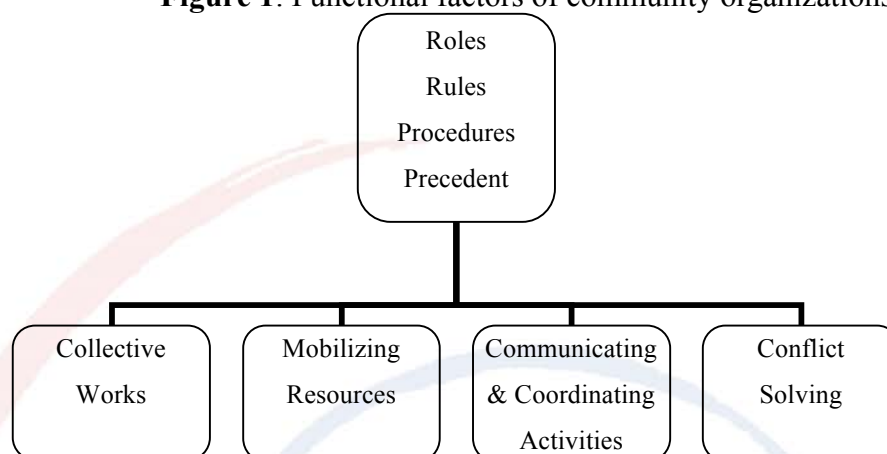
What is the implication of this alternative approach? It could be said that this approach implies the possibility for adaptation and management. From the natural selection point of view, some may argue that there are constraints that limit adaptation. In addition, institutional change might not be easily possible, especially informal institutions in regard to habits, norms, religions, and other cultural matters existing in a community. But it is argued, based on the collective action view, that adaptation is possible through effective community organizations. The proposed community organizations should be considered as an organized visible hand contributing directly to improving quality of life for which developing countries have long been in need.

To be concrete, adapted from Wijayaratna (2004), it is suggested in this essay that community organizations on the basis of social capital could facilitate and support mutually beneficial collective action should include roles, rules, procedures and precedent. These four mechanisms act in the sense of coordination and control dealing with other dimensions of community organizations, such as collective works, mobilizing resources, communicating

² The term “effective community organizations” is used to suggest that rather than “efficiency”, “effectiveness” is favorable for developing countries in the context being discussed. Community organizations are suggested to be accompanied by social capital. When social capital is mentioned, by definition, it already implies efficiency.

and coordinating activities, and conflict resolution (Figure 1). It is important to have these four mechanisms in place when people are organized into groups, so that they can work together smoothly, predictably, fruitfully, and efficiently.

Figure 1: Functional factors of community organizations



Source: Adapted from Wijyaratna, 2004

The role of the authority may be done through a committee democratically elected by members of the community. It is important to realize that community organizations must be considered as a process in which the community is empowered to identify its common difficulties or objectives, to mobilize resources, and to develop and implement strategies in order to reach the objectives which the community collectively has established (McKenzie, Pinger, Kotecki, 2012). By this means, it is at least guaranteed that the needs of the people, particularly the poor in developing countries will be directly taken into account. Social trust plus measures arranged by community organizations will take the responsibility of coordination and control to suppress any malfeasance.

Concerning the methods of a community organization, Rengasamy (2009) has suggested that the methods used must be consistent with the participatory aim of the community organizations. That is the key to improving human well-being of people in developing countries. A set of examples is given in table 4, representing six methods under three main burdens of community organizations.

Table 4: Methods of Community Organizations

1. STUDY, 2. DIAGNOSIS, AND 3. TREATMENT	1. Methods of Planning and Related Activities	Common vision Goal-setting process Fact finding Analysis Evaluation Planning
	2. Methods of Group Decision Making and Co-operative Action	Problem-solving process Community meeting Committee practice Negotiation Vote
	3. Methods of Communication	Education Consultation Public relations Interview the media and ICT Written and oral communication
	4. Methods of promotion and social action	Incentives Promotion Legislative and non-legislative measures Direct action Exerting or invoking authoritative action
	5. Methods of financing and fundraising	Fund procurement by governmental agencies Fundraising by voluntary agencies Cooperatives and credit unions Joint budgeting
	6. Methods of administration	Administrative activities of agencies concerned with social planning Administration of common service or community organization Accountancy Recording

Source: Adapted from Rengasamy, 2009

To summarize, part 3.1 suggests that in order to make community organizations work effectively in benefiting people, there is a need for social capital. Thus, the main idea is that effective utilization of social capital must be counted as the most essential role of community organizations mentioned in this essay.

3.2 Social Capital

Social capital refers to those features of social organizations, such as norms, trust, attitudes, and networks that govern interactions among people and can contribute to improving economic and social development by facilitating efficiently coordinated actions (Putnam et al., 1993). Social capital matters because it enables members of the local community to act together more effectively in order to pursue common objectives or basic needs (Putnam, 1996). This is the reason why it is analogized as fuel that must come together with effective community organizations as mentioned above.

According to the literature, social capital is often viewed in terms of social trust. The term “capital” is valid because it is possible to invest in social relationships and, as a result, there are costs attached. Mutual trust created through long-term and multiple transactions will promote collaborative relationships within the local community. In addition, trust is able to suppress moral hazards between the contracting parties. If mutual trust between particular individuals were elevated to a moral code in society, large savings would be realized in transaction costs (Hayami, 2005).

Back to the context of developing countries, it is clear that local communities are mostly characterized by social ties rather than market ties. In this case, the concept of embeddedness contributed by Granovetter and Uzzi can be applied to understanding the context of developing countries. Granovetter (1985) proposed that economic transactions are embedded in social relations. Close relationships generate trust and, as a result, malfeasant actions in economic life decrease. Uzzi (1997) whose empirical research finding went further in reporting that trust acts as the primary governance structure at community level. The benefits of trust are that it can reduce calculative risk and monitoring costs. He added that at micro behavioral level, actors will follow heuristic and qualitative decision rules rather than calculative ones. Furthermore, actors will be satisfied to cultivate long-term cooperative ties rather than promote self-interest. Therefore, the concept of embeddedness would be a strong basis in support of community-based organizations to make the cooperation more effective and more fruitful in improving the livelihood of the poor in developing countries.

To summarize, social trust can be counted as capital because it can contribute significantly to improving the economic performance of a community. Most of the transactions at community level are often embedded in a network of relationships which seems to be natural in the countryside, implying ease and suitability to start from this advantage. Stepping further on a community-based approach can contribute positive and unique outcomes which might be sources of competitive advantage since each community has its own valuable features which are difficult to be either imitated or substituted.

3.3 The Determinants of Trust

In a less trust-based society, opportunistic behaviour becomes the default, and people are generally inclined to invest in relationships that are based on reciprocity. That situation will make local communities less cooperative and participative in shared objectives of the local community. As a result, common resources and local public goods will get worse in terms of the quality of well-being. To avoid such situation, it is suggested in this essay that a trust-based society can come about by means of community organizations.

If trust can contribute to such good outcomes in relation to the quality of life, another question arises; what determines trust? It is well known that there are numerous factors that determine trust between people. Aspects of community homogeneity and heterogeneity also matter. Inclusively, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) have identified five broad factors that influence how much people trust others, including:

- 1) Individual culture, traditions and religion
- 2) How long an individual has lived in a community with a stable composition
- 3) Recent personal history of misfortune
- 4) The perception of being part of a discriminated group

5) Several characteristics of the composition of one's community, including how much trust there is in the community

Lastly, let us get back to the matter of developing countries in Southeast Asia. It is quite unfortunate that there is still a lack of firm studies on community organizations and social capital in this region. Some countries adopted this concept adding it to their national economic and social development plans but they are far from being effective. This implies that the field is still open to being investigated.

4. DISCUSSION OF FURTHER RESEARCH

In this essay the problem of contingency and the facts about lagging human well-being of developing countries in Southeast Asia are detailed. The essay tries to take human well-being into account and to warn policy makers about divergent contexts of local communities which might be significantly different from assumed ideal contexts when creating development policy. It proposes that instead of relying on income distribution through price mechanisms, local communities need to be more self-reliant through effective community organizations. These organizations are necessary for gathering and facilitating active civic participation, which can empower the local community to deal with livelihood problems more directly and promptly.

The discussion is delineated step by step, first by underlining the contingency of rural development, second by explaining the causes through market and government failures, third by presenting an alternative mechanism to drive rural development, effective community organizations, finally arriving at the importance of social capital as the basis for development. However, the proposition on the importance of social capital presented in this essay is still in need of empirical investigation. Further study on social capital and community organizations in the context of Southeast Asian countries is therefore a useful field to invest in further research. For example the future research may investigate the role of social capital in human development in Southeast Asian countries; how to make local community organizations more effective; how generalized trust is formed; what are the conditions that determine trust between people in the community.

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Intersection of Asian Supernatural Beings in Asian Folk Literature: A Pan-Asian Identity

Ronel Laranjo*¹, Kristina Martinez-Erbite*², Zarina Joy Santos*²

*¹Korea University, Korea, *²University of the Philippines, Philippines

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INTRODUCTION

Asian nations have a rich cultural and literary tradition, through these; we can see the common features that bind these nations. This commonality can be considered as the Pan-Asian identity. Folklore, as being mirrored in folk literature, is a rich source of a community's cultural values. Jansen notes that the other significance of folklore is that it provides a group's image of itself and images of other groups (Dundes, 1965). In the era of globalization, folklore serves its function in literary and cultural realm.

This study focuses on the cross-cultural intersections of Southeast Asian nations' folk literature in terms of names and descriptions of supernatural beings, and their functions in the society. The study will examine the commonality of terms and description of supernatural beings found in the narratives of folk literature (myths, legends, folktales and epics) of six nations (Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand). The countries stated above will be collectively called as Pan-Asia in this paper.

According to Foucault (1973), the study of space also known as heterotopia provides an avenue to describe places and spaces that function in non-hegemonic conditions. The usage of space in this study will investigate the area of Asian folklores as a new venue to root the unity among Southeast Asian nations.

Folklores in each nation offer logical explanations about the existence of things and order in nature highly unexplainable. During the ancient times, these valorized stories without being questioned served as lullaby and past time for all ages. In the global era, folklores are rich narratives of literature. Collections filling up libraries and influence source for contemporary children's storybooks, television program, films, and other digital forms.

This paper intends to investigate on the interconnectedness of folklores from Southeast Asian literatures. As early as 7th century, Asian kingdoms like Srivijaya and Majapahit. Some claimed that Chaiya, Thailand became capital of Srivijaya while Sulu was the northernmost part of Majapahit empire. Given this data, it bridged the assumption of the similarities of culture including folkloric themes in Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, as well as Laos and Cambodia.

The discourse on discipline and space will back-up the contention of the study that the field of folklores is a space to prove and establish Pan-Asian identity in the Southeast Asian region. Michel Foucault in 1984 delivered in his speech *Des Espace Autres*, the mirror as he sees himself in front of it,

“...makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there.”

In the same manner folklores all seem to be products of imagination in the ancient times and serve a purpose to people in one period of time, and through focused examination of

all the similarities, profound meaning and valuing of Pan-Asian identity will be elicited.

The second principle of heterotopias states that at the history of society unfolds, it can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion. For each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another. This can be reflected on the experiences and history of Asia, in general. The ancient period in Asian history books told its readers the never-ending rise and fall scenario, ousting of king or leader. After the World War II, the struggles and establishing of most Southeast Asian countries in the context of establishing each own identities and components towards development and nation-statehood. The movement of uniting as a region is set for the economic, political and socio-cultural benefits for the present and future benefits. With this, the study on folklore is a quasi-space, or avenue to discover the interconnectedness of Southeast Asian region even way before the varied colonial and cultural experiences. Strong ties among its nations will strengthen the cultural and economic development. A strong history will result to better relationships among the nations in the region.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN FOLKLORE

According to UNESCO (1989), folklore is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms include, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, ritual, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts. It can be in the form of myths, legends, folktales, riddles, proverbs, folk song, etc. Since folklore is the expression of a community's identity and cultural uniqueness, this could serve as a space of convergence and divergence of beliefs and values.

Scholars did not explore much the study of these mythological creatures. Strange enough according to Maximo Ramos, a Filipino scholar who studied mythical creatures, that, being a part of the dominant culture in Asia, these topics were not given that much importance in terms of academic exploration, especially its correlation to literature and sociological study of a culture of a race or nation (Ramos, 1990). One reason for this perpetuation is the fact that believing in the lower mythology creatures is considered superstitious and undesirable. One can also point a finger to the attitudes of the educated and sophisticated people who think that it is a product of the simple, ignorant and uneducated country folk believe (Pacis, 1999). But even superstitious beliefs are relevant to the study of one's culture because this culture build up the components in which forms the identity of a nation.

According to Stith Thompson, there are no definite cultural boundaries and many of the concepts relating to supernatural creatures are found with little change over whole continents, and sometimes, indeed over the whole earth (Ramos, 1990). This study proves that folklores and culture go beyond the boundaries and converge through different

societies and nations.

In Southeast Asian folklore, there is a common motif of believing to supernatural beings. Supernatural being is defined as an incorporeal being believed to have powers to affect the course of human events. There are numerous varieties of supernatural beings in Southeast Asian folklore but this paper will focus on the two supernatural beings which are commonly found in the aforementioned six nations: these are the woman supernatural creature and child supernatural being.

PAN-ASIAN WOMAN SUPERNATURAL BEING

A. Terminology and Etymology

In Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos' folklore there is a woman supernatural creature that seems to be culturally related. This creature is called "Manananggal" in the Philippines, while "Penanggalan" or "Hantu penanggalan" in Malaysia. Both words literally may mean "to detach" or "to remove" since the two languages belong to the Austronesian language family. Same thing can be observed in "Krasue" (Thailand) and "Kasu/ Phi-kasu" (Laos) the terms seem to be cognates or almost similar in morphological structure. This creature is called "Ap" in Cambodia, "Leyak" in Bali, "Kuyang" in Kalimantan, and "Palasik" or "Pelesit" in West Sumatra, Indonesia.

Since geographically near to each other, it is not surprising that Philippines and Malaysia; and Thailand and Laos, share morphologically similar term for this supernatural being.

B. Characteristics

The "Manananggal" of the Philippine folklore, is portrayed as a young or old woman (though there are instances of men) who looks like a normal person in the daytime except that she has no canal (philtrum) on the upper lip. At night, it separates its body into the upper and lower torso. In the upper torso, bat-like wings appear which enables it to fly to search for its victim. While the lower limb remains on the ground and hid somewhere. They leave their body in a banana grove which can camouflage the shape of the legs and therefore the manananggal is sure that it has her lower body to come back to. Formula and ointments are essential for the ritual of the Manananggal's transformation. Ill-smelling chicken dung with coconut oil is believed to be applied all over the body of Manananggal. It perches on the roof house of the prey, which are usually pregnant women. Manananggal uses an elongated proboscis-like tongue to suck the heart of fetus (unborn child). "Tiktik", a bird named after the sound it makes, is an indication of the presence of Mananggal. The fainter the sound, the nearer the Manananggal is. To kill the Manananggal, one should sprinkle salt or put garlic or sprinkle ash to the top of the lower limb, in doing this, the upper torso would not be able to reconnect itself and will die by sunrise. The Manananggal can also be killed by

striking a pointed bamboo stick in the flying body. Pregnant women can prevent manananggal by holy water, palm leaves, crucifix and incense.

The “Penanggalan” in Malaysian folklore can be either a beautiful old or young woman who obtained her beauty through the active use of black magic, supernatural powers, mystical, or paranormal means which are most commonly described in local folklores to be dark or demonic in nature. It also flies at night and detaching its head and other internal organs from the rest of the body. As it flies, the stomach and entrails dangle below it, and these organs twinkle like fireflies as the Penanggalan moves through the night. The other body is also remained on ground and before it rejoins its original body, it soaks her internal organs in a pre-prepared container filled with vinegar to fit back into the body. One can also identify a Penanggalan during daytime, when it is a normal woman, by its vinegar-smelling body. Penanggalan victimizes pregnant women and young children using its fangs. It perches on the roofs of houses where women are in labor, screeching when the child is born. The Penanggalan will insert a long invisible tongue into the house to lap up the blood of the new mother. It prefers the blood of a newborn infant, the blood of woman who recently gave birth or the placenta. Those whose blood the Penanggalan feeds upon contract a wasting disease that is almost inescapably fatal. Furthermore, even if the Penanggalan is not successful in her attempt to feed, anyone who is brushed by the dripping entrails will suffer painful open sores that won't heal without a bomoh's (shaman) help. To protect against a Penanggal attack, one should scatter the thorny leaves of a local plant known as Mengkuang (any of the subspecies) which have sharp thorny leaves, because it would either trap or injure the exposed lungs, stomach and intestines of the Penanggalan as it flies in search of its prey. These thorns, on the vine, can also be looped around the windows of a house in order to snare the trailing organs. This is commonly done when a woman has just given birth. However, this practice will not protect the infant if the Penanggalan decides to pass through the floorboards. For this instance, one can plant a pineapple underneath the house. The prickly fruit and leaves of the pineapple would prevent the Penanggalan from entering through the floorboards. Once trapped, a Penanggalan who attacks the house can then be killed with parangs or machetes. The pregnant woman can keep scissors or betel nut cutters under her pillow to prevent the Penanggalan because it is afraid of the said things.

In Thai folklore, “Krasue” is manifested as a beautiful woman usually young and beautiful, with her internal organs hanging down from the neck, trailing below the head. In the morning, it is a normal woman but at night, it severs its head with other internal organs from the main body. The throat may be represented in different ways, either as only the trachea or with the whole neck. The organs below the head usually include the heart and the stomach with a length of intestine. These also glow at night while Krasue is wandering. The Krasue hides the headless body from which it originates in a quiet place because it needs to reconnect to it before daybreak. The Krasue is under a curse that makes it ever hungry and always active in the night when it goes out hunting to satisfy

its gluttony, seeking blood to drink or raw flesh to devour. The Krasue preys on pregnant women in their homes just before or after the childbirth. It hovers around the house of the pregnant woman uttering sharp cries so that the people around will be afraid. It uses an elongated proboscis-like tongue to reach the fetus or its placenta within the womb. In some cases it may catch the unborn child and use its sharp teeth to devour it. In order to protect pregnant women from becoming victims before delivery, their relatives place thorny branches around the house. This improvised thorny fence discourages the Krasue from coming to suck the blood and causing other suffering to the pregnant lady within the house. After delivery, the woman's relatives must take the cut placenta far away for burial to hide it from the Krasue. There is the belief that if the placenta is buried deep enough the supernatural creature cannot find it. Krasue also attacks cattle or chicken in the darkness, drinking their blood and eating their internal organs. It may also prey on cattle, such as water buffalo that have died of other causes during the night. If blood is not available the Krasue may eat feces or carrion. Clothes left outside would be found soiled with blood and excrement in the morning, allegedly after she had wiped her mouth. Therefore villagers would not leave clothes hanging to dry outside during the night hours. One way of killing the Krasue is to crush the still headless body. If the flying head returns after hunting but rejoins with the wrong body, it will lead to suffer torment until death. If the top part of the body fails to find the lower half before daybreak it will die in terrible pain. The Krasue will also die if its intestines get cut off or if its body disappears or gets hidden by someone.

In Bali folklore “Leyak” is a creature in the form of flying head with entrails like lungs, heart and liver. It flies to find a pregnant woman in order to suck her baby's blood or a newborn child. Leyaks can be female or male in Indonesia. In daylight they appear as ordinary humans, but at night their head and entrails break loose from their body and fly. Leyak are said to haunt graveyards, feed on corpses, have power to change themselves into animals, such as pigs, and fly. In normal Leyak form, they are said to have an unusually long tongue and large fangs.

Based on these characteristics the Pan-Asian woman supernatural creature is a beautiful woman who seems to be normal at day time but with a distinct mark like having no philtrum or canal on the upper lip or having a vinegar-like smell body. This Pan-Asian creature detaches from its original body at night when it searches for a pregnant woman to victimize. Its weakness is when it could not go back to its original body before the dawn breaks out as well as sharp objects like plants with thorny leaves, pineapple or sharpened bamboo.

PAN-ASIAN CHILD SUPERNATURAL BEING

A. Terminology and Etymology

The Philippine “tiyanak” is known in Malaysia as the “Toyol”. In Thailand they call this creature “koman-tong” for male babies and “Koman-lay” if it’s female.

In Cambodia “Cohen Kroh”. Though these terms do not share morphological similarities, these countries accounts almost the same characteristics of this creature.

B. Characteristics

One of the most popular mythical creatures in the Philippines is the “tayanak”. This creature imitates the form of a newborn baby. They usually lurk in the jungle and cry like a baby to haunt its victim. Once the victim picks them up, unaware of its true nature, they revert to their true form and attack the victim by biting their neck with their sharp claws and fangs (Eugenio, 2007). The arrival of the Spanish colonizers in the shores of the Philippines caused the banishment or change in the beliefs of the mythical creatures. In the case of tayanak, Christianity assimilated the concept by saying that tayanaks were supposedly the souls of infants who were not baptized before they died (Pacis, 2005). Popular culture also included the aborted babies trying to avenge their undue fate. Stories about tayanak have evolved over time that different characteristics were told in different versions according to what town the storyteller came from. People from Pampanga, a province in Central Luzon, have a version of tayanak having a brown complexion with large nose and red eyes and wide mouth. They don’t walk but gallop from one place to another or sometimes even fly when haunting for their prey. Another version which has circulated over the island of Palawan says that a tayanak is somewhat close to the appearance of a dwarf or “dwende”. In this version the tayanak looks like an old man with furrowed skin with a mustache and long white beard, and eyes as big as a golf ball. People from Palawan would agree with the Kapampangans that a tayanak doesn’t walk because of its abnormal leg which is longer than the other. Stories has it that in order to defeat the tayanak, one must always bring garlic and wear the rosary. They also don’t want deafening sounds like firecrackers and gun shots. These sounds would scare them away and will leave the victim safe from its devouring.

“Toyol” or “Tuyul” is widely known in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, as well as Singapore. A toyol appears as a naked child with red eyes and sharp teeth. It is kept by a human master in a bottle and trained to steal from others. The master of the toyol has to feed it every night by letting it suck blood from his toes. In these countries, a toyol can be bought and can be used for the advantage of the person who bought it. The host or master can make it steal expensive jewelries in an instant. It moves fast that people cannot catch it. It can be bought from people who practice black magic like the dukun or shaman in Indonesia and pawang from Malaysia. Since people can ask the toyol to steal things for them, it is also vital that they tame the toyol to have a better relationship with this creature. The toyol is like a baby that also should be fed with milk each morning. They are also delighted at the sight of toys, clothes and food especially candies.

Indonesian version of a toyol or tuyul involves not only the fright people get from these stories. Accounts have it that people are actually seeking for tuyul for

financial gain. With the help of some rituals to be performed by the dukun or shaman, one can instantly have the riches he dreamt for. This is in exchange of the blood the female member of the family can give from breastfeeding instead of milk. Accounts from people who actually had an encounter with a toyol say that its size is that of a new born baby but its appearance is scary with its red round eyes, pointed ears, sharp teeth and green skin color. They have the capability to climb high walls and even the roof of the houses and then steal from it. People who went from rags to riches are often suspected to have toyol in their houses. They are usually hidden in the jars inside the house of their host. Unlike the tiyanak, the toyol is not harmful and do not devour people and leave them lifeless. It is closer to the characteristics that of a child: playful and needy of nurturing home. Without a host or master a toyol will be happy and freely living in the woods. It is the host or master who can turn a toyol into a monster since toyol only take orders from its master. Just like any mythical creature, a toyol has weaknesses to. Since toyol really wants to play, toys can be a good distraction. The toyol can forget about stealing from the houses they've intruded once they see toys they can play with. The toyol also fears looking at their reflection that mirrors can also be an effective instrument to scare toyol away.

The "Koman-tong" (male spirits) and Koman-lay (female spirits) are popular in Thailand. These creatures share the similarity of having the form of a baby as with the tiyanak and toyol. Like the toyol, koman-tong and koman-lay serve as a good luck to their host or master. This spirit is said to have granted the wishes of people who bought it. In Thailand lucky charm stores sell the Golden Egg. It is an egg shape pot that inhabits a koman-tong spirit. The spirit inside the pot will grant the power to fulfill the wishes of the person who bought it. It can also keep them safe from negative energies and bad luck. The koman-tong belongs to the benevolent spirits that do not have selfish desires, and do not require a sacrifice or rituals in order to grant their master's wishes. They can also protect their master by informing them of the bad circumstances that might come along. These creature are said to be more beneficial than detrimental to people. In Thailand these creatures represent good spirits and good luck.

The belief in child supernatural creatures can be rooted from the belief, most especially in Asia, that all entities have a spirit or soul including a baby. The tiyanak, toyol and koman-tong are spirits, mischievous and sometimes disturbed, that takes the form of a baby. They suffered a bad fate that leads them to die even before they were born. They haunt the human world and became a part of the mind and consciousness of the people that in some instances they become real. Whether the accounts given by witnesses reveal the truth about these creatures, there is no denying the fact that these folklore form part of the reality of the people who believes in it.

CONCLUSION

The common motif of woman and child supernatural beings in folk literature is a Pan Asian identity as seen in the discussion above. The similarities of physical creatures cross culturally, as well as the terms for these beings, reveal the cultural proximity of the said nations.

Folklores and supernatural beings can be seen as a form of disciplinary apparatus. Through this study, creature descriptions, supernatural powers and haven was examined to draw out how these crafted to create fear and warn the community and unwanted entry of people of different territory, race or identity. In the Philippines, belief in lower mythology creatures serves as a social function in many communities. Elders use it as a medium of control not only to the youngsters being formed to be obedient but also the village people who seeks the security it provides to them. The “manananggal” and “tiyanak” stories could make children sleep early or not go to a place as prohibited by their parents. Haunted places and aswang-infected places will go unexplored and therefore retain its mysticism in the eyes of the outsiders. The same thing can also be said to the penanggalan of Malaysia, leyak of Indonesia and krasue of Thailand. Toyol function’s is also to scare away non-members of their society.

Pan-asian women characteristics are mirrored in the physical appearances and the ability to show dominance by these creatures. Sharp claws, fangs and vigorous abilities make distinctive marks of Asian women’s supernatural powers which mirror social power in the ancient period while the Pan-asian supernatural children are always associated with the power of unborn creatures, seeking revenge or wanting to belong to the world of living.

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Interpreting Basic Policy Concepts Across Cultural Boundaries

Michal Kolmas

Charles University, Czech Republic

0103

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Introduction

This essay shall discuss the need for culture and context-aware approaches towards interpreting basic political vocabulary. It shall try to prove that our own culturally and contextually influenced perceptions of basic political vocabulary might significantly differ from any shared conceptual definitions. After explaining this metaphysical position, the article shall provide empirical evidence in differing interpretations of basic IR concept of multilateralism, as viewed by the United States and Japan. While advancing philosophical knowledge, this article bases its interest in the field of international relations.

For the most parts of the 20th century, international relations (IR) have been primarily a Western science. Since its inception in Aberystwyth in 1919, Western powers were the leaders in scientific agenda-setting. By approaching IR from Western background, these powers (mainly European countries and the United States) embedded their culture, ethos, philosophical foundations and language into the forming field of study. Doing so, Western powers formed the scientific discourse around their experience of political process and its interpretation.

American and European history played a significant role in this discourse formation. While majority of major agenda-setters in the discipline came from Western background, more significantly, they built their knowledge on wide foundations of Western intellectual tradition. Realist thinkers such as Edward H. Carr or Hans Morgenthau built their teaching on the legacy of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Theodore Roosevelt. Significant liberal thinkers such as Norman Angell, Alfred Zimmern, Arnold J. Toynbee or Woodrow Wilson accepted the heritage of Immanuel Kant, Thomas Paine, Adam Smith or Alexis de Tocqueville.

These forefathers of modern discipline of IR signify the influence of Western political experience. While the intellectual tradition developed from the origins of Christianity, classical philosophy, enlightenment and Latin as a common language, even the application of this metaphysical position centered on Western political experience, using terms and concepts stemming from Western philosophical discourse.

With the inception of the IR field in 20th century, aforementioned scholars followed the historical legacy of Western science by reproducing the Western political discourse. Carr, Morgenthau, Schumpeter's and others' theoretical positions reflected the European (and to some extent also American) experience, which they attributed using respective Western terms. Concepts such as "liberalism," "power," "sovereignty," "interdependence," "peace," "neutrality" (etc.) thus bear not only the meaning, that scholars attribute them, but also reflect long history of Western political experience.

French philosopher Michel Foucault drew our attention to this problem long time ago. In his essay *Discourse on Language* (1971, translation appears as an appendix to the *Archaeology of Knowledge*), Foucault pointed out how power and knowledge are intrinsically related. By giving examples of specific discourses, Foucault showed how the meaning of terms is created in relation to power. Interpreting an example of discourse on madness, he proved that the definition of what is "mad" and what is "normal" is reproduced through specialized discourse produced by scientists (psychiatrists, psychologists, etc.).

This theoretical position possesses significant implications for the field of IR. Since the discipline has been so heavily dominated by the Western intellectual tradition, the terms stemming from expert-defined specialized discourse have become political “mainstream,” coordinating relations even outside of its inception grounds (Europe and the USA). The global international system, that has been developed using insights from the discipline, has thus been created by applying terms and concepts reflecting Western experience to non-western areas (Adyanga Akena, 2012).

The multipolar world order that we have come to know and understand since the end of last century, is thus based on terms such as “democracy”, “peace” or “multilateralism”, as Western science created these terms to explain its historical experience. Similarly, adhering to these terms has become a “criteria of success,” when compliance with Western discourse is a sign of advanced and fully fledged member of international society. This Western-centered knowledge system, which reproduces itself by its sheer integrative power, is disregarding and suppressing terms coming from different discourses and guided by different values.

That being said, I believe it is becoming increasingly important to overcome this West-centric approach to IR, as it not only disregards its “others”, but also does not reflect the actual shape of international relations. Western countries (as compared to Western policy discourse) are no longer unrivaled in political and economic spheres. Countries such as Brazil, China or Japan¹ (and many others) have undergone a significant economic growth that has altered the existing power distribution and influential status quo.

This economic growth, however, has not been accompanied by the advancement of Non-western intellectual tradition. Prevailing Western discourse has prevented an existence of a true inter-cultural dialogue, as theories of IR and political reality are still based on terms originating in Western intellectual tradition. For instance, prevailing theoretical discourse of the field of IR still rests on three major theoretical paradigms – (neo)realism, (neo)liberalism and social constructivism (See Katzenstein – Keohane - Krasner, 1998). These three paradigms were created in Western world, explaining western history. While this fact is not necessarily signature of theoretical ignorance², the ambition to apply one characteristic (such as realism’s unchangeable human nature of liberalism’s unchangeable normative goal) to different value-based cultures is an example of the belief of universality of science which reproduces the prevailing discourse.

Way out?

The way to overcome the primacy of this discourse leads through aforementioned creation of intercultural dialogue that will help to promote the transformative potential of non-western discourse and thus overcome the ‘control of discourse’ as Foucault described it (Foucault, 1969/2002). In other words, theoretical and conceptual approaches towards the study of politics have to accept the difference posed by non-

¹ Non-Western world, in this essay, represents every country and society outside Europe and its cultural enclaves in North America, Australia, New Zealand and Israel. A more complex, and also a more accurate, definition of the non-Western world would include within the non-West the unassimilated immigrant enclaves of Africans, Asians, Middle Easterners, Carribeans and Latins found within Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia etc. The division is cultural rather than geopolitical, yet for the intences of this essay, state-centric division will suffice.

² In the end, Western tools should be used to explain Western experience

western intellectual history. The author believes that there are two ways of laying this cornerstone for comprehensible and unbiased scientific approach to international relations.

First way of overcoming the cultural boundaries in the field of IR lies in introducing non-Western discourse (theories, political concepts) to Western audience. This way leads through pointing our interest into non-Western intellectual traditions originating from different values and attributing these theories and concepts into Western political discourse. The examples of this approach can be usually found outside the realm of IR, in the domain of area-studies, done by territorial experts who do not particularly work with IR concepts (See Tamamoto, 2003; Shibuichi, 2005 etc.). Nevertheless, these articles remain important for introducing the concepts (such as Chinese concept *zilu*, Cameroonian political habit of *na njangi*, Argentinean system of *cordiality* or Japanese concept of *aikokushin*) to Western world.

Theoretical approaches reaching from the field of IR have long been unaware and unwilling to accept these concepts, as IR were ruled by theoretical schools (realism) that disregarded cultural differences in favor of universally applied categories (human nature, national interest, etc.). Since the 1980's, theoretical revolution epitomized in the fourth great debate³ brought ontological and epistemological advances favoring context and discourse-related research. With the end of last century, first attempts at addressing non-Western discourse appeared in IR scholarship. Puchala (1997), Bilgin (2008), Tickner and Waever (2009), Pieczara (2010), Buzan and Acharya (2007, 2010) provide recent examples of introduction of non-Western perspectives on IR.

Second way of promoting inter-cultural IR dialogue leads through interpreting Western concepts in their non-Western environment. In spite of dominant position of Western discourse in the field of IR, international system is guided by West-originated terms. Concepts and theoretical positions such as democracy, liberalism, institutions, power or anarchy, which originated in Western intellectual tradition, are used worldwide on daily basis. Yet, these terms originate in Latin-based language culture and as such have to be approached and interpreted by different languages and political practice. This transformation – or attributing meaning to foreign concepts – carries dangers of misinterpretation, not only in theory, but also in practical politics. There are several ways how to achieve this way of dialogue promotion. First lies in proper study of terms we use. Methods such as genealogy (Oguma, 2002) or contextual, historicizing analysis (Cox, 2001), which tend to approach Western terms in their respective contexts, are suitable means of addressing this problem.

Robert Cox (1986) pinpointed the significance of this approach. Influenced by Foucault, Cox described, Cox argued that all categories (terms, theories) are created to achieve a particular interest. On the basis of normative attributes, Cox illustrated this point on basic IR theories. He proved that realism (what the world looks like)

³ Fourth great debate in IR theory (sometimes also regarded as third great debate, see Lapid, 1989) is a term usually used for the theoretical spat resulting from post-positivist approaches such as post-structuralism, post-modernism, social constructivism, feminism, environmentalism etc. started questioning the prevailing positivist science in the end of 20th century. These theories differed from the prevailing paradigms on both ontological and epistemological levels, criticizing the positivist-proposed unitary nature of science, existence of objective facts and thus also objective falsification process and primacy of causal research. Instead, post-positivism emphasized the need for interpretative research using methods such as discourse analysis, biography etc. See (Lapid, 1989; Smith, 2007; Drulak, 2010, s.134-143)

serves powerful countries to defend the status quo; liberalism (what the world should look like) defends economic interests of trade companies; Marxism (what the world should look like) is a tool to emancipate countries on the periphery of international society. This argument proves the aforementioned point: terms, concepts and theories, which are often passed off and understood as objective categories, are in fact always created in some context. Understanding this context is indispensable for full understanding of the term and its agenda.

This article shall try to promote this second way of dialogue-building. It will do so by analyzing the western term “multilateralism” in its Western (the United States’) and Eastern (Japan’s) respective discourses. By approaching the concept discursively, the essay aims at illustrating the “real” perceptions of the concept, which – as this article mentioned earlier – are based in their respective cultural and sociopolitical backgrounds. Since the space for a proper discourse analysis is limited, the article shall introduce the genealogy of multilateralism and its interpretation in the United States’ and Japan’s security discourse on the War on Terror in order to find answers to questions “what values are connected towards the institution of multilateralism” and “what is the ideational basis for choosing multilateralism as a foreign policy preference”

Genealogy of multilateralism

In order to illustrate culturally based perceptions of multilateralism, the article will first sketch a brief historical background attributing multilateralism to Western tradition of political thinking. The origins of the word “multilateral” date more than three hundred years to the past. According to American Online Etymology Dictionary, the term “multilateral” was created around 1690 by combining the Latin words of multi (many) and lateral (lateris, side). This adjective was originally used in geometry as “having many sides” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2009); first figurative use was by 1784. By 1802, “multilateral” was figuratively attributed the meaning of “pertaining to three or more countries,” transforming the word into the realm of political thinking.

Multilateralism as a political concept was created by adding the suffix –ism to the adjective “multilateral”. The oldest example of the term comes from a 1928 report in the Glasgow Herald on negotiations that led to the creation of Kellogg-Briand pact: *Mr. Briand insisted specifically on the term ‘war of aggression’ after first talking generically of all war. The reason was the transformation of bilateralism into multilateralism* (Safire 2008: 446). This linguistic inception of multilateralism then became more frequent after the Second World War with the establishment of organizations such as GATT or the United Nations; however, there were no mentions of “multilateralism” within founding treaties. In 1940, for example, magazine Economist used the term as an element of change (*This element of multilateralism will be introduced by appropriate amendments to the regulations governing each Special account* (Economist, 1940 in OED, 2009). In 1960s, multilateralism was also used as a mean of „internationalizing“ bilateral pacts – *The Germans still don't want to non-proliferate until they've been multilateralised* (Economist, 1965, p. 207). Since 1970’s, secondary multilateralism discourse was accompanied by the primary one as multilateralism became a part of official diplomatic vocabulary (i.e. there were 38 mentions of multilateralism in 1975 Helsinki final act).

Along with first uses of the term in policy practice, first efforts to theoretically and conceptually assess multilateralism also came from Western political thinking. American political theorist Robert Keohane was the first one to pinpoint the apparent lack of multilateralism's conceptual clarity and in his 1990's article "Multilateralism: An Agenda for Research" opened the discussion centered on the concept. While Keohane (1990: 731) defined multilateralism as "practice of cooperation between three or more states," it was not until John Gerald Ruggie's 1992 book "Multilateralism Matters" that this definition was set into less nominal framework.

In his seminal work, Ruggie bases his definition of multilateralism on what the term is not. He argues that from the very meaning of the term, multilateralism is not unilateralism. Criteria of multilateralism are also not met by bilateralism, which does not respect its inclusive and non discriminatory principle. Ruggie (1992: 8-14) gives an example of Nazi Germany's New plan, based on multiplication of bilateral agreements, making the economic policy bilateralist in character and thus disregarding the fairness inherent to multilateral cooperation. At the same time, multilateralism is not unilateralism, as this concept tends to select participating actors for the sake of efficiency (Patrick, 2009: xiii, Pouillot, 2011: 19). As multilateralism is based on voluntary cooperation, it cannot be universalism or imperialism.

Instead, Ruggie (1992: 11) defined multilateralism as "an institutional form that coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of generalized principles of conduct." This definition has been a starting point for all modern conceptualization efforts (See i.e. Cox (1992, 1997), Patrick, Forman (2002), Ikenberry (2003), Keohane (2006), Patrick (2009), Bouchard, Peterson (2010), Lazarou, Edwards, Hill, Smith (2010), Pouillot (2011)). It is, however, focused on the specific type of relations between the parties involved: multilateralism is based on general principles that prevent the exploitation of the weaker partner by the stronger one, which is typical of bilateralism (Baumann 2002: 3). While Ruggie points to an important consequence of multilateralism, he defines multilateralism in the terms of what it leads to instead of what it is.

The aim of this article, instead, is to understand what the involved parties mean, when they speak of what multilateralism is; i.e. not to provide a doctrine of multilateralism, but to sketch differences in interpretation, which may very well defy any shared qualitative definition. For this target, a better way of understanding multilateralism comes from the linguistic approach of James Caporaso. Caporaso (1992: 53) made a useful semantic distinction between multilateral (cooperation, action or institution) and the institution of multilateralism - an ideational concept, a metaphysical position in which the actual action or interaction is based.

As Caporaso noted, multilateralism always implies some form of cooperation. However not every cooperation is multilateral (Baumann, 2002: 3). Instead (and for the sake of this paper), multilateralism provides the basis, an underlying intention and principle for this cooperation to be multilateral. Thus, in the following, multilateral (Japanese, American) foreign policy means foreign policy cooperation (of Japan, the US) with other states, usually within the setting of an international institution. "Multilateralism" denotes a concept or intention behind such cooperation without already narrowing down, what this intention is. (See Baumann 2002) To find this

intention and values attributed to it, the paper will look into United States' and Japan's security discourse.

Interpreting multilateralism between USA and Japan

As United States and Japan come from different value and language-based systems, multilateralism bears differing interpretations. In the United States, the word "multilateralism", which - as shown before - comes from Latin and has long tradition of being used in English discourse. The first American definition dates back to 1945 as an "international governance of the many". This definition was in particular opposition to bilateral and discriminatory arrangements that were believed to enhance the leverage of the powerful over the weak. Post-war multilateralism was thus closely linked to universality, which implied relatively low barriers to participation. At the same time, multilateralism dwelled on a large number of participants without the need for the patronage of a great power. Multilateralism was thus associated with another principle – the *sovereign* equality of states, which was hardly achievable in bilateral settings (See Kahler 1992).

These values attributed to multilateralism in American discourse stem from its ambiguous experience with multilateralism. While proposing multilateralism at 20th century's turning points (1919, 1945, 1989), the US has been reluctant to fully integrate itself into them. By attributing multilateralism the need for sovereignty, it predicted the ambivalent engagement with multilateralism. While proposing multilateral cooperation, the US disengaged from it when breaching the value of sovereignty.

This value of sovereignty can be found in most of United States' post-9/11 security discourse. While accepting, that terrorism has become a world-wide phenomenon, George Bush made it clear that "the US enjoy a position of unparalleled military strength," (US President's Office, 2002: 29) which is instrumental for foreign policy conduct. While accepting the need for institutionalized cooperation thus, Bush based his view on sovereignty and *action* as "history will judge harshly those who saw this coming danger but failed to act. In the new world we have entered, the only path to peace and security is the path of action" (Ibid., 1-3).

In his security strategy (US Presidents Office, 2003) Bush made it clear, that multilateralism is viable only as long as it is *effective*. Though he did not dismiss multilateralism per se, he declared that "sometimes the most difficult tasks are accomplished by the most direct means" (Ibid., p. 2) and that although "the US will always strive to enlist the support for the international community. If necessary, however, we will not hesitate to act alone" (Ibid., p.1-3). Unilateral approach is visible in all of Bush's primary discourse. In the new National Security Strategy (2006), Washington explicitly stated that "history has shown us, that when we do our part, others do theirs. America must continue to lead" (Ibid., p.2).

While Bush's foreign policy discourse is stridently unilateral, Barack Obama brought new impetus for multilateralism. Obama emphasized the "connection of the US security to the international system" (US President's Office 2008, p. 1-23) and the need for "creating stronger international institutions that will serve common interest" (US President's Office, 2010, p. 1-3). However, as proved on the Libyan revolutionary war of 2011, Obama similarly to Bush promoted effectiveness and

sovereignty even while dealing with multilateralism – “we have demonstrated what collective action can *achieve* in 21st century” (US President’s Office, 2012).

Japan’s approach

Since the term multilateralism comes and was predominantly used in Western languages based in Latin, there is not a similar term in Japanese language. There is, however, a katakana⁴ transgression of the English word into ‘maruchiraterarizumu’ (マルチラテラリズム), which is rarely used, since it sounds slightly snobbish because of apparent Anglicism⁵. Instead, the word ‘takokukanshugi’ (多国間主義) is used when speaking about what English speaking countries call multilateralism.

The word takokukanshugi, however, became widely used only after the literal transgression of maruchiraterarizumu. According to National Diet Library, which contains all books and articles published in Japan, maruchiraterarizumu was first mentioned in Japanese text in 1980, while takokukanshugi was first used in 1990. National Institute of Informatics’ web database CiNii confirms this; first scholarly use of the term takokukanshugi can be found in the article „The European Communities and GATT: Conflicts and Interactions between Regionalism and Multilateralism in International Trade“written by Watanabe Yoritumi in 1990⁶.

This does not necessarily mean, that the term was never mentioned before 1990. In fact, according to National Diet Library, which also archives speeches of officials in the diet, the word takokukanshugi was first uttered on January 3rd 1988 by a trade and commerce committee meeting official stating that „as Japan does not belong to a particular free trade agreement, we must promote a new round of GATT from the viewpoint of multilateralism⁷.“ The word itself, therefore, might have been used in speech even before 1988, yet it was not until the end of 1980’s for it to be used regularly in political debates. Although it is almost impossible to trace the origins of the word, most probable explanation lies in transformation of the English-derived katakana word of maruchiraterarizumu into Japanese word of takokukanshugi.

The word itself is thus relatively new. The direct translation of takokukanshugi’s kanji⁸ characters states “many-countries-between-main-cause(s)”. It is combined from two parts: ‘takokukan’ (多国間) can usually be found in dictionaries translated as „multilateral,“ yet its literal translation means „between many countries.“ ‚Shugi,‘ (主義) which literary means main cause, is usually understood as ‘doctrine’⁹. The whole term, therefore, can be best understood as a “doctrine-(of)-between-many-countries,” or “multilateral-doctrine.”

⁴ Katakana is an alphabet used to transform foreign words into Japanese language

⁵ This is reflected for example on Google search, returning 1550 websites for ‘maruchiraterarizumu’ and 12,500 websites for ‘takokukanshugi’

⁶ Interesting is, that in the title of this article, both maruchiraterarizumu and takokukanshugi were used with maruchiraterarizumu in brackets.

⁷ The whole speech can be found here (in Japanese): http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/cgi-bin/KENSAKU/swk_dispdoc.cgi?SESSION=3306&SAVED_RID=3&PAGE=0&POS=0&TOTAL=0&SRV_ID=6&DOC_ID=9542&DPAGE=2&DTOTAL=28&DPOS=28&SORT_DIR=1&SORT_TYPE=0&MODE=1&DMY=3586

⁸ Kanji characters are the adopted logographic Chinese characters used in Japanese writing along with alphabets hiragana and katakana

⁹ But can be also understood as “principle”

While in American intellectual tradition, multilateralism is attributed values such as sovereignty and universality, Japanese discourse points towards functionality. Although Japan connected multilateralism to universality by its will to embrace the role of global institutions as it places United Nations in the center of its foreign policy (MOFA, 1957), it similarly promoted functionality. Kotobank dictionary, for example, defines the term as “doctrine of *solving* trade problems between two or more countries”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) officials have mentioned on many occasions that “cooperation in Asia is about cumulating functional agreements in respective fields” (MOFA, 2008).

The fact that Japan has not used any of the terms during the Cold war might stem from Japan’s dark history with multilateralism. Paris peace conference of 1919 along with Washington conference of 1921-2 were Japan’s first experiences with the term, which were later described as “diplomatic humiliations” with “lingering psychological effect” (Fukushima, 1999, p. 162). At the same time, Japan’s Cold war policy heavily depended on the bilateral alliance with the US and thus even though promoting the universality of multilateralism (by participating in global organizations), Japan always regarded the bilateral pact as “a lynchpin of Japan’s foreign policy and security, as well as a public good for the stability and prosperity of not only the Asia-Pacific region, but also of the whole international community” (MOFA 2012).

Japan thus looked for a way to balance the bilateral and multilateral policies, predominantly in a functional way. It did so by introducing a multi-layered approach that combined multilateralism and bilateralism into a dense set of functional relations (MOFA, 2007). These multilateral incentives (epitomized in Japan’s positive role in East Asia Summit, ASEAN+3 or ARF) are easily understood through the logic of functionality. Multilateralism was seen as an „addition“ towards the everpresent bilateral pact. While Japan dwelled on multilateralism promotion, comparing it towards the bilateralism created image of „anything besides bilateralism“, that „could be used to supplement it.“ (MOFA, 2010; 2011).

Conclusion

The perception and the understanding of policy concepts is always based on ideational qualities of respective perceivers. That said, understanding context of the policy creation is indispensable for well informed interpretation. While globalized world seem to be using same terms and speak with similar language, meanings attributed to these terms differs from sociopolitical and cultural background to another.

The aim of this article was to argue for the need of intercultural approach to international relations and illustrate this approach on culturally defined interpretations of a basic foreign policy concept – multilateralism. In the first part, I described two ways of overcoming the dominance of Western IR discourse – by integrating non-Western discourse into Western one and by historicizing and re-interpreting Western terms in non-Western surroundings.

Discourse analysis on multilateralism proved, that a basic concept that we use on daily basis, yields variety of connected values and principles. Classical definition (Ruggie, 1993) defined multilateralism as an opposition to bilateralism, as both implied some sort of relations. Multilateralism’s political practice in security realm, however, defied these conceptual considerations. George W. Bush, positioned

multilateralism to the opposition towards unilateralism, as he attributed multilateralism values such as ineffectiveness or constrain to possibilities unilateralism would provide to the United States. Barack Obama encouraged more multilateral cooperation, yet he also approached multilateralism instrumentally, as he connected its meaning to effectiveness – whereas Bush treated it as limiting, Obama treats multilateralism as possibility.

Japan has been rather slow in accepting multilateralism into its political vocabulary. Until 1990's there were only brief mentions of the katakana translation, Japanese word of takukanshugi became widely used only after the dissolution of the bipolar system of international relations. With accepting a new word from the Western political tradition, Japan accepted some of the meaning connected to it. Similarly to the United States, Japan connects multilateralism to universality. At the same time though, Japanese discourse intertwined multilateralism with functionality, as most of the first mentions and definitions were connected to solving trade frictions between two or more countries (and thus accepting institutionalist premises of confidence building measure).

Security discourse on multilateralism continued in functional definitions of multilateralism. While perceiving bilateralism as indispensable for regional security constellation, multilateralism is seen as a logical extension to it. This approach was created during the Cold War years; however, all of this century's Prime Ministers accepted the primacy of bilateralism in security sphere. Multilateralism, thus, is understood in terms of addition, extension or complement.

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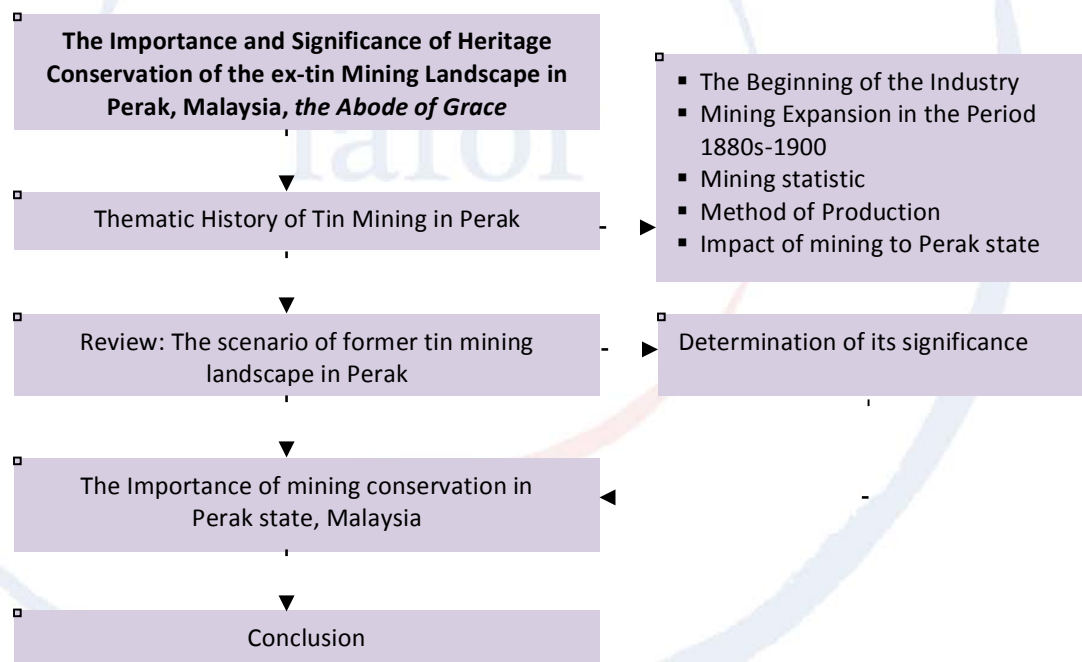
Abstract

The tin mining industry in Malaysia is one of its major exports and has been classified as its oldest industrial heritage. According to the Malaysian Department of Statistics, the mining sector continues to be significant, supplying basic raw materials to the construction and manufacturing sectors enabling Malaysia's economic growth. Until the late 1970s, Malaysia was the world's premier producer of tin, supplying some 40 per cent of the world's tin. Peninsular Malaysia contributes the highest percentage of tin mining production and the biggest mining area is situated in Perak, comprising Taiping of Larut district, Kinta Valley district (Ipoh, Gopeng, Kampar, Batu Gajah, Tronoh), Pahang and Selangor, which includes the capital of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. However, due to a global recession in 1929 to 1932 a severe decline occurred in this industry. This decline affected the price of tin that fell sharply due to a lack of demand from European markets and caused the closure of many tin mines. In 2011, the Malaysian Chambers of Mines indicated that in Peninsular Malaysia, there is more than 113,700 ha of ex-tin mining areas and the majority of these areas are former tin mining sites. With the current rapid development and modernization of Perak state, the insistence on the human needs has caused changes to its moribund tin mining landscapes. One of the main concerns of this paper is that most of these abandoned mine areas have been reclaimed and converted into more profitable land uses such as residential areas, commercial activities, institutional areas, agriculture and also for recreation purposes with little respect for its heritage merits. This paper reviews what is happening with the abandoned tin mining places in Perak and highlights the importance and significance for its conservation.

Keywords: Heritage Mining Conservation, Industrial Heritage, Perak ex-tin mining places, Malaysia

INTRODUCTION

Perak Darul Ridzuan is situated on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia and was graced with lush alluvial tin deposits that spread over its districts, largely concentrated in Kinta Valley and Taiping of the Larut Matang districts. In Malaysia, although tin is not the only mineral that has been exploited, tin is one of the major minerals that has contributed to the economy of Malaya since early eighteenth century. Tin mining in Perak is of state and national eminence; leading to the growth of Perak's economy and the expansion of social and culture diversity that underpin Malaysia today. According to the Tin Industry (Research and Development) Board (1984) alluvial tin extended from "*Kedah into the Kinta Valley, and along the foothills of Perak, Selangor and Johor. This includes Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. On the eastern lowlands of the Peninsular, alluvial tin ore is obtained from the Kelantan valley and near Mersing*". Penzer (1921) also emphasized that "*the best known portion of the Malay Peninsula lies south of a line drawn from Penang south-east to the junction of Perak, Kelantan and Pahang and north of the state of Johor*". This paper will highlight the significance of former mining heritage in Perak and its importance for conservation. The outline of the study will be guided as follows:



Source: author

THEMATIC HISTORY OF TIN MINING IN PERAK

The beginning of the Industry

The tin ore is found in fairly well-defined tin-fields that are scattered over the peninsula. In Perak, "*tin is worked in Krian and Larut, the Taiping tin field having been a large tin producer in the past. Tin ore has been worked in the Dindings, probably by slave labor.*"

The Kinta tin field, with its extension northwards into the Kuala Kangsar districts, is the richest in the country. Southwards it extends into the Batang Padang district, Chanderiang being a well-known mining locality. Another well defined tin field occurs south of Tapah, and tin worked also near Bidor, Sungkai and Tanjong Malim” (Penzer 1921). In 1746, the Dutch treaty signed by Sultan Muzafar Shah, vested in the Dutch East India Company a monopoly over the tin trade in Perak.

“During the famine caused by a bad drought in 1776, Sultan Alauddin explained to the Dutch that it was impossible to enforce the ‘kerah’ upon staving subjects (the Malays). In response, Dutch administrators, inspired by the results of imported Chinese labor in Bangka, suggested that the Chinese living in Perak should be permitted to develop tin mines in the interior. Sultan Alauddin not only agreed to the proposal but himself oversaw and encouraged the scheme. This period was significant because indentured Chinese labor was being introduced to Perak for the first time” (Khoo & Lubis 2005).

Tin mining in Perak was not extensively developed before the year 1850. As Yit Yat Hoong pointed out, *“up till the mid nineteenth century, tin production was exclusively in the hands of the indigenous people”* (Khoo & Lubis 2005) as cited from (Yip 1969). The discovery of tin in 1848 resulted in an influx of Chinese to Larut and this discovery later led to a tin rush in Larut. *“The Chinese brought with them a drastically new approach to tin mining, in terms of mining techniques, labor relations and work regime, devoting themselves full time to mining for a purely economic motive”* (Khoo & Lubis 2005). The expansion of mining in Larut finally led to the Larut War in 1860s because of feuds among the Chinese secret societies. Around the same time, tin mining in Kinta district expanded and flourished with mines opening in Gopeng, and Gopeng grew to be a major mining town before it was succeeded by Ipoh in the late nineteenth century. *“Meanwhile, in order to ensure better business climate in Larut, the Straits merchants lobbied for British intervention in the affairs of Perak”* (Khoo & Lubis 2005). Hence, the Perak chiefs were pressured to sign the Pangkor Treaty in 1874 which resulted in the placement of the first British Resident in Perak.

“..the early mining industry of Malaya was developed almost entirely with Chinese Capital and labor. Foreign enterprise in Malayan tin mining did not become important until about the beginning of the present century. Since then, the application of Western capital and technology not only secured for the Europeans an increasing share of the industry (and consequences reduced the relative importance of the Chinese) but also transformed the character of the industry as a whole from a labor-intensive to a capital intensive..”(Yip 1969).

J.W.W Birch was appointed the first British Resident in Perak in 1875. He then planned to get rid of the tax upon the miners to increase state revenue and to surprise them with the slavery issue (Khoo & Lubis 2005). In November 1875, Birch was murdered in Pasir Salak, Perak and this incident was referred to by British as the ‘Perak War’. The war ended at the end of 1876 with the capture of Maharaja Lela and Datoh Sagor. Thereafter Perak began to approach its prosperity years with mining expansion starting from 1877.

Mining Expansion in the Period 1880 - 1920

The expansion of mining in Perak commenced right after the turbulence caused by the death of the British Resident in Pasir Salak. Yip (1969) expressed this expansion as “..the more settled politic conditions following British intervention in the Malay States in 1874 was only one reason for the rapid development of tin mining in Malaya..”. In Kinta, the local cart roads were built in the 1880s to link the mining centre to the river ports. Swettenham, who acted as the Perak British Resident in 1884, determined to construct a major trunk road in Malaya that connected Melaka to Province Wellesley in the north of Malaya: “..From Taiping, this road would pass over the Meru Range at the ‘Kinta Pass’. This trunk road allowed the telegraph system and postal route to be inaugurated. Roads provided access to lands and mines..” (Khoo & Lubis 2005).

In 1888, Kinta was competing equally with Larut for tin production as demonstrated in export statistics. “The fifteen most productive mines in Perak were still to be found in Larut, whereas the Kinta miners were more numerous but generally small, with few exceptions such as a Chinese mine at Sorakei near Lahat” (Khoo & Lubis 2005).

The year 1889 witnessed the dominance of tin production in Kinta that exceeding Larut for the first time. The Straits Trading Company assisted in this growth and established a branch in Gopeng which dealt directly with miners in Kinta. By providing ‘cash for ore’, the Straits Trading Company created a ‘liquidity of capital’ that initiated the second Kinta Tin rush (Khoo & Lubis 2005).

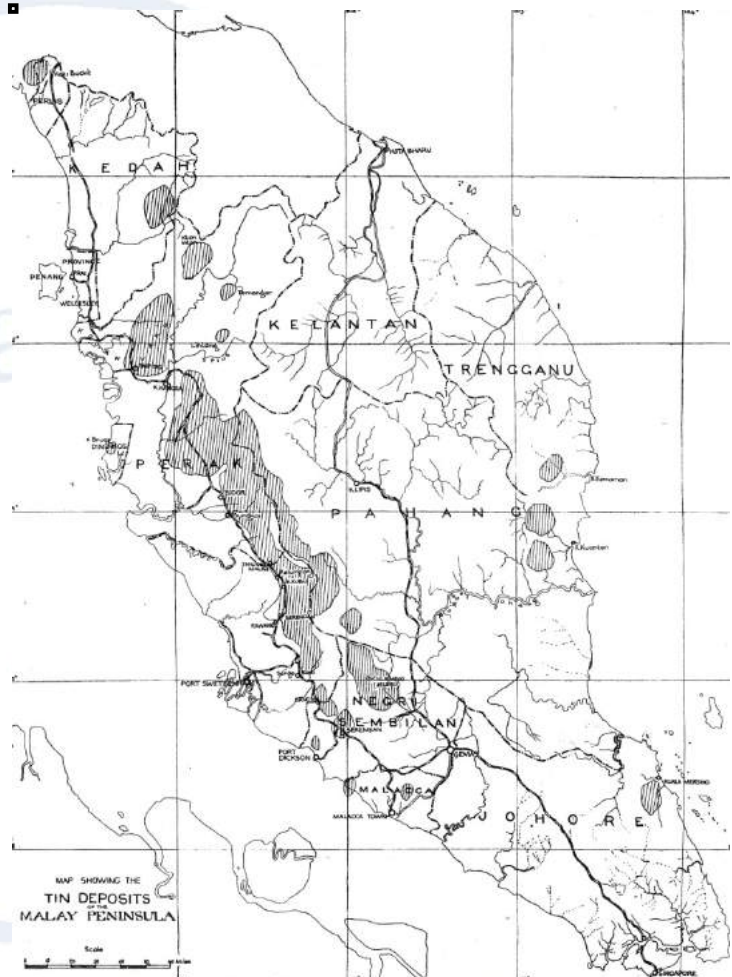


Figure 1: Tin mining deposits of the Malay Peninsula.
The map also displays the railway line through the tin deposits on the Western part of the Peninsula.
Source: (Penzer 1921)

The railway line that linked Larut to Port Weld offered cheaper transportation while in Kinta Valley, the new railway that opened in 1894, with stops at the important mining towns of Kampar, Kota Bahru, Batu Gajah and Ipoh helped the expansion of mining in the Kinta districts. Around the 1890s, Tambun, Ampang and Tanjung Rambutan also emerged as significant mining centres while “*Kampar grew to become the second largest town in Kinta, after Ipoh*” (Khoo and Lubis 2005).

Among the four Federated Malay States (Perak, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor), Perak consistently led the statistics about yearly tin production and tin exportation in early twentieth century. Table 1 documents the expansion of the mining industry in Perak. Innovations in mining methods with the first introduction of tin dredges in 1910s also contributed to the increase in a tin production statistics in Perak.

State	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Perak	355,590	385,060	405,870	436,269	443,507	446,781	435,909	431,386	467,784	461,665
Selangor	269,490	302,570	278,360	284,592	300,413	289,867	268,624	273,900	282,540	266,007
N.Sembilan	82,320	75,230	73,520	85,461	84,849	85,133	77,766	75,155	64,221	48,072
Pahang	15,700	26,310	23,120	25,317	27,469	34,879	34,488	33,195	39,520	43,144
Totals	723,100	789,170	780,870	831,666	856,238	856,660	816,787	813,636	854,065	818,888
State	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	
Perak	421,335	437,339	447,240	423,753	479,621	466,634	457,660	414,000	386,126	
Selangor	240,192	231,175	255,382	252,765	244,765	234,155	205,650	184,135	180,505	
N.Sembilan	34,697	29,230	29,071	36,821	35,900	20,900	15,240	12,328	10,505	
Pahang	40,674	43,954	51,779	58,791	63,723	63,980	54,464	58,734	50,679	
Totals	736,898	741,698	813,472	842,130	823,909	785,670	737,014	669,197	627,815	

Table 1: The export (figures are given in pikuls of 133 ½ lb) through customs from each on the Federated States for the Years 1900-1918
 Source: (Penzer 1921)

Outline history of tin mining in Perak

Year	Events
1848	Tin was discovered in Larut district
1850s	The first tin rush to Larut
1861	Mines open in Jelentoh near Gopeng
1877	Raja Asal was permitted to develop the Papan mines
1880s	Tin rush in Sungei Raia
1882	The 'European Company' - the French Tin Mining Company develop a mine in Lahat
1885	The 'European Company' discovers the old abandoned mines known as <i>Lombong Siam</i>
1884 – 1889	The first tin rush to Kinta
1890s	Tambun, Ampang Tanjung Rambutan, Menglembu, Chemor, Kampar and Tanjong Tualang rise as mining centres Tronoh mines recognized as the largest open-cast mine of its time on the Peninsular
1890 – 1895	The second tin rush to Kinta

Table 2: The outline history of tin mining in Perak

Source: author

Methods of Production

Siamese miners were believed to be the earliest miners to explore Kinta. This corresponds with the discovery and assessment of shaft mining in the Lahat abandoned mine which was used to extract tin by the Europeans in 1875. Other than the Siamese, the Indigenous people of Malaya, the Orang Asli, and the Malays were also involved in early mining by using the 'lampan' method for tin extraction. (Khoo & Lubis 2005) drawing from (Hale, 1885:304) explain that “..*lampanning was a method in which land contain a very small quantity of ore can be washed at a profit; and was in fact, similar to hydraulicing used in California..*”.

In the middle of eighteenth century witnessed the migration of Chinese to Malaya, who brought with them the new mining techniques for economic concentration purposes. It was the Chinese who turned Malaya into a world tin producer (Khoo & Lubis 2005). The method used by the Chinese was called 'lanchut' which involved a gravel pump which became extensively used throughout Perak. In the early 1890s, Khoo & Lubis (2005) added, “..*European mining made a breakthrough in Kinta when F.Douglas Osborne imported two monitor and experimented with hydraulic sluicing*”. The first company in Malaya to initiate the hydraulic sluicing was the Gopeng Tin Mining Company which was the first British company to be able to compete successfully with the Chinese. As mining technology evolved through time, the first tin dredge was introduced in Malaya in 1913 in the Kinta Valley by the Malayan Tin Dredging Ltd.



Figure 3: Chinese Open cast mine
Source: (Lubis, Wade & Nasution 2010)



Figure 4: Hydraulic mining in Perak

Impact of Mining on Perak State

Tin mining in Perak resulted in a major change to its landscape and demonstrated the stability and growth of its economy and social development. New mining towns and settlements that were established from mining during ‘tin rush’ grew tremendously but also descended rapidly, demonstrating the fluctuating impact of mining upon the Perak landscape. Nevertheless, the improved facilities and transportation, from river and bullock cart to a ‘proper’ road system and railways that passed through these mining areas and towns supported mining activities and their expansion during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The glory achieved from the past mining can still be witnessed by generations today when they visit these landscapes.

THE SCENARIO OF FORMER TIN MINING LANDSCAPE IN PERAK

According to the Malaysian Department of Statistics, in Peninsular Malaysia, there is more than 113,700 ha of ex-tin mining areas and the majority of these areas are former tin mining sites. The decline of tin mining operations is linked to the collapse of the world tin market in 1985 which led to the abandonment of mine sites in Perak. The extant evidence of ex-tin mining sites can clearly be prominently seen in Kinta district especially in the Kampar, Batu Gajah, Tronoh, Pusing, Kota Bharu, Malim Nawar and Tanjong Tualang areas. Much of the ex-tin mining sites which were located adjacent to Ipoh, have been reclaimed and converted into more profitable land uses including residential areas and commercial activities to support the expansion of Ipoh. The massive economic development in Kinta Valley offers a good deal for business opportunity, leisure, and city lifestyle. People from all walks of life, especially from the other parts of Perak, flock to Kinta with the hope of changing their fortunes. To support this demand, many land developers who foresaw this trend, purchase these former tin-mining lands, and transform this cultural landscape into residential, commercial and institution

developments. This scenario can be observed in the Tambun, Ampang, Tanjong Rambutan, Lahat, Pengkalan Pegoh, Pusing, Siputeh and Menglembu areas. These former mining areas were established in the late nineteenth century and flourished in early twentieth century.

Kinta is not the only mining district that has faced its demise of ex-mining evidence, because Taping in Larut district is also witnessing the transformation. Taiping once held the position as Perak's capital city also owe's its existence to the rapid development of its tin mining in the nineteenth century. Tin mining in Larut was intensively developed before Kinta Valley under the guidance of Che Long Ja'afar and his son Ngah Ibrahim who brought Chinese miners to Larut. Other contemporary projects that have been developed on former tin mining land include the University Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR) in Kampar and University Technology PETRONAS in Tronoh, both was built on 526 hectare and 400 hectare of land.

Gopeng was once the main mining town in Kinta and was dominated by the European companies also faced with the extinction of its tin-mining landscape. As a response, local efforts have successfully conserved an old Chinese shop that has been converted into the Gopeng Museum, to display and store historical documents, images, tools and artifacts used in the past mining activities in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. This scenario can also be viewed in Kampar, where the Kampar Tin Mining Museum was initiated by the ex-tin miner himself, Tan Sri Dato' Hew See Tong displayed his personal collectable items which includes images, mining documents, displaying the Malaysia mining statistics (collected and compiled from the Malaysian Chambers on Mines), mining machineries and tools and other artifacts found during his mining operations in Kampar and Puchong, Selangor. The mining methods which have been placed in 3D models assist visitors with high understanding of different mining operations and methods imposed in Malaya in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The ex-tin mining landscapes that surround Kinta Valley possess their own aesthetic values because these picturesque landscapes are enhanced by the Titiwangsa hill range as their backdrop. Some of these abandoned mining areas, which are located at considerable distance from Ipoh, especially in Batu Gajah and Tanjong Tualang offer high natural aesthetic values where the jungle now succeeds. The quiet and peaceful landscapes surrounding the former mining pools also offers good places for migration bird habitats between Septembers to March each year. Some of the species includes Grey and Purple Herons which attract nature and bird lovers to visit these areas. The Perak branch of the Malaysia Nature Society has been urging the Perak state government to gazette this area as a bird sanctuary.



Figure 5-6: One of the abandoned mine sites in Batu Gajah, Perak which has been converted as bird sanctuary after receiving migration birds throughout September-March each year.

Source : <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/aby1220/sets/72157626343156337/>

Nevertheless, the scenic view and landscape of ex-tin mining areas has capture attention of investor to develop the land for resorts, recreational and golf course area. Project in Kinta such as the Clearwater Sanctuary Golf Resort, Lost World of Tambun, Gunung Lang Recreational Park and Taiping Lake Garden in Larut are all exist from the former tin mining land. These projects were described as the rehabilitation program to accommodate treatment from land destruction by previous mining activities.



Figure 7: Mine rehabilitation project-Clear Water Sanctuary Golf Resort, Batu Gajah, Perak

Source:

http://www.malaysiahoteltour.com/hotel/malaysia_hotel/perak_hotel/clear_water_sanctuary/clear_water_sanctuary.html

Other than commercial and residential projects that have been built on these ‘industrial heritage lands’, there have also been projects initiated by the local people who have sought to take advantage of the breeding ducks and freshwater fish industry in the vicinity of the former tin mining lands around Batu Gajah and Tanjung Tualang.

Conversion into agriculture land can also be seen in Bidor, Perak, where the locals have been planting mangos and turnips for commercial purposes.



Figure 8: Some of the abandoned mine in Kinta has been converted into agriculture

Source: <http://telecentre.my/batugajah/index.php/ms/perikanan-dan-penternakan.html?showall=1>

Where is the public sensitivity to the appreciation of the historical value of the landscape that previously belonged to this former tin mining landscape? Do the ex-tin mining sites carry no meaning or heritage value after the tin ore has been extracted and finally abandoned? How do future generations appreciate and experience the fame brought by mining if no appreciation is afforded to these areas? The glory that was brought to Perak from this industrial heritage era by tin mining contains national and state significance values which describe and explain the history, aesthetic, social and scientific development of this landscape. While much have been destroyed, extant mining evidence still exists on the actual mining sites especially in Tanjung Tualang, which includes the last tin dredge in Perak. What concern is that, this surviving dredge which is now maintained by the Osborne and Chappel Sdn. Bhd. has been threatened by the unawareness of public who has overtaken half of the ex-tin mining pond (where the dredge stands) and convert it into a duck and fresh water fish breeding pond. A portion of its tailing sites has turn to be a vegetables and fruits farming areas. All of the statements provide an overview of the concerns the loss of industrial relics that became a symbol of glory to Perak hence describe its importance and significance for conservation.

How do mining landscapes fit into the concept and practice of conservation and heritage?

Heritage can be defined as “...*those things we want to keep, enjoy or learn from and pass on the next generation – includes many aspects of our cultural environment, among of them being mining places.*”(Pearson & McGowan 2000) as quoted from (Pearson & Sllivan 1995).

Malaysia National Heritage Bill 2005 define heritage item as “...*any National Heritage, heritage site, heritage object or underwater cultural heritage listed in the Register; "area" includes works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas*

including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view...

“..The Australian Heritage Act 1975 defines ‘heritage’ as ‘those places being components of the natural and cultural environment of Australia, that have aesthetic, historic, scientific or social significance or other special value for future generations as well as the present community’.” (Sim 1997) as quoted from (Ramsay 1991).

Heritage value is *“..or SIGNIFICANCE attached to a cultural place...can be initially defined as the capacity or potential of the place to demonstrate or symbolize, or contribute to our understanding of, or appreciation of, the human story” (Sim 1997) as quoted from (Pearson & Sllivan 1995).*

Mining heritage places are *...”the sites which minerals and other minerals of value were dug from the ground – they are mines. The broader context in which mining occurred and that other places, including whole landscapes, might in themselves be of heritage significance because of mining” (Pearson & McGowan 2000).*

Mining landscapes are often viewed from the cultural landscape perspective, which records that natural and cultural components can be and are located in the same landscape setting. UNESCO through ICOMOS has acknowledged that historic mining landscape are a part of our cultural landscapes which portray the interactions between human and nature embedding the continuity of human experience.

The Burra Charter (1999), authored by Australia ICOMOS states *“Places of cultural significance enrich people’s lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences.”*

Bandarin (2013) considers that *“..mining landscapes have to be included as part of the human experience. Clearly, we don’t consider these as examples to propose for the future, but they certainly are testimonies of history..”*

As an example, Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape has been recognized by UNESCO and inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2006. The industrialized revolution which took place in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reshaped the landscape of Cornwall and West Devon with the remaining surviving evidence a standing as a testimony of the past history. As noted in the Nomination Statement of the Cornwall and West Devon landscape for inclusion on the World Heritage List (p:23), the expansion of the Cornish mining era included technological advancements such as horizontal engine houses of the nineteenth century that spread all over the world resulting in distinctive Cornish mining landscape comprising econography and industrial evidence that can be viewed in Australia, Mexico, Spain and South Africa. Even in Malaysia, F. Douglas Osborne and Chappel consulted mining experts from Cornwall resulting in technological breakthroughs in Gopeng in 1890s and establishing the Gopeng Tin Mining Company. This company was the first to introduce the hydraulic sluicing method in Malaya and most successfully established its use in Gopeng, Perak (Khoo & Lubis 2005).

This extended expertise of the Cornish miners first came to South Australia in 1840s for copper mining and boosted up the South Australian economy in the middle of nineteenth century. Copper carbonates were discovered at Kapunda in 1842 and mining quickly spread to Burra; of greater significance in 1845 (Johns 2002). Johns describes “*..South Australia being a major copper province*” with another discovery in Kadina in 1859 and Moonta in 1861. Wallaroo rose to host a smelter in 1861 and in later years Kadina, Moonta and Wallaroo were known as the ‘cooper triangle’ of the Northern Yorke Peninsula with mining continuing in this ‘copper triangle’ until the early twentieth century. John has also observed that the decline of cooper and tin mines in Cornwall in the middle of nineteenth century prompted Cornish miners to travel overseas to continue this occupation. The extensive expansion discoveries of copper deposits in South Australia, offered a good opportunity for the experienced Cornish miners to flock to South Australia to escape unemployment back in their homeland. Thus “*..the mining methods, haulage and processing of ore and pumping of water from the mines were based on Cornish technology*” (Johns 2002).



Figure 9-10: Morphett's Engine House and the beautiful landscape at the Burra Monster Mine, SA

Source: author



Figure 11-12: Crowns, Botallack & Towanroath Shafts, at St Agnes

Figure 10: Moonta Mine, SA

In the Cornwall & West Devon heritage mining landscape

Source: author

Source: Management Plan 2013 – 2018 (p:2&17)

THE IMPORTANCE OF MINING CONSERVATION IN PERAK STATE

Conservation means “ *all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance*” article 1.4, Burra Charter 1999. Malaysia National Heritage Bill 2005 defined conservation “.. Includes preservation, restoration, reconstruction, rehabilitation and adaptation or any combination..”

Heritage sites are important to be conserved because these places are scarce and non-renewable. These historic sites are capable of demonstrating the social and economic development of the past, the expansion of technology, the role and hardship of mining settlers and the evolution of mining transportation and facilities. Pearson & Gowan (2000) conclude that the evidence of a heritage mining site will compose of “*..mine working, mullock and tailing dumps, equipment and machinery sites, hut sites, roads and tramways, dams (water supply) and races.*” This evidences is still extant in some of the Perak ex-tin mining sites.

As highlighted in the Burra Charter (1999), “*Places of cultural significance reflect the diversity of our communities, telling us about who we are and the past that has formed us and the landscape. They are irreplaceable and precious. These places of cultural significance must be conserved for present and future generation.*”

Sim (1997) quoted from Pearson & Sullivan (1995: pg.11) “*...once destroyed (these heritage places) cannot be regenerated, reintroduced, or duplicated.*”

Legacy for the future generation

The mining landscape in Perak, especially in the Kinta and Larut districts, has experienced very serious threats due to the imperative of economic development. This past heritage industrialization resulted in major social changes and a boost to the state economy of Perak today, portrays the evolution of these mining methods and techniques that supported the spread and prosperity of settlements all over the Kinta and Larut districts which brought major changes to the Perak landscape.

How well is the translation of the state government through its Development Plan of Perak Amanjaya, which outline three main objectives; quality opportunity, quality income and quality living. In achieving the 3 outlined objectives, 7KRA (Key Result Areas) has been design for comprehensive state transformation plan (Institut Darul Ridzuan 2010). Criteria seven of the KRA emphasize on the environmental sustainability and preserve resources deep through emphasis of its importance and practice of collaboration by all parties in the preservation and conservation.

The slogan, 'Perak Amanjaya, the silver state' is normally heard and been used everywhere but do they really appreciate the fact that massive development of Perak today, the major social changes, the expansion of transportation, infrastructure and facilities are all contributed and evolved because of mining? Where is the concerns and awareness towards the conservation and preservation of ex-tin mining places in Perak, which highlight the significance of its cultural landscape? Will future generations be able to grab the understanding and difficulties experience by their forefathers? Initiative should be taken to remedy this situation. As stated, mining heritage helps to demonstrate on what has happen in the past and how to go about it in the future. As surviving mining evidence can clearly been viewed in Kinta, those identified significance sites have to undergo conservation as it offers the opportunity for the new generations to learn, appreciate and respect the pass. The last tin dredge in Perak, which is situated in Tanjong Tualang is the legacy for the future generation which prescribes the evolution of mining methods and the expansion of technology which demonstrate the technical ability of the



pass generation and how this technology could help the mining company to expand their revenue and capital.

Figure 13: Tanjung Tualang, placed the evidence of the last tin dredge in Kinta



Source: <http://tennysonlee.com/2012/05/01/the-last-tin-dredge-in-kinta-valley-tt5/>
Source: Google earth map, May 2013

Kampar and Tanjung Tualang in Kinta district, currently extant with the surviving evidence of mining dredge ponds, mullock tailing and placed the location of the last tin dredge in Perak. The placement of tin dredge ponds can clearly be seen along Kinta river and Kampar river that supports water for mining sluicing. Roads and railway that pass through Kampar, Batu Gajah and other important tin mining towns contribute to evidence and significance of the historic mining era and as means of transportation tin ore. The mining settler's villages and towns that evolve due to mining also support the theory of the mining glory once hold by Kinta in nineteenth century till middle of twentieth century.

Promoting cultural and heritage tourism in Perak

Perak, the abode of grace was known for its beautiful natural environment and rich with culture heritage. Many of the national heritage lists can be found in Perak and the latest was in 2012, where Lenggong, Perak has been recognized by the UNESCO as World Heritage Lists. The tagline 'Celebrating Ipoh's tin mining heritage' is commonly heard and becoming one of the selling point for marketing tourism in Perak. But on the actual ground, people can only view this scenario in the tin mining museums without having to fell attach to the actual site. The importance and significance of heritage conservation for the ex-tin mining sites are relevance as testimony of the past mining activities and offers opportunity for the tourist to experience the 'living museum' and to have direct contact to the mining landscapes. In return, heritage industrial conservation could help the state government to increase the states revenue through tourism activities. Conservation of the

ex-tin mining sites also link to the educational and offer a vast opportunities for future research and development.

CONCLUSION

The thematic history of tin mining in Perak reveals the tin production history, technology for extracting tin, the early transportation and infrastructure, social and economic development. The study also link to the identification of tin mining concentrated districts in the past centuries and to trace the evolution of mining towns and settlers that evolve in Kinta and Larut. The surviving evidence that spread over Kinta demonstrates the importance and significance of conservation for ex-tin mining sites in Perak. These surviving evidences are testimony of the past history. Industrial heritage, which is view from the cultural landscapes has been recognized by the UNESCO as it is capable to demonstrate the interactions between human and nature embedding the continuity of human experience. The Burra Charter (1999), authored by Australia ICOMOS states “*Places of cultural significance enrich people’s lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences.*” The Cornwall and West Devon mining landscapes is a good example of heritage mining conservation projects which acknowledges industrial heritage as part of the conservation programme. Those significant sites are scare and irreplaceable. Hence, conservation is important as it helps to secure the historical site evidences which stand as testimony for present and future generations

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*Unresolved Issues on ASEAN Harmonization of Laws and Regulations and Their
Implications for the ASEAN Economic Community*

Chulanee Tantikulananta

Srinakharinwirot University, Thailand

0135

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Abstract

At its Ninth Summit in Bali in 2003, ASEAN leaders agreed to establish an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by 2020. The AEC will transform ASEAN into a competitive and more dynamic region. However, by the end of 2012, ASEAN decided to put back the inauguration of the ASEAN Economic Community from January 1 to December 31, 2015 as evidence and studies reveal that the member states have only met 72% of the economic blueprint. Significantly, harmonization of laws and regulations among member states has not been achieved. The paper argues that the slow progress on harmonization of laws and regulations is because inherent problems within ASEAN have not been resolved. Regional differences on political economic structures and legal systems still act as prime barriers to the harmonization of laws. In fact, ASEAN states are still reluctant to liberalize their markets as they desire to protect their national interests and domestic players. Additionally, despite moving toward a rule-based regionalism, the ASEAN Charter persistently enshrines and upholds the "ASEAN Way". Consequently, ASEAN remains a toothless institution unable to force member states to comply with their commitments. Thus, it is still a bumpy road for ASEAN to achieve its aims.

Introduction

The Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1976 by the five founding father states of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore. Later, membership was extended to ten countries when Brunei Darussalam, Viet Nam, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Cambodia joined the Association. Although ASEAN aims to establish regional peace stability and development, the *raison d'être* of ASEAN was political (Tan 2004). In ASEAN, economic growth and development, society and culture in the region have been prioritized by the member states. Since the formation of the association, ASEAN has received credit for its achievements and regional prosperity. However, “the shock of the economic crisis in 1997 dealt the regional institution a hard blow, and since then ASEAN has suffered a row of harsh setbacks; inability to react in a co-ordinated fashion and to overcome the crisis by itself has damaged the image of the former growth region” (Freistein 2005: 177).

To regain its regional confidence, ASEAN leaders agreed to establish an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)¹ by 2020² at its Ninth Summit in 2003. The AEC is considered the realization of the end goal of the ASEAN economic integration outlined in the ASEAN Vision 2020³ (ASEAN Secretariat. 2006). The AEC is characterized as a single market and production base that facilitates the free flow of goods, services, investment, and skilled labor and freer flow of capital. According to the Bali Concord II, there are four primary objectives of the AEC: 1) a single market and production base, 2) a highly competitive region, 3) a region of equitable economic development, and 4) a region fully integrated into the global economy. One of its main aims is to create and promote a fair business environment and competition for enhanced economic liberalization. Thus, the purpose of the AEC is to create a stable, prosperous and highly competitive ASEAN economic region. Later, the deadline was brought forward to 2015 at the 12th ASEAN Summit in Cebu.

To form a single market, Lloyd (2005) articulates that a single market requires the harmonization of tariffs across countries and the implementation of national treatment. Also, the market should be competitive and a level playing field needs to be established. Thus, to achieve a single market and production base and competitive region, competition policy, consumer protection and harmonization of laws are required to facilitate the flow of goods, services and investments. In other words, a level playing field and fair business competition are essential as a catalyst to achieving AEC.

To foster fair competition, the ASEAN Experts Group on Competition (AEGC) was established through the endorsement by the ASEAN Economic Ministers in 2007. To strengthen competition related policy capabilities, the ASEAN Regional Guidelines

¹ The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is one of the three pillars of ASEAN Community. The other two pillars are ASEAN Security Community and ASEAN Socio-cultural Community. These pillars are closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing for the purpose of ensuring durable peace, stability and shared prosperity in the region.

² The deadline to realize the AEC was brought forward to 2015 at the ASEAN summit held in Cebu in 2007.

³ ASEAN Vision 2020 was adopted at the second ASEAN Informal Summit in 1997 which set out a broad vision for ASEAN in the year 2020. The ASEAN Vision 2020 envisioned that “...a stable, prosperous and highly competitive ASEAN economic region in which there is a free flow of goods, services and investment, a freer flow of capital, equitable economic development and reduced poverty and socio-economic disparities”.

on Competition Policy and a Handbook on Competition Policy and Law in ASEAN for Business were launched in 2010. These two publications were intended to level the playing field and enhance the economic performance and competitiveness of the region.

However, evidence has revealed that various barriers hindering ASEAN economic integration process have not been phased out. Additionally, ASEAN does not have a single regulator and no comprehensive set of laws and regulations that a nation-state would have. Instead, it has to acknowledge that the legal infrastructure of the AEC is based very much on national level (Chang and Thorson 2010). Therefore, harmonization of laws and regulations between member states is not an easy task due to all the differing laws and legal systems (Kamarul and Tomasic 1999).

Therefore, this paper argues that the slow progress of ASEAN economic integration and the establishment of the AEC is because the inherent problems within ASEAN have not been resolved. Regional differences on political economic structures and legal systems still act as the main obstacle to the harmonization of laws and removal of economic barriers. Furthermore, ASEAN states are still reluctant to liberalize their industries, as they desire to protect their national interests and domestic markets. To effectively establish the integrated market, a process to harmonize laws and regulations is urgently required. Additionally, despite moving toward rule-based regionalism, the ASEAN charter persistently enshrines and upholds the "ASEAN Way".

The paper is divided into three sections. The first section gives an overview of competition laws in ASEAN. Issues and challenges to the harmonization of law and regulation are provided in the second section. The last section provides conclusions.

Competition Laws in ASEAN

To facilitate the movement of goods, services, investment, labor and capital, greater competition is required across ASEAN markets. Thus, competition laws and policies are vital to liberalize the ASEAN economy as laws are employed to prevent and restrict anti-competitive behavior. According to neo-liberalists, "strong competition law and policy, with effective enforcement capacity, promotes static economic efficiency, fair and efficient markets, lower production costs and consumer prices and consumer welfare and sovereignty" (Branson 2008: 5). At the same time, competition law is viewed as an effective tool in preventing administrative barriers and, in turn improves competitiveness in economies and technological innovation. Consequently, ASEAN members are attempting to establish nation-wide competition laws in preparation for the AEC in 2015.

Competition laws and policies have been employed in some ASEAN countries since 1997 arising from two significant events: the 1997 economic crisis and the proliferation of bilateral and free trade agreements (BTAs and FTAs). On the one hand, member states such as Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia liberalized and privatized their economies to attract foreign direct investment during the 1997 economic crisis. When Thailand and Indonesia were severely hit by the crisis, they enacted national competition laws influenced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance program. The accession of the World Trade Organization (WTO)

has also restructured ASEAN member state economies like Vietnam to open up and integrate with world economy. Also, the proliferation of the bilateral and regional trade agreements is considered a significant factor that forced ASEAN states to move towards more open markets and employ competition law as evidenced by the US - Singapore FTA and Vietnam-US FTA. Thus, it cannot be denied that the implementation of competition law in ASEAN states has largely been a consequence of external factors rather than regional commitment to deeper economic integration.

At present, there are only five ASEAN countries that have economy-wide competition law and competition authorities in place: Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaysia. Generally, the objectives of competition law in the five states are similar in terms of creating a conducive business environment, and restrictive business practices and promoting an equitable competitive market. In terms of barriers to competition, almost all five countries prohibit both horizontal⁴ and vertical⁵ restraints that prevent regional integration.

However, there are significant differences in the laws of the five countries. “These include the objectives of the laws, content/provisions, legal standard (per se vs. rule-of reason) and the form as well as quantum sanctions” (Lee 2013: 9). Significantly, although competition laws and policies in these countries attempt to foster competition, some economic activities have not been included in their legislation. For example, state-owned enterprises and the central, provincial and local administration do not comply with the Thai Trade Competition Act. Similarly, state-owned enterprises in Indonesia are exempt from competition law. In Singapore, the Competition Act does not apply to the entire economy. Some industries such as telecommunications, media, post, transportation and energy are partly regulated (Sivalingam 2006). Such exemptions of specific activities are due to domestic reasons, particularly social, political and economic stability.

Table 1: Competition Laws in five ASEAN countries

Country	Competition Laws
Singapore	Competition Act
Thailand	Trade Competition Act 1999
Vietnam	Competition Law No. 27/2004/QH11
Indonesia	Law No. 4 of 1999 (concerning the prohibition of monopolistic practices and unfair business competition)
Malaysia	The Competition Act 2010 (came into force in 2012)

Source: Handbook on Competition Policy in Law in ASEAN for Business

Even though other member states have not employed the competition policy, they have relied on sector-level policies and regulations such as the Philippines, Cambodia, Myanmar and Brunei. However, “Cambodia, Laos and the Philippines have drafted

⁴ Horizontal agreements involve coordination of prices between two competing firms or among firms in an oligopolistic market. These include price fixing, output restrictions and market division. In Thailand, Singapore, Vietnam and Indonesia, horizontal agreements are considered illegal per se.

⁵ Vertical restraints or distribution strategies between manufacturers, suppliers or distributors are anti-competitive and have the effect of restricting entry to newcomers.

competition laws under discussions either at the ministerial level (Cambodia and Laos) or legislatures (the Philippines)” (Lee 2003: 8-9). In the Philippines, competition-related provisions are those such as Article XII of the 1987 constitution and the Act to Prohibit Monopolies and Combinations in Restraint of Trade (Act No. 3247). Similarly, competition-related provisions have been implemented in Brunei in the telecommunications sector under the Authority for Info-communications Technology Industry of Brunei Darussalam Order 2011 and the Telecommunications Order 2001. Recently, due to the establishment of the AEC, Brunei and Myanmar have attempted to introduce competition legislation by 2015.

Harmonization and Implementation of ASEAN Competition Law: Issues and Challenges

ASEAN announced the liberalization of its regional economy and establishment of the single market by 2015. Various tasks have been implemented to achieve a competitive economic region including the introduction of a nationwide competition policy and law. According to the implementation of the Blueprint, competition law is given priority to ensure fair competition and create a level playing field. At the same time, AEGC was established as a regional forum to discuss and cooperate on competition law and policy. Though ASEAN agreed to adopt the ASEAN regional guidelines on competition policy in 2010, there has been slow progress on the harmonization and implementation of competition law and policy. The slow progress is a result of various factors. The paper argues that problems are the consequences of: 1) the ineffectiveness of AEGC and ASEAN institutions, and 2) domestic factors and differences in competition laws in ASEAN member states.

Ineffectiveness of AEGC and ASEAN institutions

On the regional level, to increase awareness in promoting and protecting competition in ASEAN economies, the AEGC and guidelines were established. On the one hand, the AEGC is a main discussion forum for ASEAN economic ministers. It is composed of representatives from the competition authorities and agencies. Generally, the AEGC oversees the implementation of competition policy-related tasks and activities as specified in the Blueprint (Guidelines on Developing Core Competencies in Competition Policy and Law for ASEAN 2012). On the other hand, the guideline serves as a non-binding framework guide for the ASEAN member states. It was set up to ensure regional consistency on developments in competition policy in ASEAN and enhance regional market competition. Nevertheless, ASEAN is still faced with challenges relating to the development of regional competition law and market integration.

Though the AEGC and guidelines can stimulate member states to consider competition awareness as evidence during the AEGC meetings, questions are raised as to the ability of the AEGC to foster and enhance competition policy in the ASEAN economic region. Wisuttisak and Binh (2012: 25) state that, “the only broad principles derived in the guidelines may not constitute a solid use and development of competition law and policy as to facilitate market liberalization and integration in ASEAN”. Unlike the European Union (EU), the AEGC is not empowered to enforce regional rules. Instead, it is merely a consultative forum. Significantly, domestic

competition agency is unable to deal with restrictions and conduct under a cross-regional basis (Wisuttisak and Binh 2012).

Apart from its lack of authority, the AEGC as well as the guidelines overlook the anticompetitive restrictions and conduct of state enterprises. In Southeast Asia, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and government-linked companies (GLCs) have dominated ASEAN member state economies like Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand. Significantly, state-owned enterprises are supported and subsidized by government. Therefore, it cannot be refuted that GLCs have the potential to restrict market access and competition either directly or indirectly. However, in some countries like Singapore, the abuse of a dominant position is not considered as really being an abuse but rather an indication of successful innovation. Consequently, this structure sustains uncompetitive markets in the region and prevents the entry of new players.

Furthermore, it is widely accepted that the ASEAN institution is ineffective and unable to force member states to comply with their regional commitments. This problem has contributed to what is termed the “ASEAN Way⁶” based particularly on non-intervention and consensus. These norms have been accepted since its formation. The ineffectiveness of the ASEAN Way manifested itself during the 1997 economic crisis when ASEAN was unable to handle the economic downturn due to the absence of any binding force. ASEAN’s failure to tackle the crisis is due to the fact that member states have prioritized their national interests and stability over ASEAN. Later, this resulted in its image of economic strength being destroyed. In fact, the ASEAN Way is a shelter for member states when any resolution or agreements work against their national interests. In the context of ASEAN economic integration, these loose instruments and non-rule based organizations affect ASEAN liberalization as evident in the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). “AFTA has only been a minor success” (Leviter 2010: 179). This is because member states have used the exception provisions for protectionist purposes. The Malaysian government protection of its automobile industry is a classic case of such state protection. Thus ASEAN is dubbed an ‘intergovernmental neighborhood watch group’ in which self interests still drives its members (Khoo How San 2000: 279).

Due to these deficiencies, ASEAN moved away from informality and personalized relations to more rule-based institutions when it adopted the Charter⁷ in 2007. However, while ASEAN has proclaimed to move toward deeper economic integration, the Charter still upholds existing norms, the ASEAN Way, and sustains its inter-governmental organization rather than create a supra-national organization like the EU. Hund (2002) underscores that the ASEAN Way is not effective in promoting ASEAN’s objective of deeper economic and political integration. Therefore, ASEAN norms directly affect the harmonization of competition laws and policy as member states have not surrendered a measure of sovereignty and national interest over regional commitments under the AEC. Thus, the convergence of regional interests on economic liberalization through the process of harmonization of competition laws and policy is unlikely to succeed as national interests have been prioritized over regional ones.

⁶ There are six principles of the ASEAN Way codified in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation: 1) respect for state sovereignty; 2) freedom from external interference; 3) non- interference in internal affairs; 4) peaceful dispute settlement; 5) renunciation of the use of force; and 6) cooperation.

⁷ ASEAN moved closer to an EU-style community by turning into a legal entity.

Domestic economic structures and different aspects of competition laws in ASEAN

Despite ASEAN attempts to move into deeper economic integration, ASEAN states are quite heterogeneous in a variety of ways ranging from levels of economic development to law and regulation systems. In terms of economies, member states are at different stages of economic growth. However, ASEAN markets reflect a common structure in that the markets are imperfect. Thus, government intervention is required to prevent market failure. The structure of state and market in Southeast Asia is characterized by Yoshihara (1988) as ersatz capitalism dominated by crony capitalism due to the compromised and inferior role of states and their treatment of ethnic Chinese. In other words, it refers to the rent-seeking behavior of Southeast Asian Chinese capitalists. “Most market players successfully operate in the shadow of bureaucratic regulations, by relying on structures bound by interpersonal trust” (Gillespie 1999: 123).

A number of scholars (add ref) view the 1997 financial crisis as being a result of defective ASEAN crony capitalism that deviated from the principles of free market economics. Consequently, it incurred moral hazards and a lack of transparency of economic management that brought about the economic downturn. Thus, reforms under the IMF were aimed at controlling corruption and enhancing market competition. The idea of market reform is based on liberalists emphasizing that government intervention prevents market growth and competition. Significantly, reforms have attempted to eradicate the crony capitalism and lessen state intervention in the region. Privatization, deregulation and liberalization programs have been employed. However, evidence after the 1997 reform is somewhat contradictory with the neo-liberal aims.

Even though ASEAN countries have liberalized their economies, it is undeniable that state and government intervention is still prevalent. The main aim is not only to prevent market failure but to sustain government stability. The Index of Economic Freedom⁸ 2013 reveals that many ASEAN states such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Myanmar and Laos are not free, with the exception of Singapore. Furthermore, the rule of law remains an issue in many countries such as Vietnam. Although ASEAN countries have been attempting to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers, government and political interference and a lack of transparency have not disappeared. As evident in 2012, the Indonesian government reintroduced trade and investment barriers that included limits on the ownership of banks. Hence, freedom from corruption has been repressed (score 0-49.9) in the region ranging between 15 and 43, with the exception of Singapore (score 92).

As noted above, competition policy, law and regulations have not been established in all member states. While some ASEAN states have competition policy, many of them do not have comprehensive competition law to prevent restrictive business practices. Also, “ASEAN countries lack good governance and a rule-based system”

⁸ The overall index of economic freedom include freedom from corruption, government spending, investment freedom, business freedom, and property freedom. According to the economic freedom score, there are five ranges: 1) free (80-100), 2) mostly free (70-79.9), 3) moderately free (60-69.9), 4) mostly unfree (50-59.9) and 5) repressed (0-49.9).

(Thanadsillapakul 2004: 23). Thus, different regulatory systems in these states would prevent the flow of FDI and market integration between member states. Thanadsillapakul (2004: 23) points out that “laws and policies dealing with restrictive business practices differ from one ASEAN country to another and focus on different aspects such as anti-monopoly, anti-dumping, protection against state competition, etc”. Significantly, a number of documents underscore the inefficiency of law enforcement and regulators as evident in Malaysia and Vietnam where the judicial system is not independent and lacks efficacy (2013 Index of Economic Freedom). Nikomborirak (2006) also points out the ineffective enforcement of the Thai competition law to correct anticompetitive conduct. At the same time, various trade policies incompatible with the competition law have yet to be removed (Wisuttisak and Binh 2012).

Conclusion

When ASEAN committed itself to the creation of the AEC and the single market, the establishment of the AEC was a major milestone for deeper ASEAN economic integration. In fact, investors would come to think about the AEC as a single market rather than ten separate markets. To improve cooperation among member states, the law and legal systems of the ASEAN countries were to complement one another. To create free economies and create a favorable trade environment, competition laws and policies are necessary to ensure that anti-competitive behavior does not distort market functions and that there is a level playing field.

This requires a comprehensive set of competition laws and regulations. However, problems are manifest on both regional and national levels. On the national level, “the most important drawback is that the ASEAN countries lack good governance and a rule-based system” (Thanadsillapakul 2004: 23). This structure leads to inefficacy in the implementation of competition laws and regulations and fair competition. Also, market function is not based on market mechanisms but, rather, government intervention. On the regional level, ASEAN institutions and its mechanisms have not been shifted to constitute a supranational institution like the EU. At the same time, member states are still reluctant to pool together their sovereignty. Consequently, these factors have prevented the harmonization of laws and regulations between member states. Thus, integration of national markets into a single market very much remains a bumpy road.

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*A Study on Traditional Javanese-Malay Kampung Structure, Culture and Community
Activities in Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani, Selangor, Malaysia*

Rohaslinda Binti Ramele, Juichi Yamazaki

Kobe University, Japan

0142

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Introduction

After Malacca Sultanate era, since 1511, Malaysia was ruled under Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial government. It was during British era, when three major races in Malaysia; Malay, Chinese and Indian, were being separated in three different settlement areas; rural, town and plantation. Since then, Malay has been mainly involved in agriculture, Chinese in commercial and trading, while Indian in plantation works, usually rubber and oil palm. Malaysia gained independence in 1957, and Sabah and Sarawak in Borneo Island integrated in 1963. Today, it consists of 12 states and 2 federal districts; Kuala Lumpur and Labuan, where each state contains districts and villages. The population of Malaysia reached 28.9 million in 2012. Today, it consists of Malay (which includes the minorities of Javanese, Minangkabau and Bugis), Chinese, Indian and aborigine ethnics in the Peninsula; Orang Asli, and in the Borneo Island; Iban, Kadazan, Melanau etc.

Being the major race in the country, Malays are also the major race in the rural areas, where a village is called Malay Kampung (kampung means village in Malay Language). A traditional Malay Kampung is usually a paddy village or a farm village, which is mostly located in the coastal areas, where the earliest settlements were built. A Malay Kampung is lead by a 'penghulu' (headman), helped by the religious leaders from the Mosque Committee; imam, bilal, siak, and the Youth Committee. After 1957, Ministry of Rural and Regional Development established a new committee in each village called Village Safety and Development Committee. It is lead by the headman and participated by the villagers themselves.

An example of traditional Malay Kampung (paddy village) described in this paper is Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani, located in the state of Selangor. This project was selected as a case study of this paper due to the traditional Malay Kampung structure, culture and community activities, and the unique characteristics of Javanese; as the main population in the village, along with the culture and custom that are still being practiced in the villagers' daily lifestyle. This village is also participating the new rural tourism program called Malaysia Homestay Program held by the Ministry of Tourism, which aims to help the rural Malays financially, to promote Malay Kampung as a new tourism capitol and to help preserving Malaysian traditional culture.

Malay and Javanese

Malay is defined as someone who speaks Malay Language, lives in Malay culture, or one of the parents was born in Malaysia before the independence year of 1957. A Malay may also be any Indian Muslim or Indonesian; Javanese, Minangkabau or Bugis, who has been living in Malaysia before the independence year. An Indonesian person, who is mentioned here, was resulted by the migration from the archipelago to the peninsula, happened during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial period. Javanese and Bugis people from Java formed majority of this flow but Minangkabau people from Sumatera were much earlier established their kingdom in the peninsula. These three major ethnics migrated to each separated area in the peninsula, where Javanese were mostly migrated to Malacca and Selangor areas; Bugis migrated to Johor area, and Minangkabau migrated to Negeri Sembilan area (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The human migration from Indonesia to the peninsula before 1957.

Being a part of people who migrated to Malaysia before 1957 and before the Republic of Indonesia was born; Javanese prefer to be considered they came from Java, not Indonesia. Therefore, they refer themselves as ‘Orang Jawa’ (Javanese people); differentiate today’s Indonesian, especially the migrant workers, by calling them ‘Orang Indonesia’ (Indonesian people), and other Malay as ‘Orang Melayu’ (Malay people). The term of Javanese-Malay has not been established nor analyzed in local and academic discourse, but is used by Miyazaki in his research to denote their legal status as ‘Malaysian Malay’ (Miyazaki, 2000).

Migration of people from Java to the peninsula began as early as the fifteenth century when they settled in Malacca where they established their own quarters and were administered by an appointed chief. Here, they were reported to have specialized in trading rice and other food, as well as in sailing. Then, in 1890s, the migration flow spread into the state of Selangor, when Kuala Lumpur inhabitants were found mostly traders from Sumatra and Java (Gullick, 1993). Javanese in Selangor were involved mainly in agriculture; opening paddy field, coconut farm and coffee plantation, and a small number on tin mining at the Kelang River. Areas of Selangor that were settled mostly by Javanese during this time, and remained until today, were Tanjung Karang, Sabak Bernam, Kuala Selangor, Kelang, Banting and Sepang (Noriah, 2001).

Among the ‘push’ factors that caused the migration of Indonesian to the peninsula were poverty, dense population, heavy taxation and over-fragmentation of cultivated land in their hometown. Khazin described their migration into two categories, ‘merantau’ (traveling) and ‘minggat’ (sneaking off) (Khazin, 1978). The first group was the people who migrated to improve their standard of living by working with foreign traders or to spread their own business or to seek new knowledge. The second

group was the people who ran away from politic crisis, crime or family issues. Some of them were who settled permanently at the peninsula during their journey to perform their Haj at Mecca, or brought by the British government to develop new agricultural land in Selangor.

Today's Javanese in Malaysia define themselves with the use of the Javanese Language during their daily conversation among each other. Their origin is mostly revealed by their names, where the fathers often retained Javanese names, which end with -man or -min. However, younger Javanese; the second and third generations, rarely speak and understand Javanese Language, and usually have Malay-Arabic names similar to other Malays.

The migration of Javanese into Malaysia has brought a few adaptations into Malay culture, which recognized today as the official Malaysian culture, mainly in the art and entertainment world, such as introducing a traditional dance of 'kuda kepang', traditional self-defensed art of 'silat', traditional puppetry of 'wayang kulit' and traditional music of 'gamelan' (Figure 2).



Wayang Kulit



Silat



Kuda Kepang



Gamelan

Figure 2. Adaptations of Javanese art into Malay culture.

Kuda kepang is a dance performance using wooden-horses, where the horses will be moved like a real horse, according to the rhythm of the music played. Silat is an ancient self-defensed art, created from mixed animal's movements that threaten by enemy. It can be a strong self-protection even if someone is being attacked with a weapon. Wayang kulit is puppetry performance of shadow, which is played by the idols, made by animal skin. Dances and movements of the idols are played based on the ancient Mahabrata's holly book. Meanwhile, gamelan is a musical performance using instruments made by silvers and coppers, which usually accompany the performance of kuda kepang, silat and wayang kulit.

Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani

Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani is located in Sabak Bernam district, in the state of Selangor, where the earliest Javanese people settled mostly in early 1900s. The earliest settlement was built around 1910 mainly by Javanese who came from Java and a few Malays from surrounding villages. The earliest development was concentrated in the coastal area, where the villagers were connected with other places mainly by water transportation. Encouraged to be involved in agriculture by the British government, Javanese started to plant paddy and build their houses on the paddy field, while Malays prefer to work in coconut farms and settle in the coastal area.

In Javanese community, a leader (formerly known as 'lurah') is selected among the first founder of the village and by his knowledge in Islam. In this village, a Javanese man called Haji Dorani was selected as a leader, due to his effort in uniting the communities of Javanese, Malay and Chinese during the time, and his title of 'Haji', which means he has performed his Haj at Mecca. He also encouraged the village people to enlarge the existing river to enable fishermen to keep their boats at the riverbank, including Chinese fishermen. Later, the villagers named the river and the village with the leader's name, in order to pay their respect and appreciation.

A good quality of cultivated land has attracted more people from surrounding to move into the village, to develop the paddy field, followed by the construction of irrigation canal by the British government. Then they established paddy farming as the main economic activity. During 1941, migration of Chinese people increased, especially during the Japanese occupation in Malaysia, created a small town in the middle of the village, which is known today as 'Pekan Sungai Haji Dorani' (Sungai Haji Dorani Town). Today, Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani consists of 1,660.84 acres, with population of 2,042; 1972 Malays, 67 Chinese and 3 Indians, where 79% of the villagers work as farmers; paddy, coconut or oil palm, and the rest as fishermen, small and medium entrepreneurs, and government workers.

Structure and Layout

Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani today consists of coconut farm, paddy field and oil palm plantation. Houses are built between coconut trees, or in the middle of the paddy field, where the owner of the house usually own the paddy lot around his house. Paddy farmers' houses are located along the road, which was built along the irrigation canal. Here in each road, there is a mosque or 'surau' (a smaller prayer hall than mosque), where a Mosque Committee will represent the road in the village's

administration. The leaders of all the Mosque Committees will then be members in the Village Development and Safety Committee, lead by the village's 'penghulu' (headman). This traditional administration system; called 'kariah system', is only used in larger village, especially in Selangor, to help villagers connected with the headman through the Mosque Committee. Moreover, in a Muslim society, religious men, namely the members in the Mosque Committee, are highly respected and prioritized in every communal and personal event.

Out of 493 houses in this village, 357 are traditional houses, built with timber, raised floor, minimal use of furniture, and a large number of windows, which allows natural ventilation into the house. The raised floor usually reached 2 meters in height, to be said influenced by Javanese architecture from Java, Indonesia, and use for storing paddy farming tools and rice after harvesting activities. Some farmers even use this space for family relaxation space during day. These houses are not surrounded by any fence or boundaries, which allows trespassing among neighbors and kin relationship among villagers. The large house compound is where the owner builds tents as shading to be used during 'kenduri' (communal feast) to celebrate religious festivals and events such as wedding ceremony.

The shade and windy atmosphere, with the sound of chickens from the chicken hoot coming from behind the house, the beautiful landscape of paddy field, have created Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani as an example of a typical environment of a Malaysian village (Figure 3). The Ministry of Rural and Regional Development has recognized this village as the Best Village in Selangor in 1990, due to its high evaluation on traditional and historical environment and landscape.



Figure 3. A traditional Malay house surrounded by coconut trees and paddy field in Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani.

Culture, Lifestyle and Community Activities

Daily lifestyle of paddy farmers in Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani started from the paddy field, followed by a visit to their vegetable or fruit's farm during afternoon. After having lunch at home with family, male villagers usually spend time at the coffee shop and female at their house compound, share stories with their friends and neighbors. Some villagers go to the mangrove to catch crabs and cockles, for their dinner and sometimes to sale at the evening market located at the small town in the center of the village. Before having dinner with family at home, villagers; mainly male attend communal prayers at the mosque (or surau) to perform their 4th and 5th requested prayers of the day.

The mosque has been the most important communal space in a Malay village, where not only the daily prayers in the evening, but also weekly prayer on Friday and annual prayers during the fasting month of Ramadan, eid al fit and eid al adh. It is during Ramadan, where both male and female will attend to perform their 4th, 5th and tarawih prayers (a special prayer performed daily during Ramadan) and sometimes have their iftar dinner (a meal to break the fast) at the mosque. During eid al fitr (feast of breaking the fast), villagers will attend a special prayer at the mosque in the morning as the most important event to begin the month of celebration, after the fasting month. After the prayer, villagers will visit relatives, friends and neighbors, where all houses opened for the whole day and guests will be welcomed with special food and beverages. Here in Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani, Javanese have their own style of tradition called 'baraan', where all males in the village will visit all houses in a group on the 2nd day, while females will be doing the same thing on the 3rd day. This custom has been practiced since ancient time in Java, Indonesia, for the purpose of strengthening the community and relationship among villagers.

Meanwhile, eid al adh (feast of sacrifice) is celebrated by Muslims worldwide to honor the willingness of Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice his son to a command from God. It also marks the end of annual Muslims' Hajj to Mecca. During this day, villagers will attend special prayer in the morning at the mosque, followed by animal slaughtering event, which usually held on the mosque's compound. This event is a sacrifice done by villagers who can afford their domestic animal such as cow and goat, to be distributed to neighbors and poorly in and surrounding village.

Mosque provides function not only as a place to perform prayers, but also used as school for kindergarten and Quran classes, and a meeting hall for the village committees. A part of Malay wedding ceremony called 'nikah' is also held in the mosque followed by a reception at the bride and the groom's house. Occasionally, some villagers will bring food the mosque to held a kenduri here as a gratitude to God after fortunate and unfortunate events happened by providing food to the people who comes to pray the mosque. Again, it shows how religious people in a village are highly respected by the villagers as a part of their life events.

Kin relationship and cooperation among the community in the village can also be seen in a wedding ceremony, which is also accounted as a community activity, and usually held in the bride or groom's house. It will involve the whole community during preparation week, the day of the ceremony and days after. One week before the ceremony, a meeting will be held to divide task among villagers to prepare food,

decoration and performance. Females will be preparing materials for the meals in the house, and males will be cooking on the house compound under a tent. Meanwhile, young males, usually members from the youth committee, will be practicing for the cultural dances and performances to be shown in front of the bride and groom during the ceremony day. All these activities are organized by gotong-royong, in order to show their volunteer to help the family, where no villager will be requesting payment for their tasks. This custom is one of Malay's characteristics since ancient time until today, both in Malaysia or Indonesia.

Malaysia Homestay Program

Realizing the potential of Malay Kampung as a new tourism type due to the trend of tourists visiting rural areas for a short and long term vacation, Malaysian government; Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Rural and Regional Development and Ministry of Agriculture, have established a new program called Malaysia Homestay Program in 1995. Inspired by the concept of 'bed and breakfast', this program is a combination of English Education Homestay Program in United Kingdom, Farm Stay in New Zealand and Farm Inn in Japan. It is defined as a program where tourists stay with the villagers (as their host families) for one day, two days or three days, and experience Malay Kampung lifestyle, culture and existing economic and community activities in the village.

This program aims to help involving rural Malays in a new sector other than agriculture; tourism and business, promoting Malay Kampung as a new tourism product and preserving Malaysian culture and tradition. Villagers can be participated as the homestay association members; managing activities for the program, host families or guides during tourists' visit to the farms and factories. By 2012, the number of participating villages and rural Malays as the host families, tourist received and income increased, showing that this program has attracted more interest among rural Malays as the host and tourists; both domestic and foreign.

Dorani Homestay

Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani joined this program and created 'Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani Homestay' (Dorani Homestay) in 1996, after realizing their potential as a unique Javanese village; which has different lifestyle and culture from other Malay Kampung, and plenty of existing empty rooms in each house after the youth migration to the city. Lead by the former chairman of Farmer Committee in the village, Dorani Homestay started with 8 host families in 1996 and increased into 31 host families in 2012. Homestay program has been helping the villagers as their additional income during weekends besides farming during weekdays, and opportunity to involve the national tourism sector. They also participate actively during cultural performance, which is a part of the program activities, where they can proudly introduce their Javanese traditional dances, instruments and arts to the domestic and foreign tourists.

Activities in the homestay program are created by the homestay association members (Figure 4). The number of participating villagers, directly and indirectly, is unknown, however, almost all villagers gather at the Homestay Activity Center to welcome the tourists during the first day, usually on Saturday. During the welcome ceremony, tourists will be welcomed with coconut drinks, accompanying by a traditional musical performance by the homestay association members, followed by the introduction of

each host family selected for each tourist. During their stay, they will also be given opportunity to experience traditional sports and games that usually played by the villagers during evening, and experience the villagers' economic activities of paddy farming and fishing. Tourists, especially foreign tourists may also experience a mock-up Malay-Javanese traditional wedding ceremony, which will be organized and attended by the association members, with the help from the whole villagers. During Saturday night, the members of Youth Committee in the village perform a cultural performance of kuda kepong, wayang kulit, silat and gamelan.



Welcome Ceremony



Eating nasi ambeng



Fishing at the paddy field



Watching kuda kepong performance

Figure 4. Activities in Dorani Homestay's program.

Participating in Malaysia Homestay Program also allows Javanese community in the village to introduce their Javanese cuisine and long-lost traditional dance of 'barongan' to the other Malaysians and foreign tourists. Among the well-known Javanese cuisine is 'nasi ambeng' (a set of rice, vegetable, noodle and chicken) which is provided for 3 to 4 people. The concept of eating together in one big plate encourages kin relationship among them, which is a custom brought from Java, Indonesia since the ancient times. Nasi ambeng has been the main meal for the tourists in Dorani Homestay since its establishment. Meanwhile, 'barongan' is a dance of animal movements, which was failed to be adapted into Malaysian culture during their earliest migration like other arts and dances such as kuda kepong, wayang kulit, silat and gamelan. Barongan is sometimes performed during the cultural performance on Saturday's night in the homestay program's activities.

Conclusion

Kampung Sungai Haji Dorani was founded during Javanese migration from Indonesia to the peninsula, mainly areas in Selangor, when Malaysia was ruled under British colonial government. Javanese migration has brought several adaptations into Malay

*Asian Identity: Regional Integration and Collective Memory of the Pacific War in
Contemporary Japanese Society*

Maciej Pletnia

Tokyo University, Japan

0145

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Despite the most recent difficulties in international relations between Japan and China, the concept of strengthening Asian integration based on “Asian identity” and “Asian values” is a reoccurring theme when discussing the future of the Far East. Japan initially seemed to be a natural leader in the region, partially due to unprecedented economic success and partially due to strong ties with leading global powers such as the United States. It was Japan who along with Australia initialized the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum, and has since been a crucial member. However, the rise of China and slow decline of Japanese power have strained relations in the region. Japan is no longer considered a natural leader, and its cooperation with China has become increasingly difficult in recent times. Although it seems that the dream of “Asian integration” is still alive, it has recently started to fade. It is impossible to imagine further regional cooperation without the participation of both China and Japan. There are of course numerous factors which influence international relations between the two countries and Japan's position in the region. In this paper I would like to focus on one often neglected factor which I believe is of particular interest. I would like to analyze how collective memory of the Pacific War in contemporary Japanese society, combined with its deeply rooted conviction of being a natural leader in Asia, creates tension in the region. This is strongly affecting any possibility of not only further economic and cultural regional integration, but also of any cooperation which might lead to establishment of a common “Asian identity”, based on a shared set of “Asian values”.

When discussing regional integration based on common values and economic cooperation it is impossible to abstain from mentioning the European Union. Despite the fact that numerous scholars believe that European style institutionalization is necessary in order to achieve legitimate integration (Breslin, Higgot, Rosamond, 2002, pp. 13), I believe that drawing any direct comparisons would mean adopting a Eurocentric viewpoint, which should be avoided. There is no reason to assume that any further Asian integration would follow European style institutionalization. As Peter Katzenstein notes: “Theories based on Western, and especially West European experiences, have been of little use in making sense of Asian regionalism” (1997, pp.3-5). Despite this, the European Union is still the best example of successful economic and political integration, and is often brought up as an example even by Asian scholars. Naturally, it is not my intention to dwell upon the history of European integration. However, I believe that it is particularly important to mention one fact. It could be said that the European Union (or more precisely the European Coal and Steel Community as it was initially called, later renamed the European Economic Community before adopting its current name) was a child of its times. In many ways, it was the horrors of World War II which initialized integration. One of the crucial aims of the European Coal and Steel Community was to avoid the risk of any future conflicts at the core of Europe, particularly between France and Germany. Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman suggested initiating integration with two basic industries of coal and steel. They believed that if the mines and steel factories of both France and Germany were under international control, it would become impossible for those two countries to go to war with each other. Apart from France and Germany, the European Coal and Steel Community also initially included Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands (Thody, 1997, pp. 1-4; Salmon, Nicoll, 1997, pp. 41-47). It is worth noting that right from its humble beginnings the European Union was not limiting itself only to economic integration, but also had a very clear political agenda. Furthermore, common culture and shared history played an important role in

facilitating institution-building processes which in turn have promoted cooperation and peace in the region (Friedberg, 1993-1994, pp. 13).

When discussing any possible further integration in the East, it is important to mention already existing frameworks, which have already, at least partially, contributed to regional cooperation, but which also signify problems making such cooperation difficult. Japan's economic success was unprecedented in the modern history of the Far East. Japan was the first industrialized economy in Asia and its direct investments in the region had been expanding since the late 1960s. Therefore it was natural that Japan became a leader in promoting trade liberalisation and it had taken a very active role in promoting new Asian economic cooperation (Sang Ho, Wong, 2011, pp. 157). As a result, Japan along with Australia initiated APEC, which at first included 12 other states. Due to political turmoil APEC initially excluded China, but since joining in 1991 became a crucial partner for all countries involved (Klintworth, 1995, pp. 488-490). That being said, even at that time Japan seemed to be divided between Asian identity and "western aspirations". At first it seemed that Japan would become a mediator between Eastern and Western members of APEC. This however, turned out to be problematic. Despite being one of the founding members of APEC, and a strong advocate of steady economic cooperation in the region, Japan's position has been challenged by what could be referred to as "legitimacy deficit", which is not only firmly connected with cultural differences in the region, but also with its troubled historical past. Moreover, Japan's strong ties with western powers, particularly with the United States have been sometimes understood as proof of lack of its dedication to Asian affairs (Klintworth, 1995, pp. 494-499).

Nevertheless, Japan's possible role as a leader in the region became visible again during ASEM meetings. ASEM was created as a forum to encourage trade relations with Europe, and it offered a further means through which information between Asian and European Union countries could be exchanged and discussed on a regular basis. Japan was initially reluctant to participate, partially due to prominence of ASEAN countries, which were responsible for creating this initiative (Gilson, 1999, pp. 737; Gaens, 2008, pp. 1). However, more significant for the Japanese government was the fact that the United States was quite obviously excluded from this new forum. Only after the Japanese government was persuaded by US to participate did it begin to play a more active role. ASEM has been described by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an opportunity for Japan to get to know its neighbours better. Due to its international position and economic success Japan became a natural leader in ASEM structures. During the Asian crisis, perception of Japan in the region changed due to its role in ASEM. Asian countries started to perceive Japan again as a natural leader who should take a greater political and economic lead, and were supportive of an increased role for Tokyo in the region. According to Julie Gilson, ASEM cooperation helped Asian states to realize that they have numerous common interests, and that strengthening cooperation in the region might lead to creating a common identity as well (Gilson, 1999, pp. 741-750). It is also worth mentioning other forums such as APT (ASEAN Plus Three), which is the most significant economic framework including only Asian countries. In addition to 10 ASEAN members it also includes Japan, China and South Korea. The first leaders' meetings were held in 1996 and 1997, and were connected with ASEAM talks. APT grew in importance during the Asian Financial Crisis, and initiated discussion regarding The Asian Currency Unit as

a means of stabilizing the region's financial markets (Stubbs, 2002, pp. 448-449). However, it is worth noting that while China has been pushing to strengthen cooperation within APT, Japan on the other hand has been more in favour of the so called East Asia Summit, which also includes the United States, Russia, India and Australia among others (Dent, 2008, pp. 20).

Politics in the Far East has changed significantly since the late-1990s. The rise of China and stagnation of the Japanese economy significantly affected international relations in the region. Even if we assume that further regional integration based on common identity, understood as so called "Asian values" is possible, it is hard to imagine it without the inclusion of both China and Japan. There are of course numerous problems connected with that kind of integration. Most importantly; which countries should be included in that kind of framework? What should be understood as "Asian values"; and what purpose would that kind of integration have? However, I would like to focus on seemingly minor issues that influence Japan's position in the region, as well as its cooperation with China. That would be the collective memory of the Pacific War in contemporary Japanese society and the deeply rooted conviction of being a natural leader in the region. As I will hopefully prove, both of these issues are very strongly connected and shouldn't be treated as being separate. However, it is of course necessary to introduce the concept of collective memory itself. Maurice Halbwachs, who is widely regarded as being responsible for suggesting this idea, noticed that when individuals recollect events from the past, they do so within social boundaries. The process of individual recollection is strongly conditioned by interactions with other member of society. Those other members somehow stimulate each other to remember certain event from the past and forget others simultaneously. Halbwachs stated that we are constantly dealing with social boundaries of memory, which affect the way we remember the past in a very significant way (2008, pp. 3-8).

Building on Halbwachs ideas Jan Assmann introduced the concept of "cultural memory", which tries to incorporate into one theory three elements: memory, culture, and the group. According to Assmann cultural memory preserves knowledge from which the group draws its awareness of unity. Moreover, the objective manifestations of cultural memory can take the form of group self-identification, both in a positive sense (describing what the unique characteristics of a group are) or in a negative sense (what a group is not). He also noticed that cultural memory has a capacity to reconstruct, which means that it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation (1995, pp. 126-127). Michel Foucault summed it up by stating that, historical memories are socially acquired and collective, and are constantly refashioned to suit present purposes. Individual memories gradually fold together into a collective memory of the group. Embedded in the social fabric, they become idealized memories and their ability to survive in the face of alternative memories, or counter memories, depends on the power of the group that holds them. Seen in this light, history and memory are in a fundamental state of tension (1980, pp. 144).

Furthermore, collective memory is strongly connected with national identity and national myths. The concept of national myth that I would like to introduce here should be understood as described by Anthony D. Smith, as half-truth narratives and beliefs about the origins, identity and purposes of a nation, which form an integral part of the ideological and spiritual foundations for nation and nationalism (1999, pp. 9). National myths, along with collective memory, as well as other factors such as

common territory and culture, constitute what is referred to by Smith as national identity (1999, pp. 14). Taking this into consideration, collective memory, as a socially constructed phenomenon and as an important element of national identity, can be understood as a factor influencing normative and ideal structures which determine the interests of the actors according to constructivist theory of international relations. Constructivist theory stresses that such elements as cultural norms, ideas, and collective identities are changeable (Jackson, Sørensen, 2006, pp. 270-272). It is worth mentioning that according to Alexander Wendt constructivist theory is more interested in human consciousness and its role in international politics (1992, pp. 403-404).

When discussing collective memory of the Pacific War in Japan it is quite common to refer to Yasukuni shrine controversies, comfort women issues, discussions regarding history textbooks, or more recently, Senkaku/Diaoyu disputes. However, it seems that these controversies are mere manifestations of much wider phenomena, which I believe can be traced back to initial years after the end of the war. Conservative elites of that period, which due to the rise of the communist threat gained support from American occupying forces, were not interested in dealing with the past. Instead, they managed to create three main national myths that embodied a minimalistic approach to Japanese war guilt. First was the “myth of the military clique” which held only a small group of military leaders responsible for the war and claimed that the rest of the nation (including the Emperor, the majority of the conservative ruling class, and ordinary Japanese people as well) were nothing more than innocent victims of the war. Second, was the myth that Japan was the only country responsible for opening hostilities in the East. Third was the idea of “sacrifice as heroic”, which gave Japanese soldiers special honor due to the fact that they sacrificed their lives for the nation. Since the end of the war until the end of American occupation, Japanese conservative elites were in control of the most important institutional tools, and were able to popularize these self-glorifying and self-whitewashing myths. Their actions were successful largely because their intention of historical mythmaking was in accordance with the American strategy of supporting a stable conservative government in Tokyo. The occupation authorities promoted the so-called Pacific War View of History (*Taiheiyō Sensōkan*) that emphasized the overwhelming superiority of American military power as the main cause of Japanese defeat and held only the Japanese military clique responsible for the war (Orr, 2001, pp. 24-35; Yinan, 2006, pp. 71-72). The first publication of photographs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki right after the nuclear bombings, which took place in 1952, only strengthened the myth of the Japanese nation as victim, as well as the view of Pacific War as a mainly Japanese-American conflict (Buruma, 1994, pp. 106-109; Saito, 2006, pp. 364-367; Willson, 2001, pp. 130). This view of war history was not challenged until the 1970s, when numerous Japanese scholars, intellectuals as well as journalists drew attention to victims of Japanese Imperialism in Asia, as well as to numerous war crimes committed during this period (Wakabayashi, 2000, pp. 318-320).

Of course the construction of collective memory of the Pacific War in Japan has not been simple. There were controversies, such as the visits of Prime ministers Nakasone and Koizumi to Yasukuni shrine (Hardacre, 1991; Safier, 2001; Breen, 2008), but there were also numerous apologies, the most important of which made by Prime Minister Murayama (Togo, 2013; Yamazaki, 2006). In fact, I believe that one of the most significant characteristics of Japanese discussion regarding its wartime past is

inconsistency. It seems that there is no consensus among political elites regarding interpretation of these historical events. Another characteristic worth mentioning is the still deeply embedded conviction that the Pacific War was essentially a conflict between Japan and the United States, and Japanese aggression in the Far East is often described as colonization, and not as occupation. This interpretation is also strongly connected to understanding of Japan's role in the East. The so called revisionists prefer to promote the point of view which argues that past military actions were necessitated by the threat posed to national existence by other great world powers; that Japan in certain ways destroyed the "myth of white supremacy" and prepared the way for the liberation of East Asia from Western colonial rule; and that Japanese imperialism was in many ways an improvement upon Western modes due to its emphasis on modern economic and social development (Hughes, 2008: pp.45).

Still, the biggest question remains, how this understating of the historical past is affecting Japanese cooperation in the region, and how it influences any possible regional integration. Firstly, there is still ongoing debate regarding Japan's belonging to the Far East. As mentioned before, when discussing possible regional economic cooperation, Japan is strongly advocating inclusion of countries, which are not usually associated with the East, such as Australia, Russia or United States. This sentiment can be partially explained by the will to balance the power of China, if such a framework were to become reality. However, I would argue that there is also another explanation. Japanese identity seems to be strongly divided between the East and the West, and is strongly connected with the concept of hierarchy of civilizations, which can be traced back to the Meiji Period and to such intellectuals as Fukuzawa Yukichi. At that time, he described Japan as more "civilized" than other Far East countries, but not as civilized as Western powers. Moreover, according to Fukuzawa and other similar intellectuals, Japan should become more like those western empires (Schad-Seifer, 2003, pp. 50-52). Successful modernization, which took place in the 19th and early 20th century, along with striking victory over China and then Russia, only strengthened and popularized the myth of cultural superiority over other countries in the region. One of the misconceptions regarding Japanese imperial policy, which was also an important part of Japanese propaganda of that period, was that Japan's intervention in the East was not only aimed at stopping western colonialism, but also to help other countries to become more developed and more "civilized" (Stronach, 1995; Paine, 2003; Rowe, 1939; Padover, 1943; Kushner, 2007). Even though this belief has been seriously challenged at least since the 1970s, due to the economic success of Japan, which became especially prominent in the 1980s, belief in Japan's superiority over other Asian countries had been strengthened. Due to several misconceptions regarding migrant workers, Japanese people still tend to perceive foreigners from other Asian countries as belonging to the so called "lower class", while most Japanese themselves belong to the "middle class". Moreover, John Lie notes that the idea of Japanese superiority over other Asian nations is still present, and is visible in attitudes toward migrant workers (2001, pp. 32-34). As Lie sums it up "although outright expression of chauvinism occurs from time to time, what is more striking is the ways in which cultural confidence is often expressed indirectly and unintentionally" (2001, pp. 45).

Japan's unique position in the region could be seen as an advantage, as it was during the first years of APEC or during ASEM meetings. However, this is contrasted by the still strong conviction of cultural superiority over other nations in the Far East, even if

it is expressed indirectly, just as Lie suggested. Even though this belief predates the Pacific War, I would argue that it is strongly connected with collective memory of this conflict, and how Japan perceives its intervention in the East. Therefore, it should not be surprising that even today there is a strong conviction among Japanese elites, that even though Japan is a natural leader in the region, it also has more in common with the so called West. Hence Japan's aspirations as a leader have been challenged by "legitimacy deficit", which is connected with Japan's imperial legacy in the region, as well as its strong ties with the West, especially with the United States. Furthermore, since the mid-1990s Japan's position in the region has been constantly challenged by the rise of China.

It is difficult to imagine any successful regional cooperation without the inclusion of both China and Japan. Unfortunately, relations between two countries are strongly affected by collective memory of the Pacific War. However, it wasn't until the 1980s, due to changes in strategic agendas as well as domestic power struggles in both countries that collective memory in both Japan and China had significantly changed. Conservative historiography, which promoted a more right-wing view of history and which emerged as a backlash against the progressive narratives, gained prominence at that time as well. Since the 1980s, the right-wingers have passionately attacked the government for making concessions to foreign countries, by for example including accounts of Japanese war atrocities in history textbooks. They believed that such a "masochistic" view of the nation's history would hurt national pride. Many neo-nationalist politicians during the last three decades have made unintentional mistakes which glorified Japan's involvement in Asia during the war, declaring that in reality Japan's engagement in the region was good and just, and that it was aimed at liberating Asian colonies from the West. The same groups have been very critical of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials as well (Yinan, 2006, pp. 76-77). Naturally, the most famous examples of right-wing views of Pacific War history are Yasukuni and the history textbooks controversies. At the same time, memory in China was also undergoing reconstruction. The new official focus on Japanese brutality and Chinese misery during the war simulated victim consciousness among the Chinese. Many even feel bitter about their government's previous concealment of Japanese war crimes and were offended by official propaganda, which promoted friendship between China and Japan. Even though the distinction between Japanese militarists and ordinary Japanese people is still present in official Chinese historiography, common understanding of the war has significantly blurred this difference (Yinan, 2006, pp. 81-83).

Initially Japanese public opinion reacted reluctantly to the rise of the Chinese economy. Japan's decade-long economic stagnation endangered its position as the leader among developing Asian economies, and led to a decline in confidence in Japan maintaining its position as the second economy in the world. Initially Japan was reluctant to acknowledge the astonishing developments in China. Many believed that it would take a long time for China to achieve a level of development equal to that of Japan. However, by 2001 it became obvious that China had become one of the world's great economic powers. As a reaction, numerous books that presented China as a threat were published in Japan. Furthermore, the increasing possibility of China creating an East Asian community with itself as a crucial member was also perceived as a threat to Japan's position in the region and its security (Noriko, 2006, pp. 61). Prime Minister Koizumi's visits to the Yasukuni shrine, combined with another history textbook controversy caused massive outrage in China, resulting in numerous

anti-Japanese protests. It should come as no surprise, that the reception of China in Japan and Japan in China changed significantly during that period. This change can be seen in a survey conducted in 2004. Over 58% of respondents in Japan felt “not friendly” toward China, while 53.6% of Chinese respondents felt the same about Japan. It is worth noticing that in a similar survey conducted in the 1980s most Japanese respondents felt “friendly” towards China (Ryōsei, 2006, pp. 21-22).

Even though there were clear signs of improvement in China-Japan relations during Shinzō Abe’s first term as the Prime Minister, it seems that he decided to take a harder stance regarding Japanese relations with China and to return to a more nationalistic narrative regarding the Japanese wartime past. It is worth mentioning that relations between both countries became so strained that commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of official international relations between China and Japan had been canceled. The Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute also affected cooperation between them during the APEC summit, where both countries held no formal talks despite the fact that such a meeting had been scheduled (People’s Daily, 2012; Pinghui, 2012; BBC News, 2012). Abe’s insistence on revising Japan’s constitution will without a doubt have an impact on Japan’s relation with other Far East countries, particularly with China and South Korea.

The burden of history is still affecting relations in the region. To achieve reconciliation between China and Japan, the two parties crucial to any successful regional integration, both superpowers would have to recognize each other’s genuine concerns and tackle the issues that have affected or may affect their bilateral relations. Their cooperation is also essential to regional stability. If they manage to overcome mutual distrust regarding each other's intentions, it might be possible for the two of them to establish some sort of co-leadership in East Asia. In particular, they should confront history-related problems rather than avoiding them or treating them as matters of internal politics, which often seem to be the case in Japan. Christopher Dent presented various possible configurations of regional leadership. As one of the possible patterns, he mentioned the possibility of *general co-leadership*. That would mean that China and Japan form an alliance similar to that of France and Germany in the European Union, which would focus on further advancing East Asian regionalism and representing East Asia in multilateral forums (2008, pp. 23-24). However, this would be only possible if China and Japan developed stronger and more harmonious relations. It seems that without resolving issues connected to collective memory of the Pacific War, such cooperation will not be possible. Moreover, without broad discussion regarding this topic within Japan, it will not be possible for the Japanese people to fully acknowledge its historically determined position in the Far East, as well as to understand what role Japan might play in the future. Another question still remains - is there any possibility of developing regional integration based on so called “Asian identity”? Even though Japan tended to attribute its economic success in the 1980s to certain Asian values, which were not present in the other regions of the world, it is still difficult to define what those values might be. Despite certain efforts to construct a sense of shared identity, nations in Asia lack not only recent memory of cooperation, but also a certain tradition of thinking of themselves as members of a larger cultural entity. Furthermore, the ongoing debate regarding Japan’s belonging to the East or the West, not only undermines its position in the region, but makes further discussion regarding potential common values more difficult.

During his speech at Tokyo University, Professor Tsai Tung-Chieh from the Graduate Institute of International Politics of National Chung-Hsing University in Taiwan stressed the importance of developing a new Asian identity, which would focus on what he described as “Asian values”. This goal could be achieved by further strengthening cultural, political and military cooperation, instead of focusing only on the economic dimension (2012). However, how to overcome political issues in the region, which recently became even more prominent, is a question that still remains unanswered. However, it is safe to say that such a process would be impossible without developing mutual trust and strengthening the will for cooperation between China and Japan. Nonetheless, developing such trust without solving historical issues first seems to be impossible. This is of course a task for all nations in the region, but I believe that due to its historical burden, Japan has a special role to play in this process.

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Are We There Yet? Understandings of Home Among Compulsive Migrants

Carol Neuschul Lindner

Independent Researcher, USA

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses a gap in the field of cultural studies by analysing compulsive migrants — individuals who voluntarily migrate out of *desire* rather than *need*. Employing in-depth interviews, I create a theoretical framework for compulsive migrants' understandings of home based on their lived experiences. Research on migration focuses on home from a literal and figurative standpoint, emphasising the theoretical consequences of leaving the original home behind. Home emerges as closely linked to belonging, which is traditionally associated with place. Compulsive migrants, by contrast, do not locate a sense of belonging in geographical place. They are voluntary, non-economically driven migrants whose mobility is determined by a search for self-fulfilment. Exhibiting cosmopolitan mindsets, compulsive migrants thrive in experiencing the unknown — people, places and cultures — while retaining their own values, beliefs and lifestyles. They experience a heightened sense of boredom, which they employ as a coping strategy for dealing with their disillusionment with the world. In this sense, boredom can be a means of escaping a life that is deemed unfulfilling. Compulsive migration surfaces as a response to coping with the world's uncertainties. For compulsive migrants, home is an interplay between three things: a cosmopolitan cultural identity; the principal motivation for continuing to migrate, boredom; and a sense of belonging based on a familiarity with a culture and its people. In these ways, compulsive migrants form part of a transnational elite seeking fulfilment beyond familiar borders. This politics of self-actualisation opens important legal, political and ethical questions for future cultural research.

Keywords: Transnational Elite, Global Migration, Home, Identity, Cosmopolitanism, Boredom

What is home to you? Geena, one of my research participants, states: “That’s a really good question. I philosophise a lot about that. I hope you don’t expect me to give you a straight answer.”

Articulations of migration’s impact on migrants often emphasise the idea of home: the migrant experience, after all, is one of mobility away from one’s place of origin. It is associated with the post-modern condition, a metaphor for the rootlessness and homelessness of contemporary identity, and is as such heavily contested (Chambers 27; Morley 2-3, 9; Massey 151). Migration relies “on the designation of home as that which must be overcome” by either rejecting the existence of home or accepting its existence and attempting to escape it (Ahmed 339). The migrant is inherently intertwined with the notion of home. “Migration is a one-way trip. There is no ‘home’ to go back to. There never was” (Hall, “Minimal” 115). Migrancy is an irreversible experience: the act of moving over national borders is the gateway to the life of an international migrant.

Migration is generally divided into forced and voluntary migration, with the former including refugees, asylum seekers and trafficked individuals, and the latter consisting primarily of labour migrants and family reunification migrants (Martin n.pag.). The experience of migration varies greatly between forced and voluntary migrants; this paper focuses on voluntary migration only. Academic research on voluntary migration has focused on understandings of home among migrants from a literal and figurative standpoint, emphasising the theoretical consequences of leaving the original home behind. Greg Madison’s work (“Conceptualising”; *Existential*) is an exception in both the method and the conclusion, which emphasises the rather poorly understood motivations behind voluntary migration (Amit 8; Al-Ali and Koser 14) and its impact on home. Madison investigated migrants’ reflexive performance of home. What makes his approach unique is his focus on non-economically driven voluntary migrants, meaning those who move internationally for reasons other than monetary benefit. Furthermore, Madison uses in-depth interviews as his primary research method, developing the idea of home-as-interaction, thereby synthesising the method and concept that I base my own research on. This presentation uses Madison’s study as a starting point to expand on the understandings of voluntary migrants’ complex relationship with home.

I have chosen to study an unlikely candidate to elucidate home — the one who continuously migrates. In particular, my study focuses on the sub-segment of voluntary migrants who have moved internationally out of *desire* rather than *need*. This group has been absent from academic research. My analysis investigates the type of individuals that willingly uproot themselves continuously to experience life in different parts of the world. I call these individuals ‘compulsive migrants’. Compulsive migrants’ frequent international moves make it more difficult to locate a sense of belonging in place and are therefore the perfect research subject for a study on home, as home cannot be based on place alone.

During the research process, the question of home evolved in unanticipated directions. Compulsive migrants hold complex notions of home. As well, compulsive migrants’ cultural identity impacts the motivations for repetitive migration. Thus, I argue that for compulsive migrants, home is an inter-play between three things: a cosmopolitan cultural identity; boredom; and a sense of belonging based on a familiarity with a culture and its people.

Method

Because interviews enable detailed exploration of “people’s subjective experiences, meaning-making, accounting processes, and unspoken assumptions about life and the social world in general” (Healey-Etten and Sharp 157), I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with compulsive migrants to gain insight into their understandings of home. With a small sample size of eight people there is no representative value. Instead, the value lies in the individual interviewees’ “voices add[ing] an important dimension to understanding the full spectrum of the issues involved” (Caluya et al. 89). The interviews with compulsive migrants centred on five questions:

1. Describe your life in terms of the countries you have lived in.
2. Relate which countries you moved to because you *wanted* to move. What attracted you to those countries?
3. What were your motivations for moving away from where you were living?
4. What is home to you?
5. How do you relate to home?

These purposefully vague questions enabled conversations as opposed to question and answer sessions. Interviewees were aware of the study’s focus on migration; however, they were unaware of the focus on home. By giving the participants the chance to narrate their life stories around topics of their choosing (albeit based on the questions above), I gained insight into their understanding of self, home, and their motivations for migration. The first two questions emphasising migration and countries of residence were intended to help the participants overcome any concerns about the interview. The remaining questions addressed motivations for migration and then focussed on the participants’ initial reaction to home, revealing whether they had thought about home before. To probe further, I asked about the participants’ relationship to home, which resulted in discussions about identity and belonging.

I cannot discount my partiality to this topic: I am a compulsive migrant and therefore can relate to the interviewees’ narratives. This is suited to cultural studies, which locates the self firmly in the practice of research, using reflexivity as a tool for critical (self-) awareness (Johnson et al. 44, 60). The researcher’s own process of representation forms the basis for ethnographic research (Skeggs 199). My personal history provides a unique perspective into my interviewees’ stories. Furthermore, I used my own compulsive migrancy to encourage participants to share experiences, buoyed by identifying with someone who has made similar lifestyle choices (Madison, “Conceptualising” 243). These in-depth interviews with compulsive migrants create a theoretical framework of their understanding of home based on the specificity of individual lived experiences.

Defining the compulsive migrant

For my purposes, I define a compulsive migrant as someone who has migrated from his or her country of origin voluntarily at least twice *and* has the intention of migrating again in the future. This excludes economic migrants (who move for education or improved employment), those moving to be with a partner, and forced migrants such as refugees. Compulsive migrants seek opportunities abroad because they truly *desire* to live in different countries. They uproot themselves for reasons that they usually do not understand. They differ from travellers by staying in their chosen locations for at least a year and ‘settling’ — with a (semi) permanent address, work or study, and a social life including friend groups.

Because visas to live, work or study in foreign countries can be difficult to obtain, most compulsive migrants are educated, skilled workers with some disposable income. Compulsive migrants are part of a transnational elite formed by corporate expatriates and NGO workers, humanitarian service workers, and diplomats, amongst others (Sassen 169). They benefit from their mobility as they can monetise the international networks they build from their transnational lifestyle (175). Furthermore, they are likely to belong to the “creative class”, defined by its professional status of working in a creative capacity that drives economic profits (Florida 69). My interviewees — three researchers, an engineer, an advertising strategist, a freelance journalist, a project manager, and a kitchen chef — are all in professions that depend on creative abilities to produce new ways of thinking that can broaden concepts, set agendas and influence others.

Compulsive migrants are a highly mobile group of educated professionals that seek experiences beyond what their immediate surroundings can offer. They tend to have an insatiable thirst for exploring unconventional thinking and the unknown, both in their private and professional lives. Often misunderstood, they have to constantly explain their decision to migrate, particularly to friends and family who perceive them as abandoning their homes. They have to justify their decision to move to those they leave behind as well as to their new social groups. These characteristics are a universal migrancy phenomenon (Hall, “Minimal” 115), which may be exacerbated by the compulsive nature of this type of migration.

What differentiates the compulsive migrant from other types of migrants is the *desire* to migrate for the *sake of experiences*. Following Jacques Lacan, David Oswell demonstrates that desire is a means of compensating for a perceived lack in an attempt at self-improvement (109). In the case of compulsive migrants, this leads to repeated migration.

Life Stories

My interviewees’ life stories introduce compulsive migrancy. Life stories are a way of gaining context and making new discoveries (Atkinson 7; Hall, “Cultural” 224). Each of these stories depicts a compulsive migrant, revealing commonalities. Except those who moved internationally during childhood, interviewees started migrating in their early to mid 20s as a means of exploring life beyond known boundaries. The first voluntary migration is triggered by exposure to people from other countries, friends’ success abroad, dissatisfaction with their life in their country of origin, or curiosity about the world. The first international experience leads to another, and the desire to move again and again; going back to one’s country of origin seems, at least in the short term, not to be an option. This behaviour is the reason for calling these migrants ‘compulsive’: it is not meant in a psychoanalytic sense but indicates repetitive migration. While some interviewees would like to settle in the future, none have specific plans or a time frame for settling, and they are concerned about their ability to do so. A few acknowledge migration as a means for finding the perfect location to settle, while simultaneously admitting that they do not expect to find it. The following life stories highlight the interviewees’ diversity.

Table 1
 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

Name	Age	Gender	Relationship Status, # of children	Profession	Nationality	Country of Birth	Countries Lived in for a Minimum of 1 Year*
Heather	28	Female	Single	Consumer Researcher	Slovenia	Slovenia	Slovenia, UK
Hillary	29	Female	Domestic partnership	Freelance Journalist	Finland	Finland	Finland, Brazil, Belgium, USA
Florence	32	Female	Married	Advertising Strategist	New Zealand	New Zealand	New Zealand, USA
Geena	62	Female	Divorced, 2 children	PhD Candidate	UK	UK	UK, Germany, Egypt, Somalia, Cyprus, Holland, Turkey, Israel, Oman
George	29	Male	Domestic partnership	Kitchen Chef	Germany	Seychelles	Seychelles, Germany, New Zealand
Anthony	28	Male	Single	Political & Social Researcher	UK	UK	UK, France, Belgium
Luis	39	Male	Married	Engineer	Costa Rica	Costa Rica	Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, New Zealand, Sweden
Robert	46	Male	Single	Project Manager	UK	UK	UK, USA, Germany

* All interviewees were living in Sydney, Australia, for a minimum of 1 year before the interview.

Anthony

Anthony is from a small British town and has been in Australia for six months. He started moving internationally after realising that many of his friends were from abroad and had life experiences beyond his imagination. Leaving the UK for the first time at 24, Anthony moved to Paris with his Parisian girlfriend. This marked the beginning of short stays in France and Belgium, lasting from several months to two years, before he came to Australia. He hopes to move to South America next and has been studying Spanish in anticipation. Eventually he would like to move back to Europe to be closer to his family. He is planning to retire in the town where he grew up. Although he expects to eventually build a life in one location, he questions whether he will be able to do so.

Florence

Florence is from Auckland, New Zealand. She first migrated for further education. Back in New Zealand, she married a local who, like her, aspired to live abroad. Both found jobs in New York and spent several years there before the global financial crisis stripped the city of its glamour. Moving to Australia to be closer to family, Florence and her partner expect to move again in the future; however, distance to New Zealand matters to them. Florence is committed to her partner, family and friends, but feels no commitment to a place.

Geena

The daughter of a British military contractor, Geena grew up moving around the world, imitating her parents in calling Britain 'home', although she had only spent holidays there. Completing high school and university in Perth, Australia, she moved to London, UK, after graduation. Marriage and children temporarily ended her compulsive migration. After she divorced and her adult children moved out, she picked up where she had left off: moving around the world, particularly the Middle East. Currently settled in a PhD program in Sydney, the 62-year-old hopes to explore more of the world after graduation.

Hillary

Hillary's first international experience was as a 16-year-old exchange student in Brazil. The blond Finnish teenager attracted a lot of attention and the experience left her slightly traumatised. Nevertheless, after graduating from university in Helsinki, she realised Finland was not the place where she wanted to spend the rest of her life. Internships in Belgium and the USA entertained her for a while but the only full-time employment she could find was in Finland. A new career in freelance journalism gave her the opportunity to leave Finland again. She now lives in Sydney with her Canadian partner and freelances for Finnish newspapers. She does not see herself settling in Australia and is already plotting her next destination.

Heather

Heather grew up in a town bordering Slovenia and Italy. Living on the border shaped her identity; she has never fully identified with either nationality. At 18, she took the opportunity to flee that dilemma and went to study in the UK. She has travelled extensively, and after Australia, her next destination will likely be South America. Although she would like to settle somewhere in the future, she has a hard time imagining a fulfilling life without moving.

George

George was born in the Seychelles to a Finnish mother and German father. At 10, his family moved to Germany. Feeling that he never fit in, he left 18 years later to work first in New Zealand and then Australia. George would like to settle in a place that "feels right" but is unable to articulate his expectations further. In the meantime, he is happy moving around the world; however, he is in a relationship with someone who does not want to migrate frequently. George acknowledges that he will have to change his ways but questions his ability to do so.

Luis

Luis, in contrast, has found the perfect partner. He is married to an artist who thrives in unknown environments and on Luis's migrant lifestyle. Born in the capital of Costa Rica, Luis moved to the Dominican Republic with his family during high school. Back in Costa Rica, he became frustrated with the country's bureaucracy and decided to search for a better system. His quest has taken him to New Zealand, Sweden and Australia, and he is now considering the USA. He believes he will live in Costa Rica again in the future to be close to his family; however, he doubts he will be happy there. Consequently, he keeps pushing off the inevitable return.

Robert

Robert started moving later in life than the other interviewees: at 35, he decided to leave his native England for the USA. He has since lived in Germany and Australia and is looking to settle where he feels comfortable and can create meaningful relationships with people. He acknowledges that he migrates because he is searching for something without being able to define what that is. He fears that one day he will look back and realise that he had everything he was looking for without knowing it.

Understandings of Home

The research participants discussed belonging as way of defining home. Most commonly they established a sense of belonging through relationships with other people. Robert envisions home as “a place with a nice quality of life, where you have people around you, friends, possibly family ... because that is what makes home. The people you're with”. His comments confirm theories that social interactions and encounters form a support network that makes one feel at home (Ahmed 340; Rapport and Dawson 27). Robert further describes familiarity of place and people:

Once you have lived in a country for a bit, you have friends and you understand how the place works. It doesn't seem alien to you so you can feel at home there . . . [A] big part of it is when you become used to a place, when it doesn't seem strange anymore.

Familiarity involves knowledge of the location as well as an understanding of the alien culture. “How” one belongs is thus more important than “where” one belongs (Allon 286). The *unfamiliar* is what causes excitement and the thrill of discovering a new location and people; the *familiar* is what creates a sense of belonging.

A sense of belonging based on familiarity with the culture and having social relations, including local friendships, can be encompassed in the concept of home-as-interaction. Interactions with environment and people are necessary to become familiar with a culture and develop a sense of belonging. Home-as-interaction may explain the basic needs that have to be met for a compulsive migrant to feel at home, but it does not explain why the same does not apply for the compulsive migrant's place of origin. It also does not suffice as an explanation for why compulsive migrants continue moving. To better understand the compulsive migrants' notion of home requires further consideration of their motivations.

Motivations for Compulsive Migration: Cosmopolitanism

Luis is the only research participant who describes himself as a “citizen of the world”; however, other interviewees demonstrate this cosmopolitan cultural disposition that includes a heightened desire to engage in cultural experiences, alien mannerisms and customs (Appiah 91; Hannerz 239-40; Tomlinson 185). Florence, a New Zealander, exhibits cosmopolitanism by actively choosing places that provide her with new and foreign experiences.

Moving is about meeting new people and starting a new experience. It forces you to grow, and that's attractive . . . One of the things that turned us off of London was that a lot of New Zealanders go to London and we really wanted to experience something different.

Florence is drawn towards cultures that differ from her own. She discusses her friends in New York being from all over world and how she is able to learn about different

behaviours and ideas through her interactions with them. Florence calls it “eye-opening”.

Many interviewees speak of the benefits of engaging with foreign cultures and people. Robert, for example, decided to learn how to play the cello and join a semi-professional orchestra in Germany. He could have joined an orchestra in his native England; however, it was Munich’s ubiquitous orchestras that inspired the idea. Joining an orchestra helped him integrate into the city’s culture instantly: “I hit the ground running . . . and after a month I realised it was a really nice place. I liked the culture, as a foreigner”. This qualifier — “as a foreigner” — acknowledges that if he were a local, he may have felt differently about Munich, because it would have mandated a different level of involvement. As a foreigner, choosing his level of engagement is easier. Through limited involvement in politics, for example, but full submersion in Munich’s orchestra culture, Robert selectively experiences life in Munich. While this could be perceived as problematic in the framework of a cosmopolitan cultural identity, Robert’s selectivity highlights his sensitivity towards the world as a world citizen, a *global* as opposed to *local* engagement.

Hillary believes that changing her environment gives her the ability to reinvent herself in a never-ending process of self-improvement.

Somehow every time you move abroad you are free to . . . invent yourself anew. Because you are doing something different, you are living somewhere else, you have a completely different circle of people around you.

Leaving behind the life she knows gives Hillary the confidence to explore aspects of herself that she otherwise may have left undiscovered. A freedom emerges from the challenges caused by placing herself in new environments and situations. She compares the experience of migration with drug-induced euphoria, claiming that she “gets hooked on the high of learning new things”. She describes challenges as a means of providing new ideas and feeding her imagination, leading to creativity and inspiration. The overseas experience enhances her cultural capital, which she values highly. Hillary’s comments reflect Karen O’Reilly and Michaela Benson’s analysis of migrants perceiving mobility as enabling their self-realisation (4), a process Anthony Giddens sees as emblematic of modernity (*Modernity and Self-Identity*).

Motivations for Compulsive Migration: Boredom

Compulsive migrants like Hillary seek out challenges as a learning experience as well as a distraction, a break from the routine and monotonous life they consider boring. Boredom is mentioned by every research participant as one of the reasons for geographical mobility. Interviewees talk about boredom leading to escapes from their communities, hometowns, and cities or countries of residence. Luis says, “I just get bored when I do the same thing for 18 months or 2 years because there’s nothing else to learn. And it would be the same thing with the country”. Heather feels the same: “It’s kind of exciting when you live in different places, you learn so much about different people and yourself . . . I think I get bored easily if I stay somewhere too long”. Luis and Heather expect excitement and challenges from their physical surroundings and the people they interact with. Boredom is fostered by a lack of engaging stimulation. Heather explains:

Some of my friends ask: “Why do you move again? You have to start all over again”. And I’m like, “that’s actually quite exciting”. For me it was very exciting to come and start exploring a new place and meet new people. There

are still places in Sydney that I haven't been to. It's great; you can go and explore a new street, a new thing. For me, that's exciting. Sometimes familiarity is good. But it's boring after a while.

Migration, thus, is a way of escaping the repetitive lifestyle and is perceived as a means of providing change. As Heather puts it: "It's a two-year cycle where I think I need a change. And I could easily see myself in two years thinking, 'okay, what next?'" Heather reflects the sentiments Elizabeth S. Goodstein identifies as "the disaffection with the old that drives the search for change", which in turn creates a dissatisfaction produced by the constant drive for change (1; see also Leslie 35 and Salzani 131). Boredom generates a cycle that becomes impossible to break. Heather and her fellow compulsive migrants exhibit a practical application of the intellectual debates on boredom being a driver of change, an engine of creation, and a means of self-improvement (Benjamin 105; Moran 180; Hayes 4).

If boredom is the reason why compulsive migrants keep leaving the places where they have established a sense of belonging, boredom is also the reason why they have several homes throughout their lives. It is the underlying cause for leaving their *original* home as well as every *subsequent* home. Further research is necessary to understand the causes of compulsive migrants' heightened sense of boredom.

Conclusion

Employing in-depth interviews, I created a theoretical framework for compulsive migrants' understandings of home based on their lived experiences. Compulsive migrants have a cosmopolitan drive to explore the world by taking up residence in different countries. These perpetual migrants uproot themselves constantly because they like to engage with the foreign. Exhibiting cosmopolitan mindsets, compulsive migrants thrive in experiencing the unknown — people, places and cultures — while retaining their own values, beliefs and lifestyles. They are excited by the negotiation between foreign cultures and their own. Cosmopolitanism, then, is one reason for compulsive migrants' mobility, but this is not the only factor explaining compulsive migrants' motivations.

Boredom may offer an explanation for the repetitive migration. Compulsive migrants crave challenges. Moving within a city or country, however, does not seem to provide them with the challenges that they require. Their cosmopolitan disposition demands encounters with culturally different environments and people, making international migration their primary solution to bored states of mind. When these new locations inevitably become familiar, however, compulsive migrants experience a renewed lack of challenges, renewing the desire to migrate. For these individuals, boredom creates a never-ending cycle of compulsive migration.

Compulsive migrants use boredom as a coping strategy for dealing with their disillusionment with the world. In this sense, boredom can be a means of escaping a life and lifestyle that is deemed to be unfulfilling. The experience of migration is supposed to fill the void and keep them entertained and challenged. That compulsive migrants continue migrating, however, shows that migration is not the solution to the problem. The boredom that leads to migration ultimately perpetuates the feeling of boredom. Meaning *cannot* be found in migration. It is a temporary escape, a 'quick fix' to a larger existential problem that Martin Heidegger addresses in the "question of Being" (in Giddens 224). Furthermore, while compulsive migrants choose the

lifestyle of migration, they claim that it is not a choice, but a reaction to their desire for self-actualisation.

Compulsive migrants use migration to increase their cultural capital by learning about and integrating with foreign cultures. Giddens calls this the “reflexive project of the self”, a post-traditional form of coping with the challenges of modernity (32). This politics of self-actualisation opens important legal, political, and ethical questions for future cultural research. A better understanding of the underlying reasons for compulsive migration and compulsive migrants’ identity can result in recognition of this group. Furthermore, theories on compulsive migrants may find application to other migrant groups. Many fields could benefit from further exploration, including cultural studies, sociology, psychology, and (immigration and citizenship) law.

This study has taken me through migrant homes and varying degrees of belongings based on cultural identity, friendships, family and familiarity. I have found that the inverse relationship of belonging and excitement places compulsive migrants in an impossible situation: when one belongs, the familiarity leads to boredom; when one is a stranger in a foreign land, the unfamiliar causes excitement. To experience excitement, the compulsive migrant must be in unfamiliar realms, thus leading a long-distance relationship with belonging. A compulsive migrant cannot simultaneously belong *and* experience the thrill of the unknown. Home becomes the point in the middle of the inverse relationship of belonging and excitement.

Home is the short-lived moment when compulsive migrants interact with a culture that provides a sense of belonging based on relationships *before* the culture becomes boring so that their cosmopolitan interest in the wider world is still being met. A new culture offers challenges and excitement but no familiarity and sense of belonging: it is a home in the making. For compulsive migrants to actually *be* at home, a balance between familiarity, the unfamiliar, and belonging must be struck. Which may explain why Geena, Hillary, Luis, and all the other compulsive migrants I interviewed did not know how to define home.

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Tribal Costume of Tripura, India: Witnessing Transformations

Paramita Sarkar, Nilanjana Bairagi

National Institution of Fashion Technology, India

0206

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Abstract

A study on the traditional costume of the tribal women of the Reang community was conducted in the state of Tripura, India. Tripura, a small state in the North Eastern Region of the country with a population of 31,99,203, of which 31.05% belonged to the schedule tribe category. The Reang is the second dominant tribes of Tripura having a population of 1,65,103. The tribal communities are known for its conformity in clothing. Conformity is a process by which individual adapt their behavior to pre-existent norms. It is a form of social interaction within the tribal community in which one tries to maintain standards set by group. The traditional Reang tribal women weave their traditional fabrics on loom, dye yarns in black, brown and white. Their tribe could be identified by the pattern and colour woven in their costume. Their traditional costume consists of two parts the “ria” and the “rigwnai” which are wrapped on the chest and the lower part of the body, respectively. Reang women wear ornament made of silver coins. However, with change in socio-economic status of this community, influence of the culture of neighboring states, certain cultural changes have been observed and can be witnessed in their traditional costume. Traditional dyed yarn has been replaced by factory dyes acrylic yarns available in the market, use of motifs from other tribal communities of that region, use of non-traditional colours etc. It was observed that the draping of the traditional costume varied among individuals in the same community and influences from other culture get reflected in the draping pattern. The younger generation has contemporized the traditional costume. The study focuses on the changes in traditional costume women of the Reang women in the 21st century and correlating it with socio-cultural factors.

INTRODUCTION

Tripura is situated in northeastern part of India. It is surrounded on the north, west, and south by Bangladesh and is accessible to the rest of India through Assam and Mizoram state (Tripura State Portal, 2012). The state has an area of 10,492 sq. km. Tripura was a Princely State until it merged into the Union of India on 15th October 1949. During the last phase of the princely rule by the Manikya dynasty, Tripura witnessed the emergence of a new culture, which was the outcome of the migration from the Colonial Bengal and from the adjoining territories. The flow of immigrants increased in the state during the 1950s' and reached its zenith during the independence movement of Bangladesh in the year 1971 (De, N.).

The population of Tripura is 31,99,203 of whom 31.1% belong to the schedule tribe category. There are about nineteen different tribes living in Tripura. The Tripurias, Jamatia, Noatia, Reang, Halam, Chakmah, Mog, Garo, Munda, Lushai, Oraon, Santhal, Uchai, Khasi, Bhil, Lepcha, Bhutia, Chaimal and Kuki tribes have their own cultural heritage and identity which is reflected in their traditional costume. The Reang is the most primitive tribe of Tripura and has the second largest population after the Tripurias' (De, N.). The uniqueness of the tribal community is expressed in the hand woven textiles, woven in back strap looms.

The transformations on the tribal textiles in the 21st century have not been documented in details. Therefore, the aim of this research is to study the transitions in the tribal costume of Reang women, with the changes in the socio-economic and political factors.

METHODOLOGY

An ethnographic research study is done on the "Reang" (also spelt as "Riang") tribe of Tripura to study the transformations in the traditional costume. Statistical data was collected from the Government Census Office of Agartala, Tripura on the regions and clusters occupied by the "Reang" community prior to sample selection. The selection of the villages is based on factors like concentration of the "Reang" tribe's population, the practice of weaving, accessibility, political stability, mobility and safety of the researcher. Two villages namely "Chakhi kho" and "Bogafa" of the South Tripura district and the state capital Agartala was selected for this study. Personal interviews and observation were used for mode of data collection. Additionally, visual-ethnography was used. Regional weavers' centres were also visited for data collection.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Reang tribal costume

The complete costume, which is worn by the Reang tribal women of Tripura, consists of mainly two parts "rigwnai" and "rishai" or "ria". The fabrics are woven in the loin-loom by women and draped on the body. This kind loom is also found in Mexico, Peru and Guatemala where it is known as the 'back strap loom'. The photograph of a Reang lady

weaving in a loin-loom during 2012 in West Tripura is shown in Figure 1. The loom is made with bamboo sticks and can be folded and kept when not in use. It was observed that mostly the older generations practice weaving, the younger generation know the art but it is not practiced by them. During personal interviews it was mentioned by the younger women that as they focus more on education and personal growth, they do not find time to weave in the traditional lion loom. Weaving is time consuming and it takes minimum 1-2 weeks to weave a single set of ria and rigwnai.



Figure 1 Mazumder. P., 2012. Reang women in traditional costume, practicing weaving, West Tripura, India [Photograph].

Rigwnai

Rgwnai is also known as “pachra”, is a piece of cloth that is wrapped in the lower part (Figure 2 and 3) of the body. Reang and Tripurite tribal women both wear “rigwai. The dimension is generally customised according to the waist measurement of the wearer. The available dimensions are: 43 inch * 66 inch and 45 inch * 55 inch.

Risha or Ria

“Risha” is a narrow piece of cloth which is wrapped over the breast (Figure 2 and 3). The dimension is generally customised according to the bust measurement of the wearer. The dimension of the “riai” can vary from: 46 inch * 12 inch and 50 inch * 12 inch. The ria and rigwnai were originally woven with cotton yarn which were locally grown by shifting cultivation. But with the local availability of factory spun acrylic yarns in bright colours which costs lesser than cotton yarns, the modern rigwnai is woven using acrylic yarns.

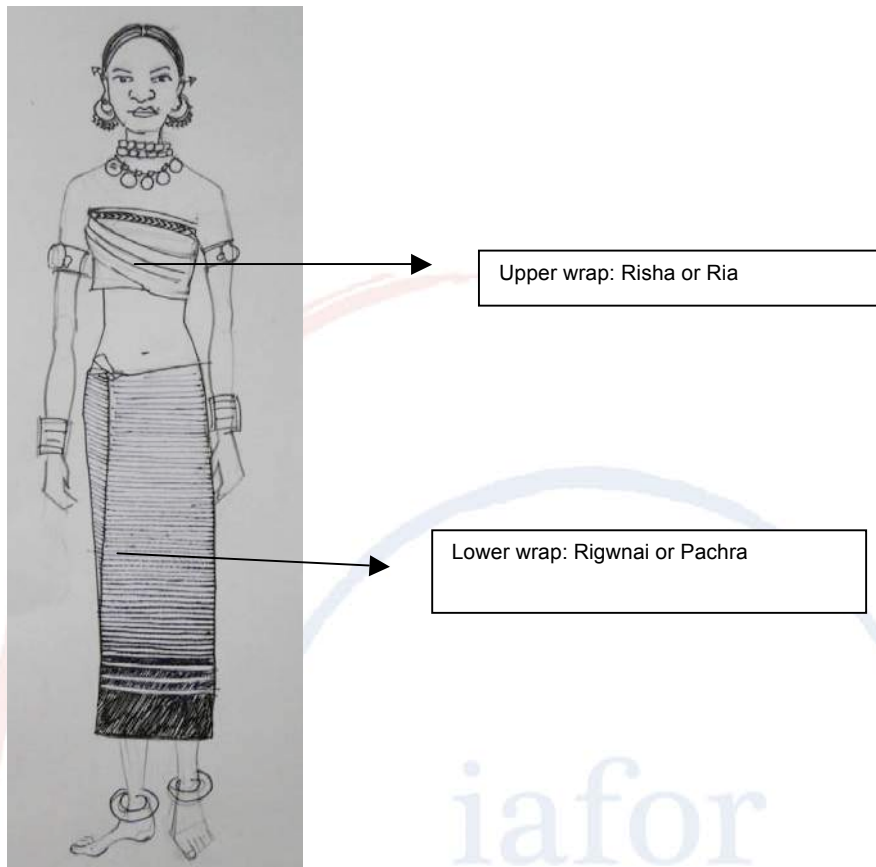


Figure 2 Mazumder, P., 2012. *Reang woman wearing traditional costume*. [Pencil Sketch].

Design preference in traditional costume

Each tribal community have their own design preferences of “rigwnai”. It is observed that the Reang women mostly wear black, brown or blue “rigwnai” with white stripes. Geometric motifs can only be observed at the borders. The motifs are mostly inspired by flora and fauna. The tribal women convert all the inspirations into geometrical forms. Young Reang women in the community wear stripes all over the “rigwnai” whereas the older women wear only stripes or a line of motif on the hem of the “rigwnai”.



Figure 3 Mazumder. P., 2012. Reang women in traditional costume, West Tripura, India [Photograph].

Transformations in traditional costume

Tribal communities are known for their conformity in dressing. It was observed that the elderly Reang women of the family strictly followed the traditional way of dressing where as the younger generation are adding an unique style to the way they are wearing their tradition costume. In recent years the traditional costume of the Reang women has undergone visible changes in the length of the rigwnai, introduction of blouse/ shirt in place of ria, draping styles and colours.

Length of rigwnai

The length of traditional rigwnai is till mid calf length. That length was easy for the women to climb the hills during cotton cultivation. However, with time as the community has shifted to rural planes or urban areas, it is observed that the length has increased to ankle length as shown in Figure 4.



Figure 4 Mazumder. P., 2012. Reang women in traditional wearing rwignai of various length, West Tripura. India [Photograph].

Introduction of new colours and yarn in traditional costume

Traditionally the Ria and Rigwnai are woven on the loin loom using undyed white cotton yarn and dyed black or brown yarn. In recent years use of non-traditional colours like purple, green, red, etc is observed within the Reang community and other tribes residing in Tripura. The Reang women still prefer using white and any one colour, unlike other tribes who use more than two or three colours to weave their textiles. This trend can be observed in the rigwnai swatches shown in Figure 5 and the dressing styles in Figure 6. Moreover, introduction of metallic yarn and acrylic yarn over tradition cotton yarn can also be observed in the modern rigwnai (Figure 5).

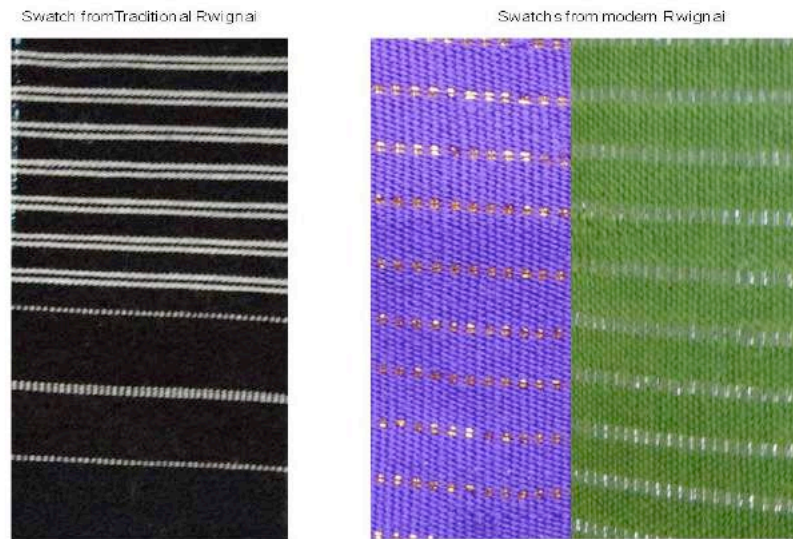


Figure 5 Rwignai swatches, West and South Tripura. India (2012)



Fig 6 Mazumder. P., 2012. Reang women in the traditional costume: Traditional to contemporary colours, South Tripura, India [Photograph].

Ria to Blouse

It can be observed in Figure 6 that the ria has been replaced with stitched blouses. Middle aged women prefer wearing stitched blouses with rigwnai. This has been adapted from the Bengali culture while conforming to the traditional rigwnai. Some women also wear shirts with rigwnai. The younger generation prefers wearing western tops that is imported from the neighbouring countries like China, Korea, Nepal, Malaysia, and Thailand etc. This can be observed in Figure 4 and 6.

New draping styles

It was observed that draping of the traditional costume has changed and new draping styles have been adopted by different age groups. The modern tribal women add her personal touch and styling to dress up as shown in Figure 7. Influence of Bengali culture can also be observed in the new draping styles. Bengalis wear sarees with a "Pallu" that covers the fitted blouse in the front. The ria is replaced with blouse and the traditional ria is used as a "saree pallu" or "dupatta".



Figure 7 Mazumder. P., 2012. Reang women in traditional costume draped in different ways, South Tripura, India [Photograph].

Woven to printed textiles

The modern Reang women also wear printed textiles as "dupattas" with rigwnai. This can be observed in Figure 8. As printed textile is not a part of traditional textile, but with global trends in printed textiles the tribal community also started experimenting with printed "dupattas".

Modern rigwnai with contemporary dupatta



Traditional full length rigwnai with printed dupatta



Fig 8 Mazumder. P., 2012.Reang women in the traditional costume: Use of non-traditional textiles, South Tripura, India [Photograph].

Identity and Reang costume

Each tribal community maintains their own design preferences of colour and motif as mentioned earlier. It is observed that the Reang ladies mostly wear black, brown or blue “rigwnai” with white stripes. Younger women in the community wear stripes all over the “rigwnai”. Whereas, other tribe like the Tripurians, prefer to wear more complicated motifs, all over the “rigwnai” as well as on the borders (Figure 9). Even at present the Reang women conform to their cultural identity through the design of the rigwnai. The younger generation was also found to conform to similar trend in their dressing.

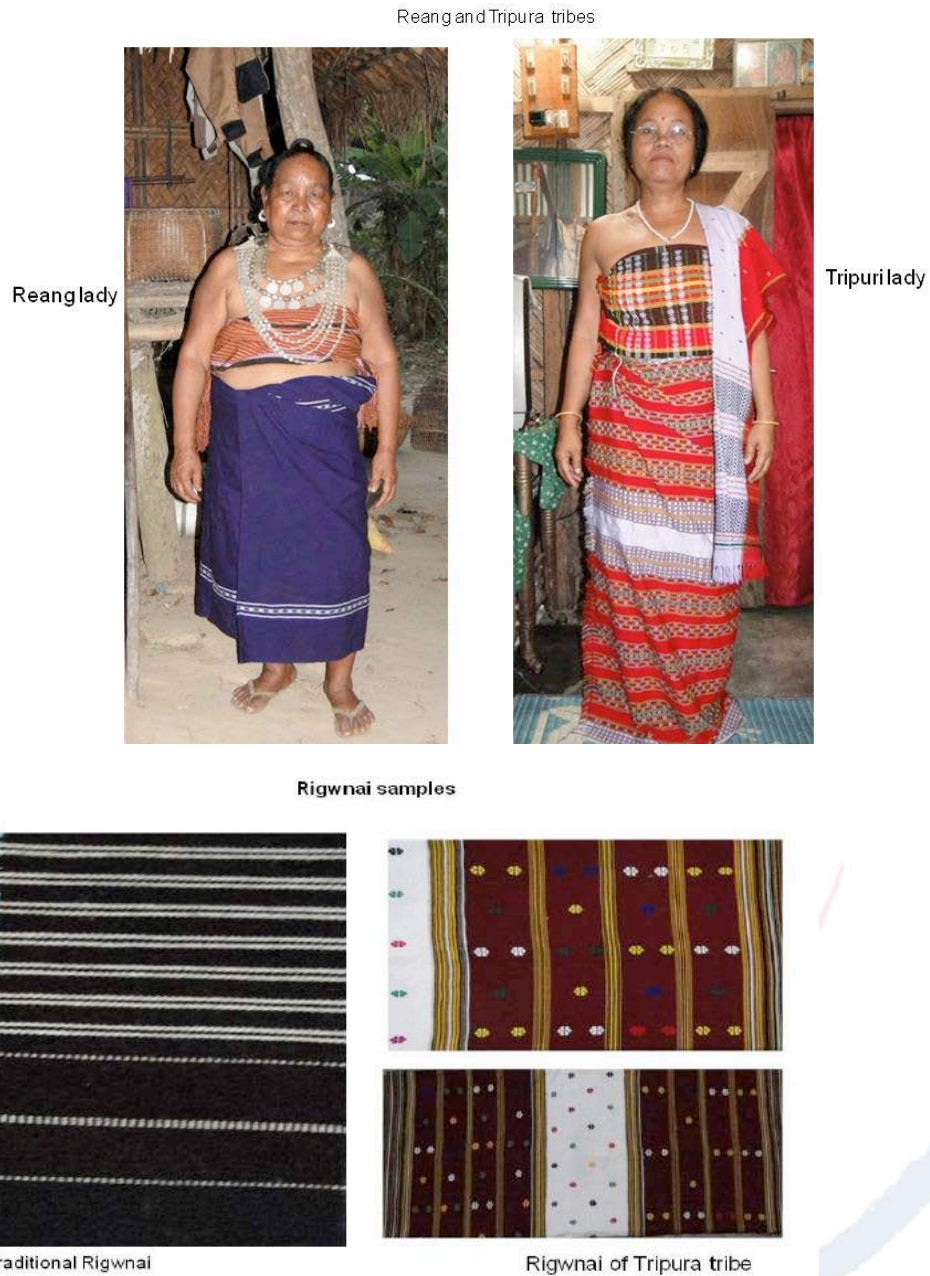


Fig 9 Mazumder. P., 2012. Costume and textiles of the Reang and Tripuri tribe, South Tripura, India [Photograph].

Traditional to modern costume

It was observed during the research that the traditional rigwnai is worn with printed t-shirts by the younger generation. But the cultural identity is maintained by the young women. It is represented by the design in rigwnai as shown in Figure 10. The girls shown

in the photograph 10 belong to three different tribal communities and it can be clearly observed that the design in the rigwnai is different in the three communities.



Fig 10 Mazumder. P., 2012. Examples of Contemporary Costume and textiles of the Reang, Tripuri and Jamatia tribe, South Tripura, India [Photograph].

Factors influencing transformations

It was observed through the study of the lifestyle of the tribal people of Tripura, that the factors influencing the transformations in clothing includes influences from the sectors like political, socio-cultural, media and communication.

- Mixed cultural & political influences:
 - New draping styles are largely influenced by immigration of people from neighboring districts of Bangladesh. Knitted tops imported from neighboring countries like Korea, China, Malaysia and Thailand is accepted by the younger generations.
- Socio-economic influences:
 - With change in socio-economic status of the tribal women there is more disposable income to purchase ready-made clothes. Weaving in lion loom is time consuming and tedious. The younger generation knows the art of weaving, but it is mostly practiced by the older population. As the younger generation is taking up formal education they are also influenced by the global dressing trends.
- Mass-media influences:

- Moreover, due to impact of mass-media (television, internet and mobile phones which is available now) on the younger generation, it has influenced them to contemporize their dressing style.

CONCLUSIONS

Tripura has been mainly a tribal region, but with the passing of time and growing cultural contact with the neighboring areas, as the population of non-tribal people has steadily increased in the state their influence is also reflected in the Reang tribe. People of different parts of India are also settled in Tripura for job and education. Even tribal from other northeastern states like Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland can also be found travelling or residing in the state. The Reang tribal women community maintains their own design preferences of colour, stripes and motifs. With change in socio-economic status of the tribal women certain cultural changes has been observed and reflection of the same can be witnessed in their traditional costume. The traditional black and white colour are taken over by bright colours like, red, green and shades of blue in the rigwnai. Draping of the traditional “ria” has changed to stitched blouses/ shirts. The stripes in the rigwnai which are a mark of identity of the Reang it is still preserved with the contemporary tribal costume. The modern tribal women add her personal touch and styling while dressing. Selection of the printed fabrics for stole/ dupatta shows the acceptance of other cultures and global trends. Young women were observed to be more experimental with clothing, than the older women who still prefer more traditional costumes. In spite of transformations, Reang women preserve their cultural identity in the rigwnai.

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How to be a Chinese Woman? Reflections from Chinese Self-help Literature

Amy Lee Wai Sum

Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong

0277

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Abstract

A number of prominent studies have been conducted regarding the proliferation of self-help literature in American society since the 1960s. These studies, usually from a feminist perspective, ascribe the genre's widespread popularity to the growing financial and social independence of women who, as a result, seek to gain greater control over various aspects of their lives. What these studies make clear, however, is that this self-help literature, whether unthinkingly or by design, is itself significantly prejudiced by the power of consumer marketing, whose aim is to sell goods and services irrespective of any actual benefits accruing to those women who are induced to purchase them. Self-help literature of this kind trades off an already established image of the female subject, and thereby tends to reinforce and perpetuate it. It does not attempt to create a diagnostic approach to the prevailing image, let alone alert its readers to the possibility that there might be other, more enduring achievements to which they could aspire.

A similar proliferation of self-help literature in Chinese, especially from Taiwan, emerged in the 1990s, which has in turn stimulated an interest in self-help literature in Hong Kong. This paper aims to study a selected number of such literature, to analyze the "female self" it both reflects and underpins through the advice it gives and the ideas it discusses. These manuals or personal sharing formats cover a range of topics relating to urban women's life and work, including relationships, appearance, lifestyle, spiritual growth, finance, health, and so forth. Taken together, this provides a broad grasp of the fashion in which the female subject and her needs are perceived. This paper will subject this perception to a thorough critical analysis with a view to evaluating its role in popular culture.

A number of prominent studies have been conducted regarding the proliferation of self-help literature in American society since the 1960s. These studies, usually from a feminist perspective, ascribe the genre's widespread popularity to the growing financial and social independence of women who, as a result, seek to gain greater control over various aspects of their lives. What these studies make clear, however, is that this self-help literature, whether unthinkingly or by design, is itself significantly prejudiced by the power of consumer marketing, whose aim is to sell goods and services irrespective of any actual benefits accruing to those women who are induced to purchase them. Self-help literature of this kind trades off an already established image of the female subject, and thereby tends to reinforce and perpetuate it. It does not attempt to create a diagnostic approach to the prevailing image, let alone alert its readers to the possibility that there might be other, more enduring achievements to which they could aspire.

With the success of a number of internationally popular self-help books, such as the by now iconic *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus* (John Gray 1992), in Hong Kong, the city has also cultivated its own self-help book market. A proliferation of self-help literature in Chinese, mostly written by Taiwan writers, emerged in the 1990s, forming the basis of a self-help literature in Hong Kong. This presentation is a preliminary study of such literature in Hong Kong, aiming to analyze the "female self" it both reflects and underpins through the advice it gives and the ideas it discusses. These manuals or personal sharing formats cover a range of topics relating to urban women's life and work, including relationships, appearance, lifestyle, spiritual growth, finance, health, and so forth. Taken together, this provides a broad grasp of the fashion in which the female subject and her needs are perceived. This presentation will subject this perception to a critical analysis with a view to evaluating its role in popular culture.

While Chinese self-help books in the form of *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus* is a relatively recent phenomenon in Hong Kong, the demand for advice for women from "experts" of various kinds have been present for much longer. The local print media, including newspapers, the weekly entertainment magazines (e.g. *Xin Dianshi* 新電視, *Jin Dianshi* 金電視, *Xianggang Dianshi* 香港電視) and the monthly fashion magazines (e.g. the Chinese version of *International Fashion Magazines* such as *Cosmopolitan* which first issue was published in 1984 in Hong Kong, and it was the first of its kind then) featured sections where in-house editors or guest editors will select letters from readers and respond. Usually these sections were called "Madame so-and-so Mailbox" although it was not known whether the actual person selecting letters and writing responses was a woman or not. The content of these readers' letters covered quite a range, from teenage girls asking for information about their idols, to young women seeking advice about how to handle problems in their relationships, to housewives inquiring ways to deal with children, husband and housework, depending mainly on the nature of the newspaper columns and the magazines.

Besides the print media, the local TV stations also had specific programmes targeting housewives. These programmes (e.g. *Funu Xinzi* 婦女新姿 – "New Information for Women") were usually aired in the afternoon, right between the two main meals of the day, and also a time when children were at school and the mother would have the leisure to sit down and relax. Since the target audience was the housewife, each

episode usually contained information that a regular housewife would find interesting and useful, such as demonstration of cooking, experts explaining how to handle tricky chores at home, health tips, simple exercises which could be done at home, doctors to answer phone-in questions about various health conditions, and sometimes performances by/interviews with local celebrities. These afternoon programmes were very good illustrations of how the needs and identity of housewives were perceived because the target audience in this period was so obvious and exclusive. In the past 3 decades or so, foreign domestic helpers from the Philippines and Indonesia had increasingly become an important member of the local Hong Kong family, but it is not very likely that their interests would affect very much the content of the TV programmes aired in the afternoon when housewives will be free to watch.

From this very brief sketch of the situation of reader-responding print media in the form of newspaper columns and magazine sections, as well as the obviously housewife-targeting TV programmes in Hong Kong, it can be seen that giving advice to women, to help them with problems they encounter - or to put it in another way, the idea that women need advice from experts on various aspects of their daily life - has a history in Hong Kong. The emergence of Chinese self-help books is therefore not a completely new thing in terms of the general perception of women, although the target readers of this particular form of literature is more precise and the range of issues tackled is narrower given the clearly-identified target readers. And who are the target readers of these books? Obviously it would be someone who frequent bookstores, who is accustomed to getting information from books, perhaps because of flexibility in terms of time, and someone who has a mind to “help”/ “improve” oneself. The profile of target readers for self-help books is not that of full time home markers who have a few hours of leisure when the children are at school, but full time working women who may have encountered different problems and conditions in their lives, including workplace, relationship, health maintenance and finance etc. These books present themselves as direct, specific, and professional source of information to help solve various problems in these full-time working women’s lives. Because of the “professional” nature of these books, the qualifications of the writers becomes an important part of the marketing – it is no longer enough to have just the in-house writer/editor to answer readers’ questions, in most cases, the academic or professional qualifications of the author determines the sales of the book.

While self-help books have frequently made the best-seller lists, it is impossible to analyze and discuss thoroughly the types and contents of this genre within this paper. Allow me to briefly describe the main types as classified by the identity of the authors:

1. professionals/experienced administrators giving working women advice on workplace strategy;
2. medical professionals/gurus giving advice to all women concerning health and beauty;
3. famous stylists advising women on ways to present themselves;
4. psychologists/relationship gurus teaching women how to seek and maintain good relationship with the opposite sex;
5. celebrities, famous column writers teaching women how to find happiness.

Sometimes there are also books offering advice on a combination of health, happiness, relationship, beauty, and success in life. In the following, I have selected two

examples as a starting point to see what kind of advice is given to urban working Chinese women in areas of relationship, healthy and beauty, wellbeing, and workplace practice in the belief that these Chinese self-help books are giving the Chinese female readers a picture of the “proper” way to behave, a standard of what successful women should be like. From an analysis of the content and perhaps the way the content is presented, we can have an idea of what contemporary Chinese women are encouraged to be. The two selected examples are:

1. *To Become a Woman of Quality* (Li Ka Man 2006)
2. *The 40 Selves to Be for a Happy Woman* (Sha Sha 2012)

To Become a Woman of Quality (2006)

Although the title of the book sounds like a general advice manual for all women who want to become a woman of quality, it is in fact a book targeting working women specifically. The design of the book, and the highlight of topics on the cover all point to the workplace and qualities valued in the workplace. At this point, some readers may not feel comfortable about the exclusiveness of the book – what about women not working? Does it mean that only women with a paid job can become quality women? The author Li Ka Man is an academic working in one of the universities in Hong Kong, and she has also contributed to columns in local newspapers. Since her area is corporate communication and specifically organizational behavior, this book belongs to the type in which experts in the field give professional advice to women. The author’s other books, namely *To Enhance Your Work Wisdom* (2005), *Manage Yourself, and You Can Manage the Others* (2007), are also manuals giving women advice concerning their behavior in the workplace.

The preface describes the context which gives rise to the book – the complexity of being a woman in our society today. It says,

Yes, we are amazing, our own special characteristics, the multiplicity of our environment, social norms, the rise of old and new values, the multiple roles we assume, and the impacts of interaction among these different forces, altogether create a complex internal and external existence for women. Contemporary women navigate among multiple roles, having to be capable, decisive, quick-witted, determined, but also gentle, beautiful, dainty, and considerate; needing to dedicate to the job, the family, and manage the various human relations; having to be presentable and a good housewife at the same time. In the midst of all these role negotiations, women still need to wear high heels, driving full force in work, and yet to spare the time to do yoga, pilates, facials, work out at the gym, spa, have high tea, etc. In the whole world, besides women, there is no other living creature with such stamina. (*my translation*)

This description is interesting, especially placed at the beginning of the book, because it becomes a standard to which women should aspire. It is saying, because this is the complex and difficult and very demanding position women are expected to take in the Hong Kong society, readers will need to know how to better negotiate that position, thus the book is going to make suggestions to help.

The preface continues,

It's true that being a woman is not easy. It is a vivid description of the position of contemporary women. But as a woman, facing internal and external impacts and pressures, besides sighing "it is not easy to be a woman", is there no room to push ourselves forward? Exactly what kind of woman should we become? This is a very important but often neglected question. Once this question is answered, the core of our life's direction can be grasped.
(*my translation*)

So far, it is quite clear that the book is going to suggest ways to become a woman of quality, not in terms of acquiring an attractive appearance, but in cultivating certain qualities that will give substance to the person. But when it asks "exactly what kind of woman should we become", who is to decide? If it is up to the individual readers to have their say as to what kind of woman they want to become, then a book such as this one will be impossible to write, since there can be infinite possibilities and only very general guidelines could be given. In this 157-page book which speaks to working women about ways of becoming a woman of quality in the workplace, what we see is a rather specific approach to present oneself and strategies to handle different situations. In other words, the suggestions are acknowledging a specific image as the woman of quality, and are helping women to meet the pre-set requirements of that image.

So how can one be the multi-tasker who is dedicated to work, and still finds the time to take care of the family, and to enjoy yoga, pilates, facial, spa, the gym, and high tea? The book divides the suggestions into 5 parts:

Part 1: It's not easy to be a woman (it is about how a woman in the workplace can master the difficult position of being a female supervisor)

Part 2: From appearance to cultivatedness (it explains that beauty is not only referring to one's appearance, but also one's manner, taste, upbringing, and suggesting ways of presenting these other aspects of beauty in the workplace)

Part 3: Non-verbal communication (it contains various issues about communication in the workplace, including how to speak effectively, how to listen, understanding different colleagues' communication style, how to face criticism, and how to consolidate one's position in the workplace)

Part 4: Thinking and management (it contains issues about thinking, including gender, how to breakthrough old modes, good time management, and target-oriented working habits)

Part 5: Interview strategies (it gives some reminders about job interviews)

I am not going to go into details about all the suggestions. From the topics alone, it is already quite clear that the woman of quality is one who is efficient, a good communicator, someone who knows when to keep a distance with one's colleagues, and one who is not afraid to present her ideas and achievements to the right person. These are reasonable suggestions, from the author's own experience as well as from research findings. In fact, these suggestions are quite typical of this kind of manual offering advice to working women about etiquette and good practices in the workplace. My interest in them here is not whether they are practicable, or even whether they are good suggestions or not. This book, as a representative example of this kind of literature for the Chinese female readers, describes a female image which is unquestioned but claimed to be ideal, and then goes on to present ways for

women to become that approved image. Nowhere in the book is this “woman of quality” image questioned, and it is simply taken as universally accepted. It becomes almost a standard against which women may measure themselves, to see what they are lacking to be a woman of quality. A lot of working women may need to strive very hard to meet the requirements, but non-working women (if they get a chance to read the book) will be left wondering whether a paid job is the basic requirement for acquiring quality.

While *To Become a Woman of Quality* (2006) may target female readers who have a paid job, *The 40 Selves to be for a Happy Woman* (2012) seems to be more inclusive in its target readers.

On the cover of the book, it is stated that the author is “magic-performer Sha Sha”, and her title is “new generation relationship coach” indicating that she is an expert on gender relations in the new age. Her full name is not given, and from the inside cover, we know that this book is already her third one in a series of books giving women advice as to how to secure happiness – the previous two books bearing the title of *40 Things to Do to be a Happy Woman* (2010), and *40 Attitudes that a Happy Woman Should Adopt* (2011). It is not difficult to imagine the content of these books, so obviously suggested by the titles. In fact, the author introduction gives us a hint of the central belief in this series of manuals for women to live a happy life. It says, “Sha Sha believes that a lot of women lack confidence, and do not dare to pursue the life they want, thus missing a lot of happiness and joy which they rightfully should possess. She wishes to share her own confidence and courage when facing life with all female friends through this book, so that all women can understand that a woman should have the courage to be herself, and that only she herself can be her own mistress!” (*my translation*) In other words, the core belief of the book is that if a woman knows how to be herself, and has the courage to do that, she will lead a happy life.

It sounds really simple, because the user manual (if we see the book as such) is merely teaching women how to BE THEMSELVES. But it is also this seemingly simple principle of the book that makes the reading so ironic. First of all, it is suggesting that (some, perhaps) women are not happy because they are not being themselves; and so to follow up on that problem, the simple and logical solution will be to find this “own self” and become it again. In the 270 pages of the book, the author has delineated 4 aspects for women to work on finding this self and living it. Advice on these four aspects make up the 4 parts of the book: Part 1, Inner Heart, women’s talk; Part 2: Personal Charm, to nurture the inside as well as the outside, to make the inside synchronize with the outside; Part 3: Emotions, the unbearable heaviness of life; and Part 4, Living, to be an all-round woman. These pages of advice are supposed to tell the unhappy female readers that they are not happy because for some reason or another, they have not been themselves, and through reading the advice on these pages, they will know the way to be themselves again, and have the confidence to live a life of happiness. At this point, the questions one has about the situation of these unhappy women may include, how do they come to depart from themselves and end up being unhappy? And also how can the content of the book help them overcome the obstacles to their real selves and happiness? If these women do not know that the cause of their unhappiness/discontent is that they have not been themselves, then how would they know that they have become themselves

again after heeding the advice and following the instructions? I am basically puzzled by how they will know that they are “being themselves” again **if that has to be taught and does not come naturally?**

Let’s examine the contents of the book to see what kind of advice Sha Sha is giving Chinese women so that they can be their own selves again and pursue happiness.

There are 10 topics in Part 1, *Inner Heart*:

1. What kind of woman do you want to be?
2. Master happiness, be the mistress of your own emotions
3. Do not live in other people’s expectations, be brave to be yourself
4. Occasionally enjoy a trip with your own self
5. Put yourself down at suitable times, but never demean yourself
6. Be a woman who can forgive others
7. Why can’t one indulge oneself occasionally?
8. There is no string attached to doing good, do it when you feel like it
9. Set a life goal for yourself
10. Learn to enjoy your own company (*my translation*)

Assuming that these topics are good representations of the actual content of the advice given, this part seems to be mainly on the WORK one has to do on oneself, such as learning about oneself, to be in control, to like oneself, to indulge and be kind to oneself, to like being on one’s own. While the advice does not sound out of the ordinary in our individualistic and almost egocentric society now, further examination of the various parts of the book may yield a contradiction, making it a bit difficult to understand what exactly “to be oneself” means – especially when this is the central principle of the book teaching women how to secure happiness. In the contents page, there is a small paragraph of introduction prior to the 10 principles listed above, as a kind of summary of what this part embodies. It says:

If you cannot change the world, then you have to change your heart! There are a lot of things in this world we cannot control, but we can **master ourselves**. A lot of women cannot face the many problems in life with a peaceful attitude, ending up in a troubled and irritated mental state. Actually, if only we adopt a different perspective to look at the world, and change our inner hearts, everything will be untangled. Sisters, if you want to be a true and happy person, why not start from changing your own inner hearts? (*my translation*)

Again, there is nothing strange or out of the ordinary in the advice given here – there are so many things we cannot control in life, therefore in order to lead a happy (or at least peaceful life), we have to learn to adjust ourselves in our way of thinking, in our way of understanding the world. This is called positive thinking. Readers of the book are probably all quite familiar with the sensible message and the vocabulary used to convey the message here. But if we put this introductory summary of Part 1 together with the 10 main topics of Part 1, and recall the central belief in this book, namely to be truly ourselves, then it becomes confusing.

Why is it confusing? The cover, the title and the chapter headings all suggest that the cause of women not leading a happy life is that women are not brave enough to be themselves. So the book is trying to teach women to be themselves so that they can be happy (which is problematic already). But the advice given concerning how to be

themselves involves changing their hearts, their ways of thinking, their approach to life, because the world is not changeable but our selves are. In order to be truly ourselves, we need to make an effort to change, according to Sha Sha. But how do we know that we have finally changed to become our true self? If the current state of our selves is not the true one, and work has to be done, then how do we know that after working on our attitudes, our approaches to life, our emotional well-being, just as Sha Sha has suggested, then we shall arrive at a state that we can safely called our true self?

I am not saying that advice given by this author, which in fact is echoed in the majority of self-help literature for men and for women, is not going to work. It may or may not work, although if it is effective, then probably it is not practiced as new books keep coming out talking about the same problems in life, and are offering the same advice to counter these problems. As Chinese self-help literature (whether written by Taiwan writers, like this one, or by local Hong Kong writers, like the previous one) frequently make the best-seller lists, we can assume that there is a great demand for this kind of books, which lead us to believe that a lot of people believe that they are not happy enough to try to amend the situation. But if these books are read, and still there is the demand, it might mean that the advice is either not followed because it is not regarded as effective, or too difficult to follow, thus the continual demand for such self-help literature (and interestingly of course, the same advice in different packaging). There is almost a cycle here of readers being told that they are not happy enough, and they are persuaded to find a solution to this seeming unhappiness by following the advice given in this type of books called self-help literature. The continual great demand for these books also seems to suggest that the state of discontent felt by the readers has not been eliminated and has generated further demand for such books, and thus it goes on.

In Part 2, Personal Charm, the 10 topics are:

1. Be responsible for your own appearance
2. Be a sensitive and sensible woman
3. Find the beauty that becomes you, and do not blindly follow fashion
4. Make yourself more feminine
5. Never stop enriching and improving yourself
6. Make your manners more elegant
7. Sharpen your gazes and heighten your concentration
8. Keep smiling, and be sincere
9. Be a charming woman
10. Make yourself more eloquent

Again, the list of topics is probably what readers of this kind of literature will expect. And the expectedness is interesting because it is promoting a rather conventional female image – one has to pay attention to one's appearance, to maintain a feminine and elegant manner, even paying attention to details such as the gaze, the smile, the demeanor. Women are encouraged to enrich and improve themselves and be sensible, but the overall impression is that happiness has a lot to do with cultivating a feminine image, which is also a conventional expectation from our society. And it is also worth thinking how conforming to our society's expectations of femininity is true to oneself, not forgetting that is the core belief claimed by the book.

Part 3: Emotions

1. Believe in love, and be brave to love
2. Love your family for life
3. Be a woman who can maintain the temperature of romantic love
4. Become a good woman, let your family love you more
5. Have good female and male friends
6. Say no to men's obsession to control at times
7. Keep a suitable distance in love
8. Like yourself, pamper yourself
9. Learn to appreciate, cherish what you have and be content
10. Be a woman who knows how to maintain a marriage

Here in the section about emotions, again very common and expectedly sensible advice is given. Whether the advice will work really depends on the individual situation, but what is striking again is the sense of some "standard" feminine qualities which are advisable to acquire, not to say some standard ideologies to observe such as the centrality of heterosexual romantic relationship. Instead of daring to be oneself, it seems that readers are encouraged to meet these conventional expectations of our society.

Part 4: Living

1. Maintain a balance among work, family and living
2. Keep a healthy body
3. Maintain an optimistic attitude, live positively
4. Keep an interest in work, and do not work for money
5. Be a woman who knows finance management
6. Keep the habit of working out
7. Keep your promises
8. Build your own belief/faith
9. Cultivate multiple interests
10. Cultivate the habit of keeping a diary

Finally the section on Living – I am not arguing against maintaining a healthy body, or cultivating different interests, or even learning finance management. What I am wondering is how the advice (whether easy or difficult to carry out) can assist women to be their true selves.

After a preliminary review of two examples of Chinese self-help books, one written for the specific working women readers, and the other for more general readership, we notice a few features of these books:

1. Although they are not translations from other cultures, there are no specific discussions relating to cultural background when women are given advice as to how to behave and what to want. In giving readers advice to be a successful working woman or a happy woman, the cultural identity does not occupy a noticeable position. It could be because the self-help manuals/books itself has an Anglo-American origin, and the Hong Kong society is westernized enough to allow this culture to take root and flourish here – at least for the group of readers who will seek and buy this kind of books.
2. Although there are no specifications about the age group of target readers, from the topics of discussion, these two examples are mainly targeting adult working

women. The reader is assumed to be leading a busy life, trying to strike a balance between work and family. She is also assumed to be heterosexual, and marriage and family is assumed to be the norm the reader aspires to. And although maintenance of health is mentioned, more space is devoted to maintenance of an attractive appearance and demeanour. Overall, what is given in these two books is a generally approved image of women, and ways to mold oneself to fit that expected image.

3. Finally, although these books claim to be offering advice about the formation of individual identities to their readers, they seem not to be offering any alternative routes outside the mainstream consumerist environment. In fact, the self-help book itself becomes another fast-growing commodity side by side with the other self-fashioning commodities and services in Hong Kong.

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The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The logo is surrounded by several overlapping, curved lines in shades of blue and red, creating a circular, abstract design.

*Measuring the Perspectives of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) ' Employees
on Career Development, Engagement and Retention*

Bidayatul Akmal Mustafa Kamil*¹, Zabeda Abdul Hamid*²
Datin Dr. Junaidah Hashim*²

*¹Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia, *²International Islamic University Malaysia

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Abstract

This study validates the hypothesized interrelationships among constructs of career development, engagement and retention. The 450 collected data were responded by employees who work as academicians in Malaysian higher education institutions (HEIs). To test the relationship of the constructs, the study employs full structural equation modeling (SEM) test using Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS) data fitting program of version 18th. The results indicate that retention is directly influenced and significantly affected by career development and engagement. The result provides empirical support for a positive relationship between constructs.

Keywords: Career Development, Engagement, Retention, Higher Education Institutions (HEIs)

1.0 Introduction

Education in Malaysia is appearing as to formulate the societies in the direction of the capacity on speedy and resourceful awareness to the economic changes. A life-long education development cultivate Malaysians with the ability to consider and doing more for the community in their sphere. In an insightful forecast of education, the government policies place a high precedence on growing openness to higher education to create a critical mass of qualified, capable, and conversant workforce that would endure economic growth, increase competitiveness, and support a knowledge-based economy (M. Sadiq and Salina, 2009). However, the loss of skilled employees at Malaysian higher education institutions (HEIs) is worrying. The numbers given by the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE, 2011b) show that there are increasing results of total academic staffs in both Malaysian public and private HEIs every year. But then according to Nik Maheran et al. (2009), Malaysian government still has often expressed its concern at the high turnover of academic staff in HEIs. Consequently, it is essential in addressing the critical success factors that will help to abolish gaps and shortages in skills, knowledge and aptitudes of employees.

In view of the large outlays concomitant with employee turnover, human resource managers need to work out human resource policies that empower them to retain their talented employees (Horwitz et al., 2003). Retaining key organizational capacity necessitates joined-up thinking, a clear business-driver link, and a worthy covenant of thought and energy (Glen, 2006). The employee career development (Chowwen, 2004 and 2007) and their engagement (Baumruk 2004) within the organization are seen would help the HEIs to stay and forget about their intention to leave. According to Newstorm (2007) the assurance of the employees to remain with the organization is tougher and lengthier when they experience their personal success. The lack of career advancement prospects in careers has been researched as one of the reasons professionals become dissatisfied with their jobs and leave companies (Crawford, 2002). This study is intentionally to identify the relationship of employee career development and engagement towards retention based on the perspectives of their own employees. Before further discussions, the scope of study among higher education industry in Malaysia is briefly expounded.

2.0 Higher Education Institutions in Malaysia (HEIs)

The remarkable growth of higher education institutions in Malaysia can be grasped when the country are struggling hard to completely exploited the mission “to develop and put in place a higher education environment that encourages the growth of premier knowledge centers and individuals who are competent, innovative with high moral values to meet national and international needs” (MOHE, 2011a). The evolution of the higher education sector can be seen through cumulative number of students’ admission; increasing amount of higher learning institutions both public and private; the upturn of government expenses; additional policies by the ministry in encouraging education; and the incessant needs of human capital on in the country. At the moment, there are 20 public universities and 23 private universities registered under Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) in Malaysia. The achievement of worldwide respect as a favored destination for tertiary and higher education, Malaysia are presently ranked 11th worldwide by UNESCO for its appeal to students, the number of international students at both public and private HEIs. It has increased

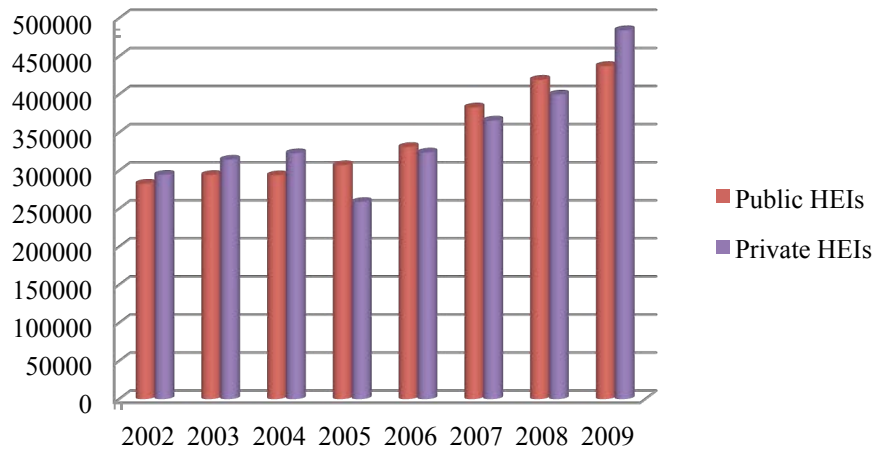
expressively from less 20,000 in 1995 to more than 90,000 in 2009 (MOHE, 2011b). The increased facts also encourage other countries to learn from Malaysia on how it becomes the regional education hub of Asia.

Table 1: List of Higher Education Institutions in Malaysia (University Level)

Public University		Private University	
1.	University of Malaya	1.	AIMST University
2.	Science University of Malaysia	2.	Al-Madinah International University
3.	National University of Malaysia	3.	Asia e University
4.	Universiti Putra Malaysia	4.	International Centre for Education in Islamic Finance
5.	Universiti Teknologi Malaysia	5.	INTI International University
6.	International Islamic University Malaysia	6.	Malaysia University of Science and Technology
7.	Universiti Utara Malaysia	7.	Management and Science University
8.	Universiti Malaysia Sarawak	8.	Manipal International University Malaysia
9.	Universiti Malaysia Sabah	9.	Multimedia University
10.	Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris	10.	Premier International University Perak
11.	Islamic Science University of Malaysia	11.	Taylor's University
12.	Universiti Teknologi MARA	12.	Universiti Antarabangsa AlBukhary
13.	University of Malaysia Terengganu	13.	Universiti Industri Selangor
14.	Tun Hussein Onn University of Malaysia	14.	Universiti Kuala Lumpur
15.	University of Technical Malaysia Melaka	15.	International Medical University
16.	University of Malaysia Pahang	16.	Universiti Teknologi Kreatif Limkokwing
17.	University of Malaysia Perlis	17.	Universiti Teknologi Petronas
18.	Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin	18.	Universiti Tenaga Nasional
19.	Universiti Malaysia Kelantan	19.	Universiti Terbuka Malaysia
20.	Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia	20.	Open University Malaysia
		21.	Universiti Tun Abdul Razak
		22.	Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman
		23.	UCSI University

Sources: MOHE (2011c)

Figure 1: Total Enrolment of Students in Public Higher Education Institutions (Public HEIs) and Private Higher Education Institutions (Private HEIs)



Sources: MOHE (2011b)

3.0 Theoretical Background

According to Saks (2006), more engaged employees are more confident of their employers and by the attitudes and intentions to report a more positive about the organization. HEIs must be observant that an organization should not invest in human capital only when they expect to return on investment. The most engaged workers are often defined as an emotional and intellectual commitment to the organization (Baumruk, 2004) or the amount of success exhibited by the employee pleasure in their work (Frank et al., 2004) and employee engagement usually predicts intention to quit (Saks, 2006). Karlowicz and Ternus (2009) who studied nurses' intention to leave the organization found that the lack of engagement is one of the most important issues causative to intention to quit. Therefore, the involvement of work-related attitudes, intentions and behavior of employees (Saks, 2006) at HEIs can be used as a tool to shrink their intention to walk away. According to Bhatnagar (2007), employee engagement is the most effective way to retain the employees. Simpson (2009) also found the same result by Karlowicz and Ternus (2009) in which the research is to bring greater results in turnover cognitions are directly correlated with lower work participation levels.

Instead of that, HEIs should realize that career satisfaction for each individual in the organization is very intently associated and significant to the expansion of their careers (Chowwen, 2004 and 2007). Revealed by Glen (2006), holding employees that should take into account is crucial for labor force performance because it may be harmful to the future success. Maertz and Griffeth (2004) recommended that motivational forces should reward employees to let them stay. The eighth from ninth elements by Moncarz et al. (2008) also listed employee performance assessment and development as one of the motivating factors. The commitment of employees to remain in the organization is stronger and longer when they experience their own career development and success (Newstorm, 2007).

3.1 Employee Retention

Defined by Harris (2000), retention is the process in which employees are encouraged to stay in organization. As a practical substance, with small turnover, each employee who is retained means one less employee to have to be recruited, selected and trained (Mathis and Jackson, 2003). Organization like HEIs also need to create an environment in which employee would be willing to stay by distinguishing their commitment (Harris, 2000). According to Maertz and Griffeth (2004), retention factors depend on the impact of “motivational forces”. Moncarz et al. (2008, p.454) listed that are: organizational mission, goals and direction; employee recognition, rewards and compensation; work environment and job design hires and promotions; training corporate culture and communication are required to positively influence employee retention and tenure.

Cash is not going to be adequate to keep individuals at HEIs. If employees do not like the way they are treated in the organization or having problem with the people they work with, they will leave of absence (Logan, 2000). As recommended by Sarvadi (2007), organization had better study employees’ desire through their feelings, capabilities and success towards the organization. When employees initiate that their actions for the organization fulfil the desire or criteria, they will begin to cultivate sense of belonging to the organization. Geering and Conor (2002) is also true when they suggested that employers should fulfill the personal and practical needs of employees; because people will work based on the way they are treated by the organization (Logan, 2000).

3.2 Career Development

A career as defined by Hall (2002) is embryonic sequence of a fairly random set of experiences over time or in other words, it is lifelong series of role-related experiences of individuals. Some employees reach a stage in their careers when they are not sure what ranges are available or what is suitable for them. It is important for employees to ponder about their career development on their own especially at these days there are more people prefer individualistic career management (Baruch, 2006). Through career development, an employee can set and work towards their own goals, creating movement and capable in promoting their own career satisfaction (Lent and Brown, 2006).

Recently, career development turn out to be an increasing demand to put a stability between satisfying the individual and organizational needs. Employees have extremely different ideas about career issues in contrast with employees in the previous. There is currently an increasing acceptance that both the organization and the individual have important roles to play in employee career development (Baruch, 2003 and 2006). This stance views career development as a key strategic asset for the future of organizations where the strategic direction of the organization integrates the individual expectations on career progress and development (Baruch, 2003, 2006; Peck, 1994; Sonnenfield and Peiperl, 1988). The awareness about employees’ competencies and readiness to attain and learn new skills could be utilized to the advantage of both parties (e.g. academicians and HEIs administrators). Career development then is more about the means by which people achieve their career goals.

The organization initiatives on employee career development become an important instrument in determining whether an organization will have the skills and knowledge when it needs them (Martin et al., 2001). HEIs should track career paths and develop their employees' career ladders. Werner and DeSimone (2006) suggest organizations to advocate ongoing performance feedback programs; align rewards with performance; and encourage professionals to take ownership of their careers. Managing employee career development is no more entirely HEIs' responsibilities. The notion that individuals are also responsible to cater and to build their own careers has been well documented (Baruch 2004). Hence, career development should be joint effort between the individual employee and the organization. It is the outcome of the interaction amongst individual career planning and organizational career management process.

3.3 Engagement

Harter et al. (2002, p. 269) defined the term employee engagement as "involvement and satisfaction with as well as enthusiasm for work". The most academic approaches to employee engagement form the skeleton from: Kahn's (1990) need-satisfying approach; Maslach et al. (2001) burnout-antithesis approach; May et al. (2004) satisfaction-engagement approach; and Sak's (2006) multidimensional approach. Agreeing to Kahn (1990), employees who keep engage with work will express themselves physically, cognitively and emotionally. In Maslach et al. (2001), engagement is felt at three levels: the emotional, the cognitive and the physical. May et al. (2004) build the term engagement based on initial work of Kahn (1990): meaningfulness, availability and safety constructs. Though Saks (2006) proposed his own model of employee engagement entailing of antecedents such as job characteristics, perceived organizational support, perceived supervisor support, rewards and recognition, procedural justice and distributive justice. This study is done based on Schaufeli et al. (2006) which operational the concept of engagement based on vigor, dedication and absorption:

- (a) Vigor is characterized by high levels of energy and mental resilience while working and by the willingness and ability to invest effort in one's work.
- (b) Dedication is considered by a sense of significance, enthusiasm, inspiration, pride, and challenge.
- (c) Absorption is written off as by being fully concentrated and happily engrossed in one's work, whereby time passes quickly and one feels carried away by one's job.

4.0 Methodology

The data collection for this study was carried out through self-administered questionnaires. The research questionnaire was constructed based on the modification of validated previous studies. The adapted measurement of the variables are as listed in Table 2.

The researchers focused the study on the target population among HEIs employees, particularly at public universities. According to the list by MOHE (2011b), in year 2010, total of academicians at public HEIs are 32,992 and 19,081 in private HEIs. The total population of academicians is approximately 51,073. According to Kierje and Morgan (1970) in Educational and Psychological Measurement; if the total size

of total academicians at Malaysian HEIs is determined based on formulas $= \frac{X^2NP(1-P)}{d^2(N-1) + X^2P(1-P)}$, the sample size should be at least around 381 respondents. In this study, the researchers collected 450 respondents through mail survey and online survey.

The data collected was processed by using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) computer software version 20.0 and Analysis of Moment Structure (AMOS) latest version.

Table 2: Measurement Items

Variables	Sources	Number of questions	Example
1 Employee career development	Farren & Faye (1998)	20	Please indicate your thought on your career development.
2 Employee engagement	Schaufeli et al. (2006).	17	Please indicate your feeling towards your organization
3 Employee retention	De Moura et al. (2009)	5	

5.0 Research Findings

Fundamentally, the researchers referred to Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) that recommend the data cleaning to enhance result through proper data screening process which are the accuracy of data input, missing values treatment, checking on normality and univariate and multivariate outliers, and statistical assumptions for multivariate analysis such as linearity, multicollinearity, heteroscedasticity and singularity. To bearing any form of statistical analysis, it is essential that the raw data is ready and prearranged in a way that will make them appropriate for further analysis. The internal consistency reliability assessment using the Cronbach alphas based on the division of variables in the questionnaire were also tested. Hair et al. (2010) suggest that a higher number indicates greater reliability. The result of the study indicates that the Cronbach Alpha for the three variables, the employee retention (0.795), employee career development (0.850) and employee engagement (0.843) are acceptable values.

5.1 Background of the Respondents

In this section, the researchers also identify the criteria of the respondents who participate in the study. From the total respondents, most of them were between 39 to 49 years old. Both male and female gave fair contribution from the total amount. Nevertheless if the researchers take a look at the respondents' background according to ethnicity and job position at HEIs, there were some inconsistencies. The results are shown in the Table 3. Most of the academicians at HEIs were Malays (66.4%) and the rest were Indians, Chinese and others. Academicians who contribute to this study were tutors (13.3%), lecturers (52.0%), associate professors (15.8%), professors (12.7%) and others (5.3%).

This study also identified the different position at HEIs based on the ethnicity (Table 4). Most of the lecturers were Malays, who are the majority ethnic in Malaysian.

Indian and Chinese were also hold the position of lecturers (Indian, 48 respondents and Chinese, 15 respondents). The results also clearly shown that no tutors among Chinese responded to the survey rather than the other ethnic. But at least 13.3% who joined this study gave some contribution to the overall study. According to the results, it also indicates that instead of the current position holds, academicians also responsible on the duty as dean, head of department, course coordinator and others. On the other hand out of 64.0% from the total of 450 respondents did not sit for any other position instead of the main position as academicians.

Table 3: Background of the Respondents

Background of the Respondents		Frequency	Percent (%)
Gender	(a) Male	249	55.3
	(b) Female	201	44.7
Age	(a) 20-29years old	87	19.3
	(b) 30-39 years old	117	26.0
	(c) 40-49 years old	161	35.8
	(d) 50-59 years old	84	18.7
	(e) 60-69 years old	1	.2
	(f) More than 70 years old	0	0
Ethnicity	(a) Malay	299	66.4
	(b) Indian	72	16.0
	(c) Chinese	28	6.2
	(d) Others	50	11.1
Current Position	(a) Tutor	60	13.3
	(b) Lecturer	234	52.0
	(c) Associate Professor	71	15.8
	(d) Professor	57	12.7
	(e) Others	24	5.3
Other Position	(a) Dean	7	1.6
	(b) Head of Department	42	9.3
	(c) Course Coordinator	96	21.3
	(d) Others	17	3.8
	(e) None	288	64.0

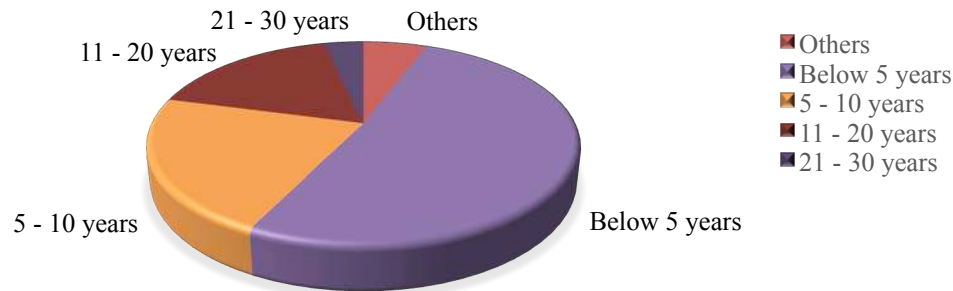
Table 4: Total Academicians according to Ethnicity

Current Position	Ethnicity			
	Malay	Indian	Chinese	Others
Tutor	44	1	0	14
Lecturer	151	48	15	20
Associate Professor	50	3	11	7
Professor	32	16	0	9
Others	22	2	0	0

Further analysis among academicians who responded to the survey according to the period of career development on their present achievement in the current organizations (HEIs) is shown in Figure 2. Most of academicians of HEIs took less than 5 years in their career development ladder. Almost 21.8% are among 5 to 10 years who experienced on the career development process, then continued with those

who need 11 to 20 years (17.3%) and 21 to 30 years (3.6%). Most probably, those academicians should climb up their career ladder continuously after one period of time to another.

Figure 2: Employee Career Development Process



5.2 The Results and Discussions

The Social Exchange Theory (SET) presented by Blau (1964) explains the concept of “an individual who supplies rewarding services to another obligates him, to discharge this obligation; the second must furnish benefits of the first in turn” (p. 89). If the employees perceive the organization as supportive, they feel an obligation to return this support (Rhoades and Eisenberger, 2002). In line with that, it is suggested that HEIs employee will return the support of organization on career development and engagement in the form of attitudes and behaviours that enhance the organization such retention. When organizations do offer support and resources, employees do indeed report elevated levels of engagement (As employees who are engaged and effectively committed are likely to have a greater attachment to their organization and job, they are believed to have a lower tendency to leave the organization (Saks, 2006).

The result of the complete fledged Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) using Analysis Moment Structures (AMOS) software supported the hypothesized relationship among constructs (employee retention, employee career development and employee engagement). In detail, the maximum likelihood estimation of the model generated needed outcomes, which communally chains the adequacy of the model. The chi-square examine overall model fit resulted with a statistically significant divergence between the model and the data. Conversely, the other overall fit statistics also satisfied particular starting point supposed important in a good fitting model ($\chi^2 = 753.451$, $p = 0.0003$; $CMIN/df = 2.454$, $RMSEA = 0.0428$; $NFI = 0.915$ and $CFI = 0.956$).

The results of this study also indicate the statistically significant path coefficients on the causal link between employee career development and employee retention; as well as the relationship of employee engagement and employee retention. The model was theoretically justifiable when the parameter estimates statistically significant at 0.05 and standardized structural coefficient was larger than 0.2.

According to Bhatnagar (2007), employee participation is the most effective way to retain employees. Simpson (2009) also found the same result by Karlowicz and Ternus (2009) in which the research is to bring higher results in turnover cognitions are directly correlated with lower work participation levels. The probability of getting

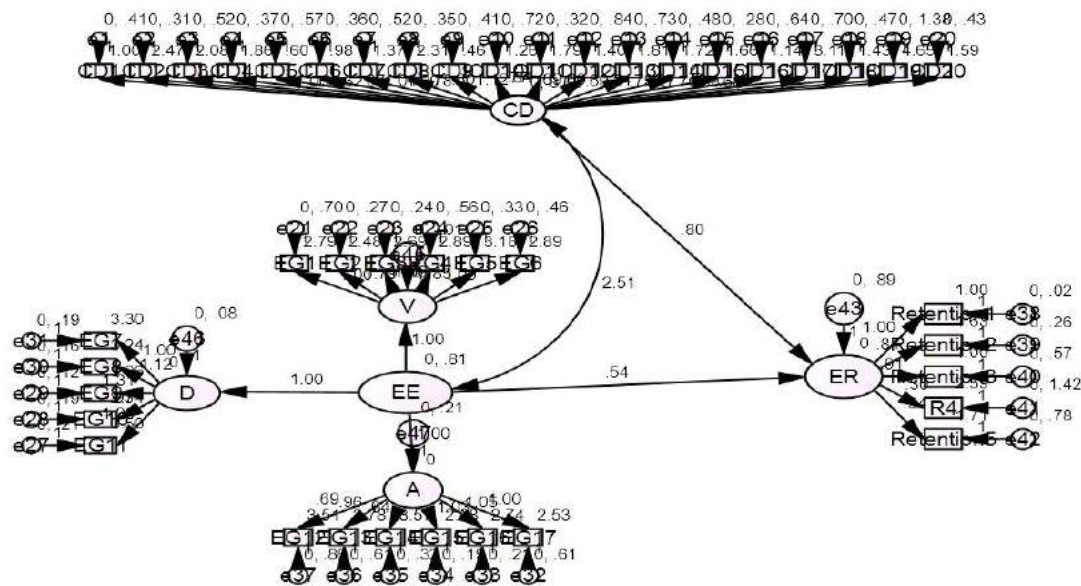
a critical ratio as large as 2.762 in absolute value is .006. In other words, the regression weight for EE in the prediction of ER is significantly different from zero at the 0.01 level (two-tailed) (Table 5). According to Saks (2006), more engaged employees are more confident of their employers and by the attitudes and intentions to report a more positive about the organization. An organization should not invest in human capital only when they expect to return on investment. Employees will fully engage the psychological present (Kahn, 1990); they will devote all their energy and intends to go further to achieve their success (Schaufeli et al., 2002). Boomer (2007) noted that the employee is to see to the management to give, direction, advantageous, appropriate training, support and guidance, training and feedback to them in the workplace.

Table 5: Regression Weights

	Estimate	S.E	C.R	P
ER <--- EE	.540	.195	2.762	.006
ER <--- CD	.804	.065	12.440	***

ER = Employee Retention, EE = Employee Engagement, CD = Career Development

Figure 3: The Structural Model (Unstandardized estimates):
 Career Development and Engagement on Retention



Currently, individuals hunger to embrace strong corporate core values dependable with the concept that they are under the organization's values requisite to be shadowed by the values of the organization to their own personal criteria (Bühler, 2000), which is career development. According to the results between the relationship of career development and employee retention at HEIs (Table 5), the probability of getting a critical ratio as large as 12.44 in absolute value is less than 0.001 (significant different). The estimates shown that when¹⁸ employee career development goes up by 1,

then employee retention goes up by 0.804 at standard error of about 0.065. This result has various connection with the outcomes reported by Glen (2006), which retaining employees that should take into account is essential for workforce performance because it may be detrimental to the future success. As recommended by Maertz and Griffeth (2004); motivational forces reward employee to let them stay. The eighth from ninth elements by Moncarz et al. (2008) also listed employee performance assessment and development as one of the motivating factors. The obligation of employees to continue in the organization is durable and extended when there are involvement of their personal career development and accomplishment (Newstorm, 2007).

6.0 Conclusion

Zheng and Kleiner (2001) found that there are circumstances of not any longer people are anticipated to work for one organization for their whole profession. Employees searched for work with career opportunities that organization can provide. In turn, HEIs administrators should grind straight with the employees to help them cultivate their full potential. Organizations should ascertain the significance of a qualified, motivated, stable, and responsive team of employees. These competences can only be accomplished through the development and putting into practice of operative human resource practices over career development and engagement strategies. HEIs administrators as the employers and academicians as the employees, both have to deal with the problems relating to careers, building strategies, which can subsidy not only the individual, but the extensive period for the strength of the organization

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Spoonerism: A Creative Way of Communication in Thai

Wirat Siriwatananawin

Silpakorn University, Thailand

0319

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Introduction

Spoonerism is a linguistic phenomenon in which corresponding consonants, vowels, or morphemes are switched between 2 syllables/words in a word/phrase. In general, spoonerism exists in 2 manners: 1) an error in speech, which is unintentional and rare, 2) a form of word play, which is intentional and more frequent.

A spoonerism, as an error in speech, may lead to the other common meaning, a meaningless utterance, a ridiculous utterance, or an impolite utterance. It may result in misunderstanding, embarrassment, harassment, and a sense of humor, as following examples.

Common meanings:

book case	-	▶	cook base
lighting a fire	-	▶	fighting a liar

Meaningless utterances:

criminal	-	▶	crinimal
tiny little birds	-	▶	biny little tirds

Ridiculous utterances:

wasted two terms	-	▶	tasted two worms
Is the dean busy?	-	▶	Is the bean dizzy?

Impolite utterances:

He filled her soul with hope.	-	▶	He filled her hole with soap.
She showed me her tool kits.	-	▶	She showed me her cool tits.

The term “spoonerism” is named after the Reverend William Archibald Spooner (A.D.1844-1930), who was notoriously prone to this linguistic phenomenon. Born in 1844 in London, Spooner became an Anglican priest and a scholar. During a 60-year association with Oxford University, he lectured in history, philosophy, and divinity. From 1876 to 1889, he served as a Dean, and from 1903 to 1924 as Warden, or president. (Austin, 2003)

Thai Spoonerism

Spoonerism in Thai, however, does exist and function in 2 more complicated and interesting manners: 1) avoidance of potential taboo spoonerisms in polite register, 2) spoonerist or spoonerized languages, in which spoonerized process is made to each syllable.

Avoidance of potential taboo spoonerism in polite register

In polite register, as prescribed by traditional teachers and textbooks, words or phrases that are potential to be spoonerized and then convey inappropriate meanings, are prohibited. “Rachasap”(1994), the book about polite register and royal language

published by The National Identity Office, The Secretariat of The Prime Minister, describes the use of Thai language in a delicate way. Examples of taboos and euphemisms are as follows.

<u>Taboo</u>	<u>Spoonerism</u>	<u>Euphemism</u>
κ ^ο ν π ^υ αΞφ person sick	κ ^ο υαφ ποΞν penis grinded	κ ^ο ν κ ^ο α⊥φ person fever
χεΞτ φααΞΝ seven kinds, types	χαΞαΝ φεΞτ bright to make love	χεΞτ πρα-κααν seven kinds, types
π ^θ θΞτ τυα eight classifier for animals	τ ^θ θΞτ σ ^ι Ξ κ ^υ υ⊥ (meaningless) clitoris	four pairs
τ ^υ αΞ Ν□□⊥κ bean geminating (bean sprout)	τ ^υ □□⊥κ Νυα⊥ cut (penis) (meaningless)	τ ^υ αΞ π ^υ □Ξ? bean planted
?υηε&ν rude title (proper name) (palm civet)	?εν ηυ& νααΝ ηε&ν tendon vagina	polite title (proper name)

Spoonerist or spoonerized languages

Spoonerist or spoonerized languages are languages in which each syllable is paired with a given word and then spoonerized immediately. There are many spoonerized languages in Thai such as “κ^ουΞκ” language, “σ□□” language, “σεε” language, “μαλακ□□” language, and “λ^υυ” language. As Luu language is the most widely-used one in Thailand, so this study aims to describe Luu language in terms of genesis, system, productivity, and usage.

Genesis of Luu language

It is assumed that Luu language is the first spoonerized language in Thai, it was created by gay people, exactly lady boys, about 3-4 decades ago. The reason why the given word is “λ^υυ” is that it should exactly be the word “ρ^υυ”, which means “hole”. As one of the most favorite interests of lady boys is sex, so the word “ρ^υυ” is picked.

It is the tendency of contemporary pronunciation that most people use the consonant sound “λ” in stead of “ρ”. Then the “ρ^υυ” language practically becomes “λ^υυ” language.

Step 4 is to adjust the length of the vowel of the word “συσ” to be as short as or as long as that of the corresponding syllable. And a diphthong is considered as a long vowel.

συσ⊥κ λ↔↔⊥κσυσσυν λιαν - ▶ συσ⊥κ λ↔↔⊥κ συσσυν λιαν

Step 5 is to switch the vowels between corresponding syllables

συσ⊥κ λ↔↔⊥κσυσσυν λιαν - σ↔↔⊥⊥κ λυσ⊥⊥κ σιασν λυσσυν

In case of syllable with the vowel sound “υ” or “υσ”, the word “λυσ” is still used by following the same 5 steps, for example “δυσ πυλυσ?” (to watch fireworks) will be spoonerized into “ρυσ δυσ ρυσ? πυλυσ?”.

Productivity of Luu language

The morphology of Luu language relates to syllable-based process, which is applicable to any foreign word, no matter if they are from Chinese, Japanese, Korean, English, French, Italian, and so on, as shown by following examples. Please note that foreign word in Thai will be phonologically adjusted to Thai tongues, especially in terms of tone.

- τιΞμ σαμ (dim sum, Chinese) - ▶ λιΞμ τυΞμ λαμ συμ
- συσ χι≡? (sushi, Japanese) - ▶ λυσσυσ λι≡? χι≡?
- κιμ χι≡Ξ? (kimchi, Korean) - ▶ λιμ κυμ λιΞ? χι≡Ξ?
- η□≡τ δ□Ξκ (hotdog, English) - ▶ λ□≡τ ηυ≡τ λ□Ξκ δυΞκ
- κρυα σ□N (croissant, French) - λυακρυσ λ□N συN
- πι≡τ σαα⊥ (pizza, Italian) - ▶ λι≡τ πυ≡τ λαα⊥ συσ⊥

The above examples obviously show the productivity of Luu language. Sometimes foreign words are mixed in sentences, while sometimes a whole sentence is a spoonerized foreign language, as follows.

κ'α≡ω δυσ κη□ν σ↔↔Ξτ (He watched the concert.)
 λ'α≡ω κ'υ≡ω λυσ δυσ λ□ν κ'υν λ↔↔Ξτ σσυΞτ

ω□≡τ ηΘ≡π π'ε⊥ν (What happened?)
 ↓ ↓
 λ□≡τ ωυ≡τ λΘ≡π ηυ≡π λε⊥ν π'υ⊥ν

χι↔↔ τΘμ (I love you, in French)
 ↓ ↓
 λ↔↔ χιυσ λΘμ τυμ

χ^ο≐τ τοΞ?



λο≐τ χ^υ≐τ λοΞ? τυΞ?

μα≐τ τεΞ?



λα≐τ μυ≐τ λεΞ? τυΞ?

(wait a minute, in Japanese)

As the main purpose of spoonerized languages is to limit the understanding of others, it is possible that Luu speakers speak Luu with any foreign language they are able to. If it is Thai Luu, it is easily understood among general Luu speakers. If it is English Luu, it will be difficult for uneducated speakers to understand. And if it is Japanese or other languages of limited speakers, it will be much harder to decode.

Usage of Luu language

Most of Luu speakers are lady boys and gay people. They are very fluent in spoonerization in terms of both speaking and listening. So they can speak Luu language at least as fast as they speak Thai. In addition, they even speak faster than their usual speed, because they do not want anyone else to understand their conversations, as some people may try to decode or spoonerize Luu conversations. It is recommended that the faster they speak Luu language, the safer the conversations are.

Luu language is usually spoken in 2 specific situations: 1) gossiping or complaining, 2) mentioning secrets or private issues or impolite topics.

As a means for gossiping or complaining, it is better for the “victim(s)” not to understand anything. Due to high ability in pretending as if they were talking about other topics, Luu speakers are usually alright and successful in gossiping or complaining while they can achieve the communication. It is always good to avoid problems or conflicts with friends, colleagues, customers, and strangers.

As a means for mentioning secrets or private issues or impolite topics, Luu language is a definitely safe choice. Luu speakers just have to make sure that others in the same place or nearby really do not understand Luu language. Sometimes when people cannot wait to talk about such things, Luu language is helpful.

Conclusion

To sum up, spoonerism in Thai does function in 2 more interesting and unique ways. The avoidance of potential taboo spoonerism shows the magnificence of the traditional usage of Thai language. Spoonerized languages, especially Luu language, are the evidence that Thai people, particularly gay people, are creative indeed.

Luu language is a creative way to communicate appropriately with regard to the delicate manner of social interaction. As long as Thai people mind gossiping, complaining, revealing secrets, and taking dirty, spoonerized languages will still be used in order to keep the communication going while concerning to the social peace.

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November 21-24, 2013 - ACPEL2013 - The First Asian Conference on Politics, Economics & Law

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