

春

兵庫県神戸市

acas
accs
2015

春
高
年



Official Conference Proceedings
ISSN: 2187 - 4751



“To Open Minds, To Educate Intelligence, To Inform Decisions”

The International Academic Forum provides new perspectives to the thought-leaders and decision-makers of today and tomorrow by offering constructive environments for dialogue and interchange at the intersections of nation, culture, and discipline. Headquartered in Nagoya, Japan, and registered as a Non-Profit Organization (一般社団法人), IAFOR is an independent think tank committed to the deeper understanding of contemporary geo-political transformation, particularly in the Asia Pacific Region.

INTERNATIONAL

INTERCULTURAL

INTERDISCIPLINARY

iafor

The Executive Council of the International Advisory Board

IAB Chair: Professor Stuart D.B. Picken

IAB Vice-Chair: Professor Jerry Platt

Mr Mitsumasa Aoyama

Director, The Yufuku Gallery, Tokyo, Japan

Professor David N Aspin

Professor Emeritus and Former Dean of the Faculty of Education, Monash University, Australia
Visiting Fellow, St Edmund's College, Cambridge University, UK

Professor Don Brash

Former Governor of the Reserve Bank, New Zealand
Former Leader of the New National Party, New Zealand
Adjunct Professor, AUT, New Zealand & La Trobe University, Australia

Lord Charles Bruce

Lord Lieutenant of Fife
Chairman of the Patrons of the National Galleries of Scotland
Trustee of the Historic Scotland Foundation, UK

Professor Judith Chapman

Professor of Education, Australian Catholic University, Australia
Visiting Fellow, St Edmund's College, Cambridge University, UK
Member of the Order of Australia

Professor Chung-Ying Cheng

Professor of Philosophy, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, USA
Editor-in-Chief, The Journal of Chinese Philosophy

Professor Steve Cornwell

Professor of English and Interdisciplinary Studies, Osaka Jogakuin University, Osaka, Japan
Osaka Local Conference Chair

Professor Michael A. Cusumano

SMR Distinguished Professor of Management and Engineering Systems, MIT Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

Professor Dexter Da Silva

Professor of Educational Psychology, Keisen University, Tokyo, Japan

Professor Georges Depeyrot

Professor and Director of Research & Member of the Board of Trustees
French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) & L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris, France

Professor June Henton

Dean, College of Human Sciences, Auburn University, USA

Professor Michael Hudson

President of The Institute for the Study of Long-Term Economic Trends (ISLET)
Distinguished Research Professor of Economics, The University of Missouri, Kansas City

Professor Koichi Iwabuchi

Professor of Media and Cultural Studies & Director of the Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, Australia

Professor Sue Jackson

Professor of Lifelong Learning and Gender & Pro-Vice Master of Teaching and Learning, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Professor Sing Kong Lee

Director, The National Institute of Education, Singapore

Professor Sir Geoffrey Lloyd

Senior Scholar in Residence, The Needham Research Institute, Cambridge, UK
Fellow and Former Master, Darwin College, University of Cambridge
Fellow of the British Academy

Professor Keith Miller

Orthwein Endowed Professor for Lifelong Learning in the Science, University of Missouri-St. Louis, USA

Professor Kuniko Miyanaga

Director, Human Potential Institute, Japan
Fellow, Reischauer Institute, Harvard University, USA

Professor Dennis McInerney

Chair Professor of Educational Psychology and Co-Director of the Assessment Research Centre
The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong SAR

Professor Ka Ho Joshua Mok

Chair Professor of Comparative Policy, Associate Vice-President (External Relations)
Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong SAR

Professor Michiko Nakano

Professor of English & Director of the Distance Learning Center, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

Professor Baden Offord

Professor of Cultural Studies and Human Rights & Co-Director of the Centre for Peace and Social Justice
Southern Cross University, Australia

Professor Frank S. Ravitch

Professor of Law & Walter H. Stowers Chair in Law and Religion, Michigan State University College of Law

Professor Richard Roth

Senior Associate Dean, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Qatar

Professor Monty P. Satiadarma

Clinical Psychologist and Lecturer in Psychology & Former Dean of the Department of Psychology and Rector of the University, Tarumanagara University, Indonesia

Mr Mohamed Salaheen

Director, The United Nations World Food Programme, Japan & Korea

Mr Lowell Sheppard

Asia Pacific Director, HOPE International Development Agency, Canada/Japan

His Excellency Dr Drago Stambuk

Croatian Ambassador to Brazil, Brazil

Professor Mary Stuart

Vice-Chancellor, The University of Lincoln, UK

Professor Gary Swanson

Distinguished Journalist-in-Residence & Mildred S. Hansen Endowed Chair, The University of Northern Colorado, USA

Professor Jiro Takai

Secretary General of the Asian Association for Social Psychology & Professor of Social Psychology
Graduate School of Education and Human Development, Nagoya University, Japan

Professor Svetlana Ter Minasova

President of the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Area Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University

Professor Yozo Yokota

Director of the Center for Human Rights Affairs, Japan
Former UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar

Professor Kensaku Yoshida

Professor of English & Director of the Center for the Teaching of Foreign Languages in General Education, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015, Kobe, Japan

Official Conference Proceedings

ISSN: 2186-4751

© The International Academic Forum 2015
The International Academic Forum (IAFOR)
Sakae 1-16-26-201
Naka Ward, Nagoya, Aichi
Japan 460-0008
www.iafor.org

Table of Contents

5324	<i>Political Parties Re-Disconnected? Websites and Social Media of Indonesian Political Parties</i>	
	Gilang Desti Parahita	
	Aprilia Puspitasari	pp. 1 - 15
5638	<i>Hegemonic and Counter-Media Frames of the Unsolved-Past Tragedy</i>	
	Gilang Desti Parahita	pp. 17 - 30
5911	<i>Are Women Still Better at Learning Languages? Examining Gender Differences on Learners' Academic Performance at University</i>	
	Yoshihiko Yamamoto	pp. 31 - 44
6988	<i>Moral Aspects of Economic Theories and Present-Day University Curriculum</i>	
	Tatiana Suprun	pp. 45 - 55
9806	<i>America, Our Home? A Qualitative Study of 1.5-Generation Asian Americans</i>	
	Nadia Benyamin	pp. 57 - 70
11511	<i>Musical Pedagogy's Improvement through New Technologies and Musicology: The Ogma Project</i>	
	Guillaume Deveney	pp. 71 - 79
11766	<i>Developing Social Work Practice for People with Disability through Digital Storytelling</i>	
	Shinsuke Funaki	
	Shoichi Fujita	
	Kazunori Taiencho	pp. 81 - 89

- 12375
The Influence of Gender Role Ideologies in Women's Careers: A look at Marianismo and Machismo in the Treatment Room
Carmen Inoa Vazquez pp. 91 - 104
- 12519
Skateboarding Subculture in China: Development Path, Characteristics and Representation of Values and Social Change
Anna Chelnokova-Siejka pp. 105 - 111
- 13061
Temples: Probing the Possibilities of Economic Regeneration of the Local Communities in Goa
Padmaja Kamat pp. 113 - 124
- 13158
One Nation-Different Fates: Kazakhstan in Pursuit of Cultural Identity
Aktolkyn Kulsariyeva
Shaigozova Zhanerke
Sultanova Madina pp. 125 - 136
- 13175
A Right to Quietude
Alexandre Avdulov pp. 137 - 142
- 13203
Archivists to Activists: The Changing Role of Museums as Guardians of Culture and Empowerment
Barry Natusch
Beryl Hawkins pp. 143 - 166
- 13326
Multiple Identities of Media Labourers and Experiences of Creative Autonomy: An Empirical Investigation from a TV Programme Producer's Perspective
Chairin An pp. 167 - 180
- 13688
Examining Identity Formation of Third Culture Kids Through Transnationalism Experience
George Amurao pp. 181 - 186
- 16036
The Empirical Analysis of Tea Price Under the Influence of Wage Earner in China
HE Chen-lei
LI Xing-hui pp. 187 - 199

- 16063
Who Makes the Garden? (The Comparison Between <Sakuteiki> And Ancient Chinese Documents)
Wang Xin pp. 201 - 208
- 16090
Diversifying Urbanity: The Japanese Commercial Community of Prewar Manila
Augusto Vicente de Viana pp. 209 - 223
- 16211
Teaching Idiom and Metaphor via Poetry in the Chinese EFL Classroom
Kevin Kilroy
Jeremiah Cassar Scalia pp. 225 - 238
- 16297
An Analysis of Pembayuns Speech Acts in the Sorong Serah Ceremony of Sasak Marriage: A Ritualistic Discourse Study
Lalu Nurul Yaqin pp. 239 - 249
- 16317
Power of Sympathy: Constructions of "Children's Rights" in Tokyo's Slum
Akane Oishi pp. 251 - 263
- 16367
A Dilemma or Hope for China's Democratization: A Research on Cyberpolitics Participation of Chinese Citizen Based on Chai Jing Event
Shu Qi
Jingya Sun pp. 265 - 279
- 16394
Race for Human Rights: Tommie Smith, the Black Power Salute, and Japan
Yu Sasaki pp. 281 - 288
- 16417
Soledad: A Depiction of a Filipino Woman's Chastity as Perceived by Pre-Service Teachers
Ma. Junithesmer D. Rosales pp. 289 - 306
- 16454
Is an Alternative Deliberation Space?: The Anti- Nuclear Movement and ICT Communication after 3.11 Disaster
Kyoko Tominaga
Takanori Tamura pp. 307 - 319
- 16461
The Struggle of Waria Buddies to Achieve Symbolic Capital in an Infectious Diseases Intermediate Care Unit in Indonesia
Mira Adriani Permadi pp. 321 - 334

16520

National and Gender Power Negotiations in Harriett Low's Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life

Chingyen Mayer

pp. 335 - 342

Political Parties Re-Disconnected? Websites and Social Media of Indonesian Political Parties

Gilang Desti Parahita, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
Nella Aprilia Puspitasari, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Tempo magazine has brought the memory of the unsolved-past tragedy of Indonesia, “1965/66 Event” in some ways in both New Order era and Reform era. The collapse of New Order has clearly influenced the framing of “1965-Event”. During New Order, the event was remembered as the effort of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to ‘*coup d’etat*’ the state in which many victims in the aftermath were barely reported. *Tempo* Reformation framed the event from the perspectives of once-marginalised groups such as the family of PKI followers, witnesses and the assassins.

Keywords: retrospective news, collective memory, framing, ideology

iafor

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

IN New Order era, PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) and communism were stigmatized. In the period of 1966-1998, the regime of New Order through any political and cultural strategies¹ did a historical and memorial propaganda on PKI and the event of 30 September that later had led a number of adverse consequences to PKI, sympathizers, and their families politically and culturally (Hearman, 2013:15; Pellegrini, 2012; Adam, 2008:5; Heryanto, 2006). In the meantime, the mass assassination to 500.000 followers or sympathizers of PKI and incarceration of almost one million people without any jurisdiction during the period of October 1965 - March 1966 not merely done by military but also a group of civil societies seem to be vanished from public memory (Wardaya, 2013; Hearman, 2013; Pellegrini, 2012; Adam, 2008).

Reformation, in turn, gives a hope for the ones adversely affected by the historical narrative of New Order to “justify” the history and memory. However, the collapse of New Order in 1998, in fact, does not undermine the negative stigma for PKI and communism. In response, many historians attempt to make any explanations about this anomaly². Based on the explanation above, media perspective has not been a concern in academic or praxis course discussing about the persistence of anti-communism in Indonesia in the Post-Soeharto era.

This research was started from thoughtfulness for the lack of studies in Indonesia on mass media as an institution constructing the past events such as the Tragedy of 1965/66. In this case, mass media is still viewed as “the first manuscript in writing history” (Budiawan, 2004; Wieringa, 2010). A textual study on the retrospective news at international level, concurrently, views the construction on the past events as a negotiating process between media and social and political actors that have certain interest in the memory of the past event (Lorenzo-Dusdan Bryan, 2011; Simonetti, 2008; Edy, 2006; Twomey, 2004; Nimkoff, 2009) in one era of certain political regime (Sorensen, 2009). In other word, the dynamics approach of memory (Mistzal, 2003) has been more reflected through those researches. Meanwhile, the approach of critical theory is rare in use to the research on the retrospective news on past tragedy.

Indonesia is seeing an interesting phenomenon about the retrospective journalism. *Tempo* has published the news on the past event reconstruction that is the event of 1965/66 in Reform era since 2007 to 2013 in the format of *LiputanKhusus* (Special

¹Those strategies include the enactment of the provision of MPR No. 25/1966, production of historical text books with single perspective, production of propaganda film of Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI (Treason of G30S/PKI), campaigns such as “*bersihdiri, bersihlingkungan*”, and any memorialization and ritual forms such as Commemoration of 1 October of KesaktianPancasila..

²*First*, many physical evidences such as dead bodies, prisons and buildings becoming the shelter of PKI have been vanished caused by nature or nurture (Hearman, 2013:19).

Second, memory that PKI is a state enemy has already been a part of narration of establishing national identity; thus, the clarification about the event will be a threat for identity of Indonesia entirely (Pellegrini, 2012).

Third, discrimination, stigmatization, and memory on PKI are no longer under the control of state or regime but they have been rooted in society. Thus, the collapse of New Order does not significantly change the public memory developed in society towards PKI (Adam, 2008:18-19).

Fourth, the idea of communism in general is viewed as atheism. Thus, the acceptance for the idea will threat the religion base particularly for Islam (Budiawan, 2004).

Fifth, communism is imaged as the most dangerous political and cultural movement that can threat democracy by the Indonesia intellectuals pro-west through the spin of West liberalism ideas (Herlambang, 2013: 302).

Sixth, support of state for the completion of case of 1965/66 ran down in light of the cancelation of Law No. 27/2004 on Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KRR) in 2006 by MahkamahKonstitusi (Constitutional Court) (“Elsamdan Media”, at <http://www.elsam.or.id/new/index.php?id=641&lang=en&act=view&cat=c/301>, downloaded in 11 December 2013)

Reportage). Looking at the past time, *Tempo*, in fact, also published a number of equal news in New Order era. Through the study on media, the main factor of the alteration or the memory sustainability of New Order was still relative in Indonesia society in Post-Soeharto era and it can be explained that media becomes the mirror of values and contributes to stimulate the change of values in society. In the perspective of Gramscian (Williams, 2003), media text can be one of indicators for the sociological and political changes or the persistence of status quo in relation to the event of 1965/66 as represented through media texts. Hence, a research to see the construction of the media framing and its transformation on the violence occurred in the era of New Order through the retrospective news of *Tempo* magazine in both New Order era and Reform era is deemed essential to do.

Problem Formulations

- How did *Tempo* construct the frame of 1965/66' event through its retrospective news released in New Order era and Reformation era?

Theoretical Framework

Critical Theory and Framing

The application of the perspective of Critical Theory to analyse the retrospective news of *Tempo* was backgrounded by a number of theoretical and methodological advantages. First, the analyses on the retrospective news would be most suitable to use framing theory (Edy, 2006). It is in relation to that since the framing theory is used in this research of the retrospective news, hegemonic thesis in Critical Theory can complement it (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Thesis on media hegemony directly correlates the framing process to the power elements between news media and social changes (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Thus, the dynamics of power influence on framing can be more clearly seen. In contrast, framing thesis provides a tool for the hegemonic thesis to prove the congruence between the construction of news media and the interest of dominant group (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Carragee&Roefs (2004) viewed that recent researches on hegemony of media find them difficult to explore the hegemonic traces in the texts and audiences. In addition to this, the hegemonic thesis comes to be an alarm for the researchers to observe the so dominant frames that then are considered suitable as a “*common sense*” (Carragee&Roefs, 2004:223).

Second, the perspective of Critical Theory is able to answer the research questions in term of the transformation of framing and ideology on the retrospective news of *Tempo* in New Order era and Reformation era. Critical Theory assumes the existence of experience contradictions becoming an indication of the emergence of “hegemonic crisis”. This is the hegemonic crisis of New Order occurred in the end of 1990s in Indonesia. At the beginning of the initiation of Reformation, it could assumptively be said that the new hegemony began to be formed. Hegemony is at the weakest level when it is born that is when they have naturalized the discourses and practices, before they have consolidated their grips to the control mechanisms in society, and when they have grown older and weakened (Louw, 2001). Third, as the paradigm of Critical Theory is dialogic and dialectical, the Framing Theory with the combination of Critical Theory can be applied by the researcher by not claiming his or her own truth with the tight and limited measures but the truth is obtained through the dialect process of the researcher with the research object (Guba& Lincoln, 1994).

The paradigm of Critical Theory understands that the reality is formed by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnical, and gender factors. Subsequently, it is crystalized or reified to be a series of structure that now (inappropriately) is viewed as something “real”, natural, and unchanged (Guba& Lincoln, 1994). In the context of media, the perspective of Critical Theory believes that media functions ideologically – meaning that it operates in accordance with the ideology or symbolic mechanism stimulating cohesiveness in society (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Based on such ideology, media does “definition of situation” and provides a label towards any groups and individuals considered as deviant. Media strengthens the values *taken for granted* and constructs hegemonic reality (Croteau, Hoynes& Milan, 2011; Curran, Gurevitch&Woollacott, 2011).

Counter-Memory in Media

The raw material used by news media to reconstruct the past event includes the primary sources such as historical artefacts and historical witnesses that have been directly involved. Through the historical artefacts and the witnesses, the collective memory will be alive and represented. How the historical witnesses becoming the frame sponsors memorize the past event is not always be accurate in describing such event. Moreover, the news media is still possible to be able to access the historical witnesses. More often, media has to be reliant on the secondary sources such as those inherited from the ones involved in historical studies, historians and elites of government in which the secondary sources are possible to have shared the hegemonic collective memory.

Edy (2006:2) affirmed that memory is an incomplete representation from the past though we always treat the memory as the past itself. In fact, many scholars of memory antagonize the history from memory study either as collective memory or as individual one since this study have been more on the surface. Gray and Oliver (2004) stated that the scholars of memory frequently contrast the history by correlating the memory to the archaic, organic, and spiritual quality differentiating the memory with the analytical practices on history. In addition, Zelizer (1995, 2006) viewed one key that differentiates the collective memory and history is that “the collective memory is more mobile and mutable compared to the history. Memory is the mobile history on the different track and acceleration in comparison to the traditional history”.

A collective memory can be hegemonic in one society. Public believed in certain collective memory as the only right thing. The term of “hegemony” is clearly used by Barbara Misztal in the narration in her books in three times only (2003). One of them is in term of her definition about the hegemonic.

the all-embracing cultural and social dominance of a ruling group that legitimates its leadership by creating and sustaining an ideology presenting its dominance as fair and in the best interests of society as a whole.(Misztal, 2003: 159).

In the definition of Misztal, hegemony contains the element of social and cultural domination, ruling group, and the attempt to rule all social elements through an ideology that can be accepted by all social elements. Hegemony according Misztal has inspired a typology he compiled in term of the perspective of the scholars on the collective memory.

Such typology indirectly illustrates an understanding between the analysts on the collective memory that the hegemony of the collective memory exists. Hegemony of memory refers to “memory of society programmed and controlled by the ruler; thus creating a past time perspective that is agreed, well-established, and continually reproductive (Misztal, 2003: 62).”

The hegemonic memory is a manifestation of the hegemonic ideology Misztal (2003:15), citing Terdiman, mentioned that ideology is materialized through memory. Memory functioned as the organized practices is designed to reproduce a social and political order as a factual material for propaganda (Misztal, *ibid.*). The task of the memory is to provide an identity and belief or uniting values. On those identity, belief and values, the programmed political objectives and the actions are sourced (Misztal, *ibid.*). Similar with hegemonic ideology, the hegemonic memory is created through a real process of contestation in historical field leading a part of memory to be marginalized and isolated, while other memories that can be in line with the ideology of rulers can be sustainable (Misztal, 2003: 65). State and a variety of cultural or educational institutions are the strongest institutions in making the construction of hegemonic collective memory imperishable (Misztal, *ibid.*).

The alteration of the hegemonic memory is the counter-memory. Misztal (2003: 156) defined *counter-memory* as “an alternative view of the past which challenges the dominant representation of the past.” Studies on alternative memory showed a memory constructed in the grass roots that can have a variety of relational forms with the dominant or official past time representations started from being contrastively sharp to being equal (Misztal, 2003: 66). An equal event that can be formulated in any various versions by various groups that make the images of the past event and the participation of the groups has changed as time passes (Misztal, *ibid.*).

Framing Analysis Method

The technique of framing analysis applied in this research was framing analysis in accordance to Gamson and Lasch (1980), stating that media framing will be seen when the analysis is emphasized on observing and interpreting the elements of the prominent news texts. The elements of the idea in culture do not appear discretely but are gathered in one interpretive package (Gamson and Lasch, 1980: 3). Those different elements support and strengthen to each other. Commonly, the establishment of a full package can be supported by a prominent single element.

Data

Hegemonic Frame and Collective Memory towards the 1965/66 event in *Tempo* of New Order Era

Tempo was established seven years after the tragedy of 1965/66. If *Tempo* exposed the tragedy, it means that *Tempo* treated a past event – not a *contemporary* event actually reported. Thus, framing the tragedy of 1965/66 means memorizing it. Ideology worked as an attempt of *Tempo* to memorize the tragedy. It is necessary to analyse the frame, memory, or ideology of *Tempo* towards the event through the news texts related to the 1965/66 event. In accordance with the category of the sort of the retrospective news according to Zelizer (2008), a part of edition of *Tempo* in New Order positioned the event of 1965/66 as a story that has an equal essence as in the recent story (*journalistic form invites memory*) in which those editions discussed the historical context from the *contemporary* events (See **Table 1.**). In other words, the 1965/66 event would be exposed if the *contemporary* event would not occur.

Table 1.The *Contemporary* Events in the Editions of *Tempo* in New Order Era

No.	Edition Number	Title of Edition	<i>Contemporary</i> Events
1	30 September 1972	PKI di Atas dan di Bawah Tanah (<i>PKI On and Underground</i>)	Underground movement of PKI in any areas
2	24 December 1977 Year VII/No. 43	10.000 Tahanan Dibebaskan (<i>10.000 Prisoners To Be Released</i>)	Releasing the Political Prisoner related to PKI
3	No. 11 Year XX 12 May 1990	Bersih Diri tentang PKI (Self-Cleaning about PKI)	The issue of President Decree on the Special Research for ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) and State Officers

In those three editions above, *Tempo* in New Order era discussed more about the present time rather than the past, but it still referred to the past time to provide a historical context in a *contemporary* event.

In contrast, in other three editions, *Tempo* of New Order made the past time as the main reportage. Those editions did the reconstruction and reinterpretation towards some parts of the event related to 1965/66. The edition of *Tempo* in 1980, 1988, and 1990 intentionally exposed some issues such as why PKI chose September to do rebellion; what motive did stimulate and why the rebellion could easily be failed (see **Table 2.**)

Table 2. The Retrospective Issues on the Editions of *Tempo* of New Order

No.	Edition	Title of Edition	Retrospective Issues
1	No. 32 Year X 4 October 1980	PKI 15 Tahun yang Lalu (<i>PKI 15 Years ago</i>)	Why did PKI choose September to do its rebellion?
2	No.31 Year XVIII-1 October 1988	Apa yang Kaucari PKI (<i>What are you looking for, PKI</i>)	What motive did stimulate PKI to do rebellion?
3	No. 32 Year XX 6 October 1990	CIA dan PKI: Menengok Kembali Peristiwa G30 S (<i>CIA and PKI: Looking Back the Event of G30S</i>)	Why could the Rebellion of PKI be failed easily?

Deeply analysing the issues exposed by the *Tempo* of New Order, it seems that *Tempo* did not take the narration of the 1965/66 event as described by New Order for granted. *Tempo* provided some spaces among its sentences to show some contradictive frames. Such frames were not merely provided in *Tempo* in New Order era exposing the retrospective issues (Table 4.3) but also in *Tempo* of New Order focusing on the *contemporary* issues (Table 4.2.). However, *Tempo* was not explicit to criticize that narration. Hence, many frames that appeared during New Order era competed and were contradictive in each edition. At last, what is more prominent is a set of analyses shaping the hegemonic frame that tended to confirm the narration of the New Order.

In the news of *Tempo* published during the New Order era, the event of 1965/66, in common, tended to be placed in the frame signaling PKI as a negative party and focused on G30S-PKI – not in further events. Here, PKI was discussed in the perspective of the rulers; thus providing no space for the ex-PKI to speak (unless in the edition of May 1990 in which the families and the heredities of ex-PKI started to be given a space as the informant/source). It is only in the edition of October 1990 *Tempo* started to open a discussion about the bold bath towards the members/sympathizers of PKI but it is framed as a mistake of PKI itself in which PKI, far from the blood bath event, has embedded the hatred from other social groups. The frames are summarized in **Table 4.4.**

Table 3.Frame on the 1965/66 Events in *Tempo* of New Order Era

No.	Edition	Types of Retrospective News	Emergence Frames	
			Hegemonic Frame	Candidacy of Counter-frame (If any)
1	30 September 1972	Historical Context	<p>Past Time: G30S/PKI refers to an event danger for security</p> <p>Present Time: G30S/PKI still remains the latent danger</p> <p>Future Time: G30S/PKI can reappear</p>	<p>Future: The disturbances are purely as common crime</p>
2	24 December 1977 Year. VII/No. 43	Historical Context	<p>Past Time: The 1965 event is a friction of PKI and Islam</p> <p>Future: Government can its commitment towards the guarantee the human rights</p>	(None).
3	No. 32 Year X 4 October 1980	Historical Context Historical Reconstruction	<p>Past Time: 30 September 1965 is the failed rebellion of PKI</p> <p>Present Time: Any underground political movement addresses to PKI</p>	(None)
4	No.31 Year XVIII-1 October 1988	Historical Reconstruction	The Seditious Force of PKI is brittle	(None)
5	No. 11 Year XX 12 May 1990	Historical Context	Government Regulation related to 1965 alleviated the burden of families and all people	Government Regulation Discredited Ex-PKI and all people
6	No. 32 Year XX 6 October 1990	Historical Reconstruction	PKI is guilty, PKI spread conflict and becomes the target of revenge	PKI was not guilty, PKI was the victim

The characters of frames around the event of 1965 through the news of *Tempo* during the New Order era were different based on the genre of the retrospective news both in historical context and in historical reconstruction. In the retrospective news on the historical context, the tragedy of 1996 has been rememorized as a bad collective experience and memory in which the *contemporary* impacts legitimated the contemporary government policies. Meanwhile, in the retrospective news of historical

reconstruction, the event of 1965 was constructed as an event initiated by PKI and the failure occurred in view of both the internal mechanism of PKI itself and the relation of PKI with other groups in society. In *Tempo* in October 1990, the reconstruction of G30S-PKI has started to concern with the further events particularly the mass murder towards the followers of PKI. However, the roots of the mass murder towards PKI were as a result of the bad relation of PKI with the social elements in any areas.

Both in the genre of historical context and in the genre of historical reconstruction, the frames in *Tempo* in New Order tended to have an equal essence to the event of 1965/66 that is with the event of 1965/66 as an event of the action of PKI that attempted to usurp the authorized power. The term of PKI followers or the sympathizers of PKI or suspected PKI were rarely used to refer the level of closeness of an individual to PKI. The label of “G30S-PKI” was used to mention the action of 30 September 1965 itself or to mention all people both as committee, sympathizers, relatives or anybody that directly or indirectly were involved in G30S-PKI, with the phrases of “those involved in G30S-PKI”, or “the remainders of ex- G30S-PKI” to mention a group of people that had a close or far relationship or even had no relationship with PKI. In other words, PKI and Communism in Indonesia are more known as the actors of G30S rather than as the victims of the mass murder in the post-G30S.

In the edition of 1972, 1977, and 1980, the frames regarding G30S-PKI were still stable to expose the situation in post- G30S-PKI in Indonesia, particularly in the genre of the historical context (1972, 1977, some parts of the edition 1980). Meanwhile, in the edition of 1988 and 1990, the frames started specifically to again discuss about the events towards and at the day of G30S-PKI. Table 4 illustrates the elements of the frame of *Tempo* of New Order.

‘Counter Frame’ and Collective Memory on the 1965/66 Event in *Tempo* Reformation

Compared to the retrospective news of *Tempo* in New Order era, the characters of the frames and tendency of ideology contained in the retrospective news in *Tempo* Reformation is to the counter frame and ideology criticizing the collective memory of New Order heritage. Frame and ideology of *Tempo* Reformation can be considered to fight the memory of New Order heritage. However, are “the frame and ideology” suitable to be called as counter frame and ideology for the values and memory spread in society in recent reformation era? By considering the tendency of memory about the event of 1965/66 recently spread as the heritage of New Order regime (Budiawan, 2000; Wardaya, 2012) and that the attempt of the government in Reformation era in strengthening the reconciliation was not maximal, the frame and ideology in the retrospective news of *Tempo* Reformation has a value of *counter*³.

³Some events exposed by media also showed the high-antipathetic attitude of some social groups to the symbols of PKI shown in public places such as the controversy of t-shirt with the picture of hammer and sickle worn by the participant of Putri Indonesia 2015 for some times ago. Similarly, state does not reconstruct the history on the subject in school or in sites such as Monument of *LubangBuaya* and *Pulau Buru*.

No single focus on the news of *Tempo Reformation* comes from the contemporary issues/events. *Tempo Reformation* consciously looked at many things from the events of 1965/66 that still remains a 'mystery' and need to be explored. What is implied then is the genre of the retrospective news were mostly the historical reconstruction and character profiles - not historical context. It does not mean that *Tempo Reformation* ignored the *contemporary* issues that are still being faced by the families of the missing, killed, or prisoned PKI actors or the families of the generals that are still becoming the victims. However, the *contemporary* events were not the starting points of *Tempo Reformation* in framing the past events.

In the retrospective text, *Tempo Reformation* tended to open up more opportunities for the interpretation of the G30S; one of which was by thrusting some alternative sources in addition to Buku Putih (White Book) and the sources that were agreed with the New Order regime. In a retrospective text of *Tempo Reformation* and in such sources such as the White Book of G30-S/PKI it is mentioned in quotation and presented some other contrast sources - not only the content as if the mere citation of the information is valid by itself, as happened in *Tempo New Order*.

In addition, *Tempo Reformation* also took some angles never presented in *Tempo* of New Order. In addition to military sources, some written sources such as the academic or biographical works and the informants of direct descent of PKI or the ones of General Council members and the actors dominated the journalistic authority sources of *Tempo Reformation*, different from the New Order dominated by government and military sources. The efforts to maintain a balance can be seen in the use of overlapping resources such as the descent of Aidit, PKI and descent of Nasution, Council-General in the same edition issue though in a different article.

Table 5. The Frame on the 1965/66 Event in *Tempo* of Reformation Era

Number/Title of Edition	Genre of Retrospective News	Frame
1-7 October 2007 G30S and Role of Aidit	Historical Reconstruction	The event of G30S that is still unclear.
23 November 2008 <i>SjamLelakidengan Lima Alias</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	There are still many possibilities about the relationship between the leaders and the figures of PKI in the rebellion events.
11 October 2009 <i>Njoto: PeniupSaksofon di Tengah Prahara</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	There are still many possibilities about the relationship between the leaders and the figures of PKI in the rebellion events.
7-13 November 2011 <i>SarwoEdhiWibowo and Mistery of 1965</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	Personal ambition and military played a role in annihilation of the members /symphatizers of PKI during the period of 1965-66
7 October 2012 <i>The Admission of Algojo 1965</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	The event of 1965/66 is a tragedy justified by state
30 September-4 October 2013 Lekra and Geger 1965	Historical Reconstruction Organization Profile	Many innocent persons became the victims in the event of 1965-1966

Discussion

The event of 1965/66 can be classified as the event of public tragedy (Doka, 2003; Molotch & Lester, 1974). In terms of genre and the use of past event in the news, Tempo New Order and Tempo Reformation showed some differences. The retrospective news of Tempo New Order related to the event of 1965/66 was dominated by the genre of historical context with an emphasis on the contemporary events (Edy, 1999). Therefore, the tragedy of 1965/66 is an event that was as important as the contemporary events (Zelizer, 2008), but the memories delivered and the way of Tempo New Order delivered were more in line with the willingness of the regime. Meanwhile, the retrospective news in Tempo Reformation was dominated by the genre of historical reconstruction with an emphasis on the aspects of the 1965/66 event itself (Edy, 1999). Therefore, the tragedy was the main important event presented by Tempo (Zelizer, 2008) and memories delivered and how Tempo Reformation delivered more competed memory inherited from New Order that now is still present in Reformation.

It was not only in the transformation of the genre tendencies and the use of past tragedy in Tempo New Order and Tempo Reformation, a transformation also appeared in frames appearing in retrospective news in both two eras. Tempo Reformation clearly showed the extent of the journalism agency in reconstructing memory and frame in terms of the tragedy rather than more presenting the contemporary inducement news (news peg) (Edy 2011).

Based on the existing findings, retrospective news Tempo New Order showed tendencies in the emergence of hegemonic frame and memory. Frames - as well as collective memory - appearing on retrospective news of Tempo New Order (edition 1972, 1977, 1980, 1988, May 1990 and October 1990) tended to only highlight the events of 1965 as a rebellious movement that interfered PKI security and subsequent events (the aftermath) (which is actually a mass murder against the followers / sympathizers of PKI) is referred to as PKI clashes with Islamic groups.

There would be a counter-frame existence (edition of 1972, May 1990, and October 1990), however the counter-frame did not perfectly appear, making it less prominent than hegemonic frame. The weak counter-frame was due to the statements that supported the counter-frame was then followed by a denial and negation statement. Such negation became something common to be practiced by Tempo New Order in order to avoid some accusations of partiality opposed by the authorities (Steele, 2007). In addition, the candidacy of counter-frame did not use a set of the intact and consistent framing, thus making it less prominent compared to the hegemonic frames.

The statements insinuating Suharto regime added the suspense to the narration of Tempo though later this statement was negated by a further statement, later raising the effect of the final version was more powerful and true (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003). At the end, the frames appearing in Tempo New Order still reinforced the hegemony of the memory about 1965/66 in the version of the Suharto regime.

Those frames maintained a consensus that the further events - mass murder was not necessary to be openly discussed openly and should be forgotten. The regime had power over Tempo New Order in terms of which issues that needed to be removed and to be marginalized in public communication circuit (Golding & Murdock, 1997b).

Tempo New Order, in other words, was still locked by the power structure (Curran, Gurevitch, Woollacott, 2011).

Counter-frame in retrospective news of Tempo New Order became apparent in Reformation. The memory of the events of 1965/66 was still dominated by the memory of the New Order descendant (Budiawan, 2004; Herlambang 2013). Therefore, it can be said that the retrospective news of Tempo Reformation on the events 1965/66 was counter-frame towards the official view of government that was not changed much from the New Order government, at least from the absence of a formal apology from the state to the innocent victims from the mass murder in post-G30S.

As stated by Misztal (2003: 156), Tempo Reforms offered an alternative view for the past time that opposed the dominant representation on the past events. What are the alternative views? Some of the views coming from the collective memory of the groups in New Order were not exposed to public, for example, the aspiration of the children as the descent of DN Aidit and SjamKamaruzzaman along with his relatives and friends, the slayer of followers/sympathizers of PKI as well as the witnesses of biography of PKI leaders and historians having an alternative view.

Although the official views of the New Order government were not changed much, many alternative sources began to openly circulate in society, say, various publications of the biography of the historical witnesses or academic works that have some views different from official sources. Tempo Reformation utilized the existing moment by exposing the topic of 1965/66 and used these alternative sources for its retrospective news, for example the book of John Roosa entitled Excuse for Mass Murder in the edition of 2012 ("Recognition of Executioner 1965"). Counter-frame for the events of 1965/66 in Tempo Reformation swung freely for press freedom upheld by the Constitution.

References

- Adam, AW. (June, 2008). 'The history of violence and the state in Indonesia.' *CRISE Working Paper*, 54. Downloaded from <http://www.r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/Inequality/wp54.pdf>
- Budiawan.(2000).When memory challenges history: public contestation of the past in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 28(2), 35-57. Downloaded from http://www.thefpr.org/traumaprivate/pdf/CUL_Budiawan_1.pdf
- Budiawan.(2004). *Mematahkan Pewarisan Ingatan: Wacana Anti-Komunias dan Politik Rekonsiliasi Pasca-Soeharto*. Jakarta: ELSAM.
- Croteau, D.R. and WD. Hoyness.(2002). *Media/Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*.London: Sage Publications.
- Doka, K.J. (2003). 'What Makes a Tragedy Public?' in M. Lattanzi & K.J. Doka (eds.). *Living with Grief: Coping with Public Tragedy*, New York: Brunner-Routledge.
- Edy, JA. (2006). *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest*.Temple University Press.
- Gamson, William A. & Lasch, Kathryn E. (1980). 'The political culture of social welfare policy.' *CRSO Working Paper*, No. 221.
- Hearman, V. (2013). 'Under duress: supressing and recovering memories of Indonesian sixties.' *SocialTransformation*, 1(1),5-25.
- Herlambang, W. (2013). *Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965: Bagaimana Orde Baru Melegitimasi Anti-Komunisme Melalui Sastra dan Film*, Serpong: Marjin Kiri.
- Heryanto, A. (2006). *State terrorism and political Identity in Indonesia fatally belonging*. New York: Routledge.
- Misztal, B. (2003). *Theories of Social Remembering*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Pellegrini, C. (2012). Indonesia's unresolved mass murders: undermining democracy, Esther Cann (Ed.).*Tapol*. Downloaded from <http://www.tapol.org/reports/indonesia's-unresolved-mass-murders-undermining-democracy>.
- Sorensen, K. (2009). *Media, Memory, and Human Rights in Chile*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Twomey, JL. (2004). 'Searching for a Legacy: The Los Angeles Times, Collective Memory and the 10th Anniversary of the 1992 LA.' *Race, Gender & Class*, 11 (1), 75-93.

Wardaya, BT. (2013). 'Tragedi kemanusiaan 1965 dan konteksnya.' Schaefer, B. and Wardaya, B.T., *1965: Indonesia dan Dunia*, Jakarta: Gramedia.

Wieringa, SE. (2010). *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan: Politik Seksual di Indonesia Pascakejatuhan PKI*, Yogyakarta: Galang Press.

Zelizer, B. (2008). 'Why memory's work on journalism does not reflect journalism's work on memory.' *Memory Studies*, 1: 79.

Zelizer, B. (1995), 'Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 12: 214-239.





*Hegemonic and Counter-Media Frames of the Unsolved-Past Tragedy*¹

Gilang Desti Parahita, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia²

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Tempo magazine has brought the memory of the unsolved-past tragedy of Indonesia, “1965/66 Event” in some ways in both New Order era and Reform era. The collapse of New Order has clearly influenced the framing of “1965-Event”. During New Order, the event was remembered as the effort of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to ‘*coup d’etat*’ the state in which many victims in the aftermath were barely reported. *Tempo* Reformation framed the event from the perspectives of once-marginalised groups such as the family of PKI followers, witnesses and the assassins.

Keywords: retrospective news, collective memory, framing, ideology



iafor

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

¹This research once when it was still on going and its research report was presented in Asian Congress for Media and Communication in City University of Hong Kong in November, 2014. This paper is rewritten based on the inputs and final results of the research.

²Faculty Member of the Faculty of Social and Political Studies of Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia. Can be reached at parahita.gilang@gmail.com.

A. Introduction

IN New Order era, PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) and communism were stigmatized. In the period of 1966-1998, the regime of New Order through any political and cultural strategies³ did a historical and memorial propaganda on PKI and the event of 30 September that later had led a number of adverse consequences to PKI, sympathizers, and their families politically and culturally (Hearman, 2013:15; Pellegrini, 2012; Adam, 2008:5; Heryanto, 2006). In the meantime, the mass assassination to 500.000 followers or sympathizers of PKI and incarceration of almost one million people without any jurisdiction during the period of October 1965 - March 1966 not merely done by military but also a group of civil societies seem to be vanished from public memory (Wardaya, 2013; Hearman, 2013; Pellegrini, 2012; Adam, 2008).

Reformation, in turn, gives a hope for the ones adversely affected by the historical narrative of New Order to “justify” the history and memory. However, the collapse of New Order in 1998, in fact, does not undermine the negative stigma for PKI and communism. In response, many historians attempt to make any explanations about this anomaly⁴. Based on the explanation above, media perspective has not been a concern in academic or praxis course discussing about the persistence of anti-communism in Indonesia in the Post-Soeharto era.

This research was started from thoughtfulness for the lack of studies in Indonesia on mass media as an institution constructing the past events such as the Tragedy of 1965/66. In this case, mass media is still viewed as “the first manuscript in writing history” (Budiawan, 2004; Wieringa, 2010). A textual study on the retrospective news at international level, concurrently, views the construction on the past events as a negotiating process between media and social and political actors that have certain interest in the memory of the past event (Lorenzo-Dusdan Bryan, 2011; Simonetti, 2008; Edy, 2006; Twomey, 2004; Nimkoff, 2009) in one era of certain political regime (Sorensen, 2009). In other word, the dynamics approach of memory (Mistzal, 2003) has been more reflected through those researches. Meanwhile, the approach of critical theory is rare in use to the research on the retrospective news on past tragedy.

³Those strategies include the enactment of the provision of MPR No. 25/1966, production of historical text books with single perspective, production of propaganda film of Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI (Treason of G30S/PKI), campaigns such as “*bersihdiri, bersihlingkungan*”, and any memorialization and ritual forms such as Commemoration of 1 October of Kesaktian Pancasila.

⁴*First*, many physical evidences such as dead bodies, prisons and buildings becoming the shelter of PKI have been vanished caused by nature or nurture (Hearman, 2013:19).

Second, memory that PKI is a state enemy has already been a part of narration of establishing national identity; thus, the clarification about the event will be a threat for identity of Indonesia entirely (Pellegrini, 2012).

Third, discrimination, stigmatization, and memory on PKI are no longer under the control of state or regime but they have been rooted in society. Thus, the collapse of New Order does not significantly change the public memory developed in society towards PKI (Adam, 2008:18-19).

Fourth, the idea of communism in general is viewed as atheism. Thus, the acceptance for the idea will threat the religion base particularly for Islam (Budiawan, 2004).

Fifth, communism is imaged as the most dangerous political and cultural movement that can threat democracy by the Indonesia intellectuals pro-west through the spin of West liberalism ideas (Herlambang, 2013: 302).

Sixth, support of state for the completion of case of 1965/66 ran down in light of the cancelation of Law No. 27/2004 on Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KRR) in 2006 by Mahkamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court) (“Elsam dan Media”, at [Elsam.or.id](http://www.elsam.or.id) at <http://www.elsam.or.id/new/index.php?id=641&lang=en&act=view&cat=c/301>, downloaded in 11 December 2013)

Indonesia is seeing an interesting phenomenon about the retrospective journalism. *Tempo* has published the news on the past event reconstruction that is the event of 1965/66 in Reform era since 2007 to 2013 in the format of *LiputanKhusus* (Special Reportage). Looking at the past time, *Tempo*, in fact, also published a number of equal news in New Order era. Through the study on media, the main factor of the alteration or the memory sustainability of New Order was still relative in Indonesia society in Post-Soeharto era and it can be explained that media becomes the mirror of values and contributes to stimulate the change of values in society. In the perspective of Gramscian (Williams, 2003), media text can be one of indicators for the sociological and political changes or the persistence of status quo in relation to the event of 1965/66 as represented through media texts. Hence, a research to see the construction of the media framing and its transformation on the violence occurred in the era of New Order through the retrospective news of *Tempo* magazine in both New Order era and Reform era is deemed essential to do.

A. Problem Formulations

How did *Tempo* construct the frame of 1965/66' event through its retrospective news released in New Order era and Reformation era?

B. Theoretical Framework

C.1. Critical Theory and Framing

The application of the perspective of Critical Theory to analyse the retrospective news of *Tempo* was backgrounded by a number of theoretical and methodological advantages. First, the analyses on the retrospective news would be most suitable to use framing theory (Edy, 2006). It is in relation to that since the framing theory is used in this research of the retrospective news, hegemonic thesis in Critical Theory can complement it (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Thesis on media hegemony directly correlates the framing process to the power elements between news media and social changes (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Thus, the dynamics of power influence on framing can be more clearly seen. In contrast, framing thesis provides a tool for the hegemonic thesis to prove the congruence between the construction of news media and the interest of dominant group (Carragee&Roefs, 2004). Carragee&Roefs (2004) viewed that recent researches on hegemony of media find them difficult to explore the hegemonic traces in the texts and audiences. In addition to this, the hegemonic thesis comes to be an alarm for the researchers to observe the so dominant frames that then are considered suitable as a "*common sense*" (Carragee&Roefs, 2004:223).

Second, the perspective of Critical Theory is able to answer the research questions in term of the transformation of framing and ideology on the retrospective news of *Tempo* in New Order era and Reformation era. Critical Theory assumes the existence of experience contradictions becoming an indication of the emergence of "hegemonic crisis". This is the hegemonic crisis of New Order occurred in the end of 1990s in Indonesia. At the beginning of the initiation of Reformation, it could assumptively be said that the new hegemony began to be formed. Hegemony is at the weakest level when it is born that is when they have naturalized the discourses and practices, before they have consolidated their grips to the control mechanisms in society, and when they have grown older and weakened (Louw, 2001). Third, as the paradigm of Critical Theory is dialogic and dialectical, the Framing Theory with the combination of Critical Theory can be applied by the researcher by not claiming his or her own truth with the tight and limited measures but the truth is obtained through the dialect process of the researcher with the research object (Guba& Lincoln, 1994).

The paradigm of Critical Theory understands that the reality is formed by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnical, and gender factors. Subsequently, it is crystalized or reified to be a series of structure that now (inappropriately) is viewed as something “real”, natural, and unchanged (Guba& Lincoln, 1994). In the context of media, the perspective of Critical Theory believes that media functions ideologically – meaning that it operates in accordance with the ideology or symbolic mechanism stimulating cohesiveness in society (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Based on such ideology, media does “definition of situation” and provides a label towards any groups and individuals considered as deviant. Media strengthens the values *taken for granted* and constructs hegemonic reality (Croteau, Hoynes& Milan, 2011; Curran, Gurevitch&Woollacott, 2011).

C.2. Counter-Memory in Media

The raw material used by news media to reconstruct the past event includes the primary sources such as historical artefacts and historical witnesses that have been directly involved. Through the historical artefacts and the witnesses, the collective memory will be alive and represented. How the historical witnesses becoming the frame sponsors memorize the past event is not always be accurate in describing such event. Moreover, the news media is still possible to be able to access the historical witnesses. More often, media has to be reliant on the secondary sources such as those inherited from the ones involved in historical studies, historians and elites of government in which the secondary sources are possible to have shared the hegemonic collective memory.

Edy (2006:2) affirmed that memory is an incomplete representation from the past though we always treat the memory as the past itself. In fact, many scholars of memory antagonize the history from memory study either as collective memory or as individual one since this study have been more on the surface. Gray and Oliver (2004) stated that the scholars of memory frequently contrast the history by correlating the memory to the archaic, organic, and spiritual quality differentiating the memory with the analytical practices on history. In addition, Zelizer (1995, 2006) viewed one key that differentiates the collective memory and history is that “the collective memory is more mobile and mutable compared to the history. Memory is the mobile history on the different track and acceleration in comparison to the traditional history”.

A collective memory can be hegemonic in one society. Public believed in certain collective memory as the only right thing. The term of “hegemony” is clearly used by Barbara Misztal in the narration in her books in three times only (2003). One of them is in term of her definition about the hegemonic.

The all-embracing cultural and social dominance of a ruling group that legitimates its leadership by creating and sustaining an ideology presenting its dominance as fair and in the best interests of society as a whole.(Misztal, 2003: 159).

In the definition of Misztal, hegemony contains the element of social and cultural domination, ruling group, and the attempt to rule all social elements through an ideology that can be accepted by all social elements. Hegemony according Misztal has inspired a typology he compiled in term of the perspective of the scholars on the collective memory.

Such typology indirectly illustrates an understanding between the analysts on the collective memory that the hegemony of the collective memory exists. Hegemony of memory refers to “memory of society programmed and controlled by the ruler; thus creating a past time

perspective that is agreed, well-established, and continually reproductive (Misztal, 2003: 62).”

The hegemonic memory is a manifestation of the hegemonic ideology Misztal (2003:15), citing Terdiman, mentioned that ideology is materialized through memory. Memory functioned as the organized practices is designed to reproduce a social and political order as a factual material for propaganda (Misztal, *ibid.*). The task of the memory is to provide an identity and belief or uniting values. On those identity, belief and values, the programmed political objectives and the actions are sourced (Misztal, *ibid.*). Similar with hegemonic ideology, the hegemonic memory is created through a real process of contestation in historical field leading a part of memory to be marginalized and isolated, while other memories that can be in line with the ideology of rulers can be sustainable (Misztal, 2003: 65). State and a variety of cultural or educational institutions are the strongest institutions in making the construction of hegemonic collective memory imperishable (Misztal, *ibid.*).

The alteration of the hegemonic memory is the counter-memory. Misztal (2003: 156) defined *counter-memory* as “*an alternative view of the past which challenges the dominant representation of the past.*” Studies on alternative memory showed a memory constructed in the grass roots that can have a variety of relational forms with the dominant or official past time representations started from being contrastively sharp to being equal (Misztal, 2003: 66). An equal event that can be formulated in any various versions by various groups that make the images of the past event and the participation of the groups has changed as time passes (Misztal, *ibid.*).

D. Framing Analysis Method

The technique of framing analysis applied in this research was framing analysis in accordance to Gamson and Lasch (1980), stating that media framing will be seen when the analysis is emphasized on observing and interpreting the elements of the prominent news texts. The elements of the idea in culture do not appear discretely but are gathered in one interpretive package (Gamson and Lasch, 1980: 3). Those different elements support and strengthen to each other. Commonly, the establishment of a full package can be supported by a prominent single element.

E. Data

E.1. Hegemonic Frame and Collective Memory towards the 1965/66 event in *Tempo* of New Order Era

Tempo was established seven years after the tragedy of 1965/66. If *Tempo* exposed the tragedy, it means that *Tempo* treated a past event – not a *contemporary* event actually reported. Thus, framing the tragedy of 1965/66 means memorizing it. Ideology worked as an attempt of *Tempo* to memorize the tragedy. It is necessary to analyse the frame, memory, or ideology of *Tempo* towards the event through the news texts related to the 1965/66 event. In accordance with the category of the sort of the retrospective news according to Zelizer (2008), a part of edition of *Tempo* in New Order positioned the event of 1965/66 as a story that has an equal essence as in the recent story (*journalistic form invites memory*) in which those editions discussed the historical context from the *contemporary* events (See **Table 1.**). In other words, the 1965/66 event would be exposed if the *contemporary* event would not occur.

Table 1. The *Contemporary* Events in the Editions of *Tempo* in New Order Era

No.	Edition Number	Title of Edition	<i>Contemporary</i> Events
1	30 September 1972	PKI di Atas dan di Bawah Tanah (<i>PKI On and Uunderground</i>)	Underground movement of PKI in any areas
2	24 December 1977 Year VII/No. 43	10.000 Tahanan Dibebaskan (<i>10.000 Prisoners To Be Released</i>)	Releasing the Political Prisoner related to PKI
3	No. 11 Year XX 12 May 1990	Bersih Diri tentang PKI (<i>Self-Cleaning about PKI</i>)	The issue of President Decree on the Special Research for ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) and State Officers

In those three editions above, *Tempo* in New Order era discussed more about the present time rather than the past, but it still referred to the past time to provide a historical context in a *contemporary* event.

In contrast, in other three editions, *Tempo* of New Order made the past time as the main reportage. Those editions did the reconstruction and reinterpretation towards some parts of the event related to 1965/66. The edition of *Tempo* in 1980, 1988, and 1990 intentionally exposed some issues such as why PKI chose September to do rebellion; what motive did stimulate and why the rebellion could easily be failed (see **Table 2**).

Table 2. The Retrospective Issues on the Editions of *Tempo* of New Order

No.	Edition	Title of Edition	Retrospective Issues
1	No. 32 Year X 4 October 1980	PKI 15 Tahun yang Lalu (<i>PKI 15 Years ago</i>)	Why did PKI choose September to do its rebellion?
2	No.31 Year XVIII-1 October 1988	Apa yang Kaucari PKI (<i>What are you looking for, PKI</i>)	What motive did stimulate PKI to do rebellion?
3	No. 32 Year XX 6 October 1990	CIA dan PKI: Menengok Kembali Peristiwa G30 S (<i>CIA and PKI: Looking Back the Event of G30S</i>)	Why could the Rebellion of PKI be failed easily?

Deeply analysing the issues exposed by the *Tempo* of New Order, it seems that *Tempo* did not take the narration of the 1965/66 event as described by New Order for granted. *Tempo* provided some spaces among its sentences to show some contradictive frames. Such frames were not merely provided in *Tempo* in New Order era exposing the retrospective issues (Table 4.3) but also in *Tempo* of New Order focusing on the *contemporary* issues (Table 4.2.). However, *Tempo* was not explicit to criticize that narration. Hence, many frames that appeared during New Order era competed and were contradictive in each edition. At last, what is more prominent is a set of analyses shaping the hegemonic frame that tended to confirm the narration of the New Order.

In the news of *Tempo* published during the New Order era, the event of 1965/66, in common, tended to be placed in the frame signaling PKI as a negative party and focused on G30S-PKI – not in further events. Here, PKI was discussed in the perspective of the rulers; thus providing no space for the ex-PKI to speak (unless in the edition of May 1990 in which the families and the heredities of ex-PKI started to be given a space as the informant/source). It is only in the edition of October 1990 *Tempo* started to open a discussion about the bold bath towards the members/sympathizers of PKI but it is framed as a mistake of PKI itself in which PKI, far from the blood bath event, has embedded the hatred from other social groups. The frames are summarized in **Table 4.4**.



Table 3.Frame on the 1965/66 Events in *Tempo* of New Order Era

No.	Edition	Types of Retrospective News	Emergence Frames	
			Hegemonic Frame	Candidacy of Counter-frame (If any)
1	30 September 1972	Historical Context	<p>Past Time: G30S/PKI refers to an event danger for security</p> <p>Present Time: G30S/PKI still remains the latent danger</p> <p>Future Time: G30S/PKI can reappear</p>	<p>Future: The disturbances are purely as common crime</p>
2	24 December 1977 Year. VII/No. 43	Historical Context	<p>Past Time: The 1965 event is a friction of PKI and Islam</p> <p>Future: Government can its commitment towards the guarantee the human rights</p>	(None).
3	No. 32 Year X 4 October 1980	<p>Historical Context</p> <p>Historical Reconstruction</p>	<p>Past Time: 30 September 1965 is the failed rebellion of PKI</p> <p>Present Time: Any underground political movement addresses to PKI</p>	(None)
4	No.31 Year XVIII-1 October 1988	Historical Reconstruction	The Seditious Force of PKI is brittle	(None)
5	No. 11 Year XX 12 May 1990	Historical Context	Government Regulation related to 1965 alleviated the burden of families and all people	Government Regulation Discredited Ex-PKI and all people
6	No. 32 Year XX 6 October 1990	Historical Reconstruction	PKI is guilty, PKI spread conflict and becomes the target of revenge	PKI was not guilty, PKI was the victim

The characters of frames around the event of 1965 through the news of *Tempo* during the New Order era were different based on the genre of the retrospective news both in historical context and in historical reconstruction. In the retrospective news on the historical context, the tragedy of 1966 has been rememorized as a bad collective experience and memory in which the *contemporary* impacts legitimated the contemporary government policies. Meanwhile, in the retrospective news of historical reconstruction, the event of 1965 was constructed as an event initiated by PKI and the failure occurred in view of both the internal mechanism of PKI itself and the relation of PKI with other groups in society. In *Tempo* in October 1990, the reconstruction of G30S-PKI has started to concern with the further events

particularly the mass murder towards the followers of PKI. However, the roots of the mass murder towards PKI were as a result of the bad relation of PKI with the social elements in any areas.

Both in the genre of historical context and in the genre of historical reconstruction, the frames in *Tempo* in New Order tended to have an equal essence to the event of 1965/66 that is with the event of 1965/66 as an event of the action of PKI that attempted to usurp the authorized power. The term of PKI followers or the sympathizers of PKI or suspected PKI were rare used to refer the level of closeness of an individual to PKI. The label of “G30S-PKI” was used to mention the action of 30 September 1965 itself or to mention all people both as committee, sympathizers, relatives or anybody that directly or indirectly were involved in G30S-PKI, with the phrases of “those involved in G30S-PKI”, or “the remainders of ex-G30S-PKI” to mention a group of people that had a close or far relationship or even had no relationship with PKI. In other words, PKI and Communism in Indonesia are more known as the actors of G30S rather than as the victims of the mass murder in the post-G30S.

In the edition of 1972, 1977, and 1980, the frames regarding G30S-PKI were still stable to expose the situation in post- G30S-PKI in Indonesia, particularly in the genre of the historical context (1972, 1977, some parts of the edition 1980). Meanwhile, in the edition of 1988 and 1990, the frames started specifically to again discuss about the events towards and at the day of G30S-PKI. Table 4 illustrates the elements of the frame of *Tempo* of New Order.

E.2. ‘Counter Frame’ and Collective Memory on the 1965/66 Event in *Tempo* Reformation

Compared to the retrospective news of *Tempo* in New Order era, the characters of the frames and tendency of ideology contained in the retrospective news in *Tempo* Reformation is to the counter frame and ideology criticizing the collective memory of New Order heritage. Frame and ideology of *Tempo* Reformation can be considered to fight the memory of New Order heritage. However, are “the frame and ideology” suitable to be called as counter frame and ideology for the values and memory spread in society in recent reformation era? By considering the tendency of memory about the event of 1965/66 recently spread as the heritage of New Order regime (Budiawan, 2000; Wardaya, 2012) and that the attempt of the government in Reformation era in strengthening the reconciliation was not maximal, the frame and ideology in the retrospective news of *Tempo* Reformation has a value of *counter*⁵.

No single focus on the news of *Tempo Reformation* comes from the contemporary issues/events. *Tempo* Reformation consciously looked at many things from the events of 1965/66 that still remains a 'mystery' and need to be explored. What is implied then is the genre of the retrospective news were mostly the historical reconstruction and character profiles - not historical context. It does not mean that *Tempo* Reformation ignored the *contemporary* issues that are still being faced by the families of the missing, killed, or prisoned PKI actors or the families of the generals that are still becoming the victims.

⁵Some events exposed by media also showed the high-antipathetic attitude of some social groups to the symbols of PKI shown in public places such as the controversy of t-shirt with the picture of hammer and sickle worn by the participant of Putri Indonesia 2015 for some times ago. Similarly, state does not reconstruct the history on the subject in school or in sites such as Monument of *Lubang Buaya* and *Pulau Buru*.

However, the *contemporary* events were not the starting points of *Tempo* Reformation in framing the past events.

In the retrospective text, *Tempo* Reformation tended to open up more opportunities for the interpretation of the G30S; one of which was by thrusting some alternative sources in addition to Buku Putih (White Book) and the sources that were agreed with the New Order regime. In a retrospective text of *Tempo* Reformation and in such sources such as the White Book of G30-S/PKI it is mentioned in quotation and presented some other contrast sources - not only the content as if the mere citation of the information is valid by itself, as happened in *Tempo* New Order.

In addition, *Tempo* Reformation also took some angles never presented in *Tempo* of New Order. In addition to military sources, some written sources such as the academic or biographical works and the informants of direct descent of PKI or the ones of General Council members and the actors dominated the journalistic authority sources of *Tempo* Reformation, different from the New Order dominated by government and military sources. The efforts to maintain a balance can be seen in the use of overlapping resources such as the descent of Aidit, PKI and descent of Nasution, Council-General in the same edition issue though in a different article.

Table 5. The Frame on the 1965/66 Event in *Tempo* of Reformation Era

Number/Title of Edition	Genre of Retrospective News	Frame
1-7 October 2007 G30S and Role of Aidit	Historical Reconstruction	The event of G30S that is still unclear.
23 November 2008 <i>SjamLelakidengan Lima Alias</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	There are still many possibilities about the relationship between the leaders and the figures of PKI in the rebellion events.
11 October 2009 <i>Njoto: PeniupSaksofon di Tengah Prahara</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	There are still many possibilities about the relationship between the leaders and the figures of PKI in the rebellion events.
7-13 November 2011 <i>SarwoEdhiWibowo and Mistery of 1965</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	Personal ambition and military played a role in annihilation of the members /sympathizers of PKI during the period of 1965-66
7 October 2012 <i>The Admission of Algojo 1965</i>	Historical Reconstruction Figure Profile	The event of 1965/66 is a tragedy justified by state
30 September-4 October 2013 Lekra and Geger 1965	Historical Reconstruction Organization Profile	Many innocent persons became the victims in the event of 1965-1966

F. Discussion

The event of 1965/66 can be classified as the event of public tragedy (Doka, 2003; Molotch & Lester, 1974). In terms of genre and the use of past event in the news, Tempo New Order and Tempo Reformation showed some differences. The retrospective news of Tempo New Order related to the event of 1965/66 was dominated by the genre of historical context with an emphasis on the contemporary events (Edy, 1999). Therefore, the tragedy of 1965/66 is an event that was as important as the contemporary events (Zelizer, 2008), but the memories delivered and the way of Tempo New Order delivered were more in line with the willingness of the regime. Meanwhile, the retrospective news in Tempo Reformation was dominated by the genre of historical reconstruction with an emphasis on the aspects of the 1965/66 event itself (Edy, 1999). Therefore, the tragedy was the main important event presented by Tempo (Zelizer, 2008) and memories delivered and how Tempo Reformation delivered more competed memory inherited from New Order that now is still present in Reformation.

It was not only in the transformation of the genre tendencies and the use of past tragedy in Tempo New Order and Tempo Reformation, a transformation also appeared in frames appearing in retrospective news in both two eras. Tempo Reformation clearly showed the extent of the journalism agency in reconstructing memory and frame in terms of the tragedy rather than more presenting the contemporary inducement news (news peg) (Edy 2011).

Based on the existing findings, retrospective news Tempo New Order showed tendencies in the emergence of hegemonic frame and memory. Frames - as well as collective memory - appearing on retrospective news of Tempo New Order (edition 1972, 1977, 1980, 1988, May 1990 and October 1990) tended to only highlight the events of 1965 as a rebellious movement that interfered PKI security and subsequent events (the aftermath) (which is actually a mass murder against the followers / sympathizers of PKI) is referred to as PKI clashes with Islamic groups.

There would be a counter-frame existence (edition of 1972, May 1990, and October 1990), however the counter-frame did not perfectly appear, making it less prominent than hegemonic frame. The weak counter-frame was due to the statements that supported the counter-frame was then followed by a denial and negation statement. Such negation became something common to be practiced by Tempo New Order in order to avoid some accusations of partiality opposed by the authorities (Steele, 2007). In addition, the candidacy of counter-frame did not use a set of the intact and consistent framing, thus making it less prominent compared to the hegemonic frames.

The statements insinuating Suharto regime added the suspense to the narration of Tempo though later this statement was negated by a further statement, later raising the effect of the final version was more powerful and true (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003). At the end, the frames appearing in Tempo New Order still reinforced the hegemony of the memory about 1965/66 in the version of the Suharto regime.

Those frames maintained a consensus that the further events - mass murder was not necessary to be openly discussed openly and should be forgotten. The regime had power over Tempo New Order in terms of which issues that needed to be removed and to be marginalized in public communication circuit (Golding & Murdock, 1997b). Tempo New Order, in other words, was still locked by the power structure (Curran, Gurevitch, Woollacott, 2011).

Counter-frame in retrospective news of Tempo New Order became apparent in Reformation. The memory of the events of 1965/66 was still dominated by the memory of the New Order descendant (Budiawan, 2004; Herlambang 2013). Therefore, it can be said that the retrospective news of Tempo Reformation on the events 1965/66 was counter-frame towards the official view of government that was not changed much from the New Order government, at least from the absence of a formal apology from the state to the innocent victims from the mass murder in post-G30S.

As stated by Misztal (2003: 156), Tempo Reforms offered an alternative view for the past time that opposed the dominant representation on the past events. What are the alternative views? Some of the views coming from the collective memory of the groups in New Order were not exposed to public, for example, the aspiration of the children as the descent of DN Aidit and SjamKamaruzzaman along with his relatives and friends, the slayer of followers/sympathizers of PKI as well as the witnesses of biography of PKI leaders and historians having an alternative view.

Although the official views of the New Order government were not changed much, many alternative sources began to openly circulate in society, say, various publications of the biography of the historical witnesses or academic works that have some views different from official sources. Tempo Reformation utilized the existing moment by exposing the topic of 1965/66 and used these alternative sources for its retrospective news, for example the book of John Roosa entitled Excuse for Mass Murder in the edition of 2012 ("Recognition of Executioner 1965"). Counter-frame for the events of 1965/66 in Tempo Reformation swung freely for press freedom upheld by the Constitution.

References

- Adam, AW. (June, 2008). 'The history of violence and the state in Indonesia.' *CRISE Working Paper*, 54. Downloaded from <http://www.r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/Inequality/wp54.pdf>
- Budiawan.(2000).When memory challenges history: public contestation of the past in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 28(2), 35-57. Downloaded from http://www.thefpr.org/traumaprivate/pdf/CUL_Budiawan_1.pdf
- Budiawan.(2004). *Mematahkan Pewarisan Ingatan: Wacana Anti-Komunias dan Politik Rekonsiliasi Pasca-Soeharto*. Jakarta: ELSAM.
- Croteau, D.R. and WD. Hoyness.(2002). *Media/Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*.London: Sage Publications.
- Doka, K.J. (2003). 'What Makes a Tragedy Public?' in M. Lattanzi & K.J. Doka (eds.). *Living with Grief: Coping with Public Tragedy*, New York: Brunner-Routledge.
- Edy, JA. (2006). *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest*.Temple University Press.
- Gamson, William A. & Lasch, Kathryn E. (1980). 'The political culture of social welfare policy.' *CRSO Working Paper*, No. 221.
- Hearman, V. (2013). 'Under duress: supressing and recovering memories of Indonesian sixties.' *SocialTransformation*,1(1),5-25.
- Herlambang, W. (2013). *Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965: Bagaimana Orde Baru Melegitimasi Anti-Komunisme Melalui Sastra dan Film*, Serpong: Marjin Kiri.
- Heryanto, A. (2006). *State terrorism and political Identity in Indonesia fatally belonging*. New York: Routledge.
- Misztal, B. (2003). *Theories of Social Remembering*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Pellegrini, C. (2012). Indonesia's unresolved mass murders: undermining democracy, Esther Cann (Ed.).*Tapol*. Downloaded from <http://www.tapol.org/reports/indonesia's-unresolved-mass-murders-undermining-democracy>.
- Sorensen, K. (2009). *Media, Memory, and Human Rights in Chile*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Twomey, JL. (2004). 'Searching for a Legacy: The Los Angeles Times, Collective Memory and the 10th Anniversary of the 1992 LA.' *Race, Gender & Class*, 11 (1), 75-93.
- Wardaya, BT. (2013). 'Tragedi kemanusiaan 1965 dan konteksnya.' Schaefer,B. and Wardaya, B,T., *1965: Indonesia dan Dunia*, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Wieringa, SE. (2010). *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan: Politik Seksual di Indonesia Pascakejatuhan PKI*, Yogyakarta: Galang Press.

Zelizer, B. (2008). 'Why memory's work on journalism does not reflect journalism's work on memory. *Memory Studies*, 1: 79.

Zelizer, B. (1995), 'Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies,' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 12: 214-239.



Are Women Still Better at Learning Languages? Examining Gender Differences on Learners' Academic Performance at University

Yoshihiko Yamamoto, Ritsumeikan University, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies, 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Several past studies such as Guimond and Rousell (2001), Chatard, Guimond and Selimbegovic (2007) and Heinzmann (2009) investigated gender stereotypes on language learning at school. They found that girls were better at language learning than boys. Whatever Japanese university students are majoring in, English is one of compulsory subjects for them to complete their degrees. The author of this study is currently teaching English at one of the Japanese universities and he has noticed that female university students tend to get higher grades in many of his English classes. The aim of this study is to investigate whether female students perform better at learning English at university level. In addition, it examines reasons why female students are better at learning English than male students. Participants of this study are both 1st and 2nd year students of a private university in Japan (N=386: male students & N=232: female students). This study adopts the quantitative approach. Their final grades in the past two years were quantitatively examined. The results show that female students tend to get higher grades. In this study, 47% of female students received an A+ or A while 30% of male students received an A+ or A. However, only 4% of female students received a F compared to 16% of male students. The quantitative results tend to prove the myth that women are better language learners than men.

Keywords: gender stereotypes, education

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Teaching English to students is important for Japanese university students. It is mostly English that is one of the requirements to obtain credits for graduation. In addition, those who hold higher scores on English exams such as TOEFL or TOEIC are believed to get better jobs. Japanese companies recruit those who can communicate with people around the world in English. Thus, most Japanese universities offer English programs for students. According to the survey conducted by the ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology, Japan (2011), there are a total of 759 universities (86 national, 81 public, and 591 private universities) in 2011. 724 universities out of 759 offer students English subjects as part of undergraduate programs. 208 universities out of 759 require students to take English exams such as TOEIC, TOEFL and so forth. 222 universities out of 759 conduct lessons in English only for English classes.

Many past studies investigated a gender stereotype that women are better at learning languages while men are better at math or science subjects. According to the survey conducted by the ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology, Japan (2014), the total number of enrolments in the Arts and humanity department at the universities throughout Japan were 371,212 students. Out of 371,212 students, 127,723 male students were enrolled in this area while 243,489 female students were enrolled in the same area. The numbers of female students of this area are almost the double of that of male students. As opposed to arts and humanities, the total number of enrolments in the engineering department at Japanese universities in 2014 were 388,817 students. 338,467 male students were enrolled in this area while 50,350 female students enrolled in the same area. As for the science department, 80,685 students in total were enrolled. 59,376 male students were enrolled while 21,309 students were enrolled in this area.

These figures suggest that the gender stereotype of women being better at learning languages while men are better at math or science subjects still remains. However, whatever major Japanese university students take, in order to graduate from their universities, they still need to learn English since English is taught as part of the requirement for their credits in most Japanese universities. The author of this study teaches English for those who are enrolled in the sport and health science department. Although some students are highly motivated in learning English, most of them are not particularly interested in learning English. They need to pass English classes in order to get credits to graduate.

The problem arises here. There are those who are not able to pass English subjects every year. Those who fail English subjects tend to repeat the same English subject every year although they are not majoring in English at university. The worst scenario is that they do not complete their degrees because they are failing English subjects. Based on observation by the author of this study, male students are likely to fail and repeat English subjects in his classes while female students tend to get higher marks in his classes. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate two research questions. Firstly, it examines whether the gender stereotype that women are better at learning languages while men are not. Secondly, if the first research question exists, then this study examines why it still exists.

Literature Review

Gender Stereotype Studies

Many studies of gender stereotypes in the past found gender stereotypes exist. For instance, one of the classic studies done by Lakoff (1975) found that women were often described as charming, lovely and divine. However, Archer and Lloyd (1985) found that men were often described as assertive, forceful, tough and so forth. Vogel et al. (2003) found that women were more emotional than men were. Prentice and Carranza (2002, p. 269) explain gender stereotypes are highly prescriptive. For instance, a stereotype that women are warm and caring is matched by a societal prescription that they should be being so. A stereotype of men that men are strong and agentic is matched by a societal prescription that they should be being so. Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidts (2002) support the gender stereotype that men are agentic. They explain that men are often described as assertive, controlling, aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent. Heilman (2001) explains that men are often described as aggressive, decisive, forceful and independent while women are characterized as sympathetic, kind, helpful and concerned about others. Bihagen, E. and Kats-Gerro, T. (2000) studied gender differences on leisure activities. They found that women tended to watch TV shows such as documentary, social issues and news while men tend to watch lowbrow TV shows such as entertainment and sports. Holmes (2000:3) summarizes gender stereotypes that terms such as direct, aggressive, competitive, autonomous, dominates talking time, interrupts aggressively, task-oriented, referentially oriented are often used to describe as masculine. However, terms such as indirect, conciliatory, facilitative, collaborative, talks less than men, has difficulty getting a turn, person-oriented, affectively oriented are used to describe feminine.

Gender Stereotype Studies of Academic Performance

There are several past studies about one of the gender stereotypes that women are better at learning language while men are better at math or science. For example, Chatard, Guimond and Selimbegovic (2007) investigated one of the gender stereotypes that arts subjects are for women while mathematics is for men. They found that most boys believe in one of the traditional gender stereotypes that men are better at mathematics than women. They also found that most girls believe that women are better at arts than men. Guimond and Rousell (2001) studied a gender stereotype that women are better at languages while men are better at math and science. They found that the stereotype still exists in general but it does not exist for some groups. For instance, psychology students in their study are less likely to believe the stereotype of men's superiority in science subjects. Female high school students in science track career course are also less likely to believe women's inferiority in science subjects. Steffens and Jelenec (2011) found that women held stronger gender stereotype that math for men and languages for women than men did in their study. However, they found women's grades for both math and German language at the university were better than men's grades. Heinzmann (2009) studied school children who learn English and French. He found that girls were more motivated in learning English than boys were. Girls enjoyed learning English, put effort on learning English, and felt fewer burdens to learn English than boys did. According to Educational Testing Service (ETC) (2013), it reports gender differences

in TOEIC test scores worldwide. In general, women scored higher than men in TOEIC test in 2013. Women scored on average 593 of the total score. They scored 327 in listening and 266 in reading on average. Men scored on average 560 of the total score. They scored 304 in listening and 256 in reading on average.

Gender Differences in Different Cultures

Li and Kirkup (2007) researched gender differences in Internet use between Chinese students and British students. They found that men in both countries were more likely to use emails or chat rooms than women in both countries. However, gender differences when using the Internet were higher in Britain than China. They concluded that British women in their study had negative computer experiences at school or home when they started use computers. Fisher et al. (2004) explain that in Western industrial society, women are more likely to take domestic and nurturing roles than men do. However, men in this society are more likely to provide the material resources and to take a role in the paid economy than women do. Kobayashi (2002) found in his study that Japanese women had more positive images than men had. For example, Japanese women saw jobs that involve high use of English as intelligent jobs. They also thought in order to succeed in job hunting, English was important to get a better job. Therefore, Japanese women tend to study English as their major at universities. This point supports the data by the recent survey conducted by the ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology, Japan (2014), out of 371, 212 students in total, 127, 723 male students are enrolled in this area while 243, 489 female students are enrolled in the same area. According to Educational Testing Service (ETC) (2013), it reports some culture differences on taking TOEIC test. Countries which have a large population of men take TOEIC tests are Bangladesh (91% of men), Saudi Arabia (79%), Pakistan (76%), Turkey (73%) and United Arab Emirates (73%). Countries which a large population of women take TOEIC tests are Hong Kong (72% of women), Albania (67%), China (63%).

Methodology

In order to collect data for this study, this study used both coding numbers of students' grades in 2012 and 2013. The author of this study has taught one of English subjects at one of the Japanese private universities for several years. However, he selected the most recent data for analysis.

Participants of This Study

Participants of this study are majoring in sport and health science in one of private universities in Japan. They are majoring in sport and health science but English is part of their requirements that they must take for their credits to graduate. Most university students in Japan are required to take English subjects as their compulsory subjects to graduate when they are in their first and second year. In this study, all participants are in their first and second year in their university. Their ages are over 18 years old and below 21 years old. The total of 627 students (male students:393 and female students:234) were involved in this study between 2012 and 2013.

Grading Guidelines

Since there is a grading policy by the department in the university where the author of this study works, the grade of A+ should normally be within 5% of each class. Each class that was examined for this study had between 20 and 25 students and therefore there is only one A+ student in each class. There was also a grading guideline by the department where the author of this study worked. The grade of A will be normally around 30% of each class but this is just a guideline which lecturers follow. As for the other grades (B, C, F), there was no particular guidelines.

Subjects which Were Used for This Study

The data of this study was collected from classes that the author of this study taught such as P1, P2, P3, and P4. Both P1 and P2 are for the first year students. In both subjects, students conduct their research individually and thus each student decides their research topic at the beginning of the semester. In P1, there are assessments such as a mid term presentation for three minutes, the final presentation for four minutes, homework every week, both attendance and participation in class, and the final essay which is around 600 words. In P2, assessments are similarly done as P1 but the length of presentations and final essay are longer than P1. In P2, students need to conduct both interview and questionnaires for their research. Although P2 focuses on teaching writing, P1 focuses on both speaking and listening.

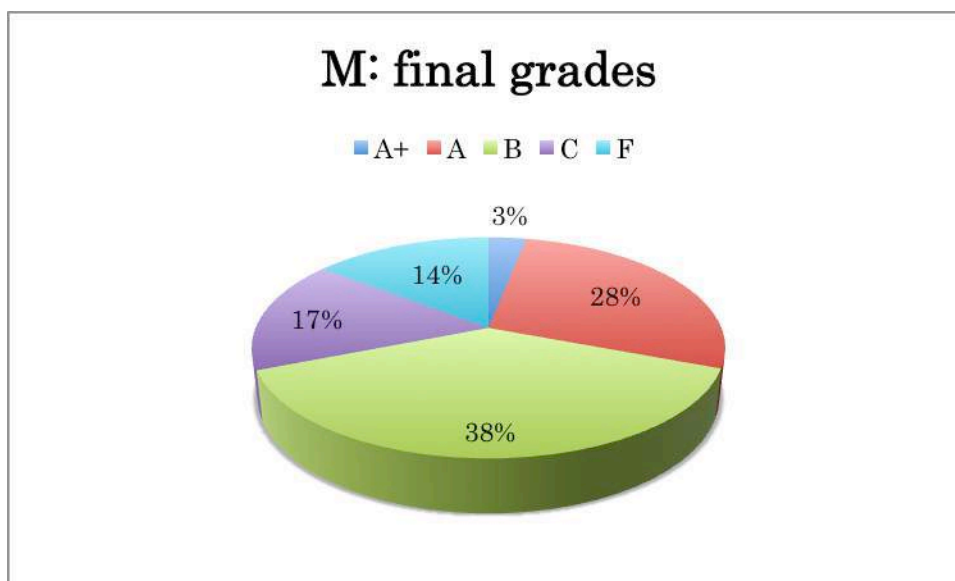
Both P3 and P4 are taught for the second year students but students conduct their research in small groups. Therefore research topics are decided by their groups instead of choosing individual topics. Since P3 focuses on teaching both speaking and listening skills, the assessments include a mini debate (each person 5 or 6 minutes), a mini panel discussion (same as the debate), a final presentation (each person 7 or 8 minutes), both attendance and participation, homework every week, and the final paper (each person should write 1000 words with at least four references including two English journals). In P4, since it focuses on teaching writing skill, assessments are a mid term group presentation (10 minutes as a group), the final group presentation (each person 7 or 8 minutes), the final paper (around 1500 words each student), both attendance and participation, and homework every week are assessed.

As for the data analysis for this study, in order to see whether there are gender differences on students' grades, assessments such as presentations, final essays, homework, and the final grades are analyzed in this study.

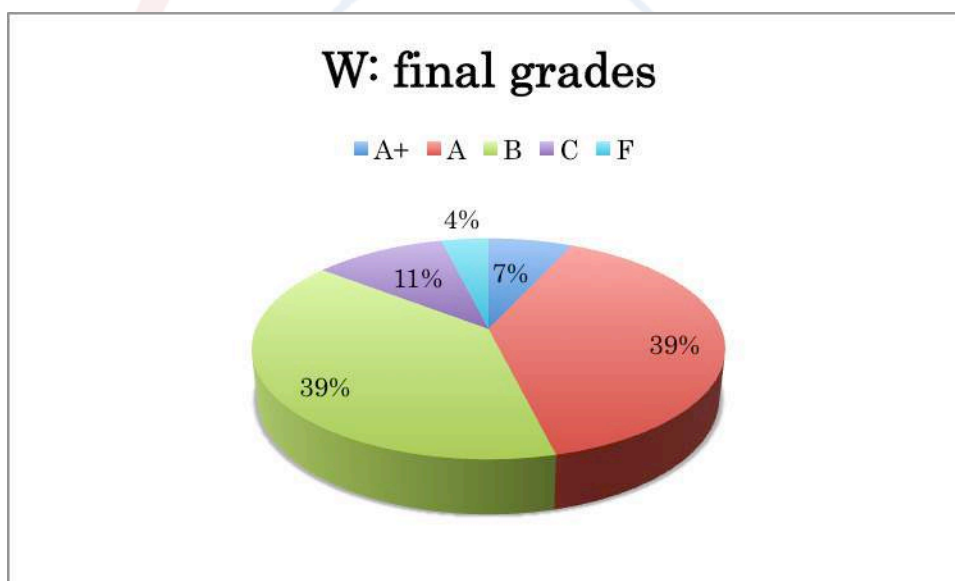
Results

Each category of students' grades such as final grades, mid term presentation, final presentation, final paper and homework are shown below. Firstly, results of final grades of both men and women are shown.

Graph 1

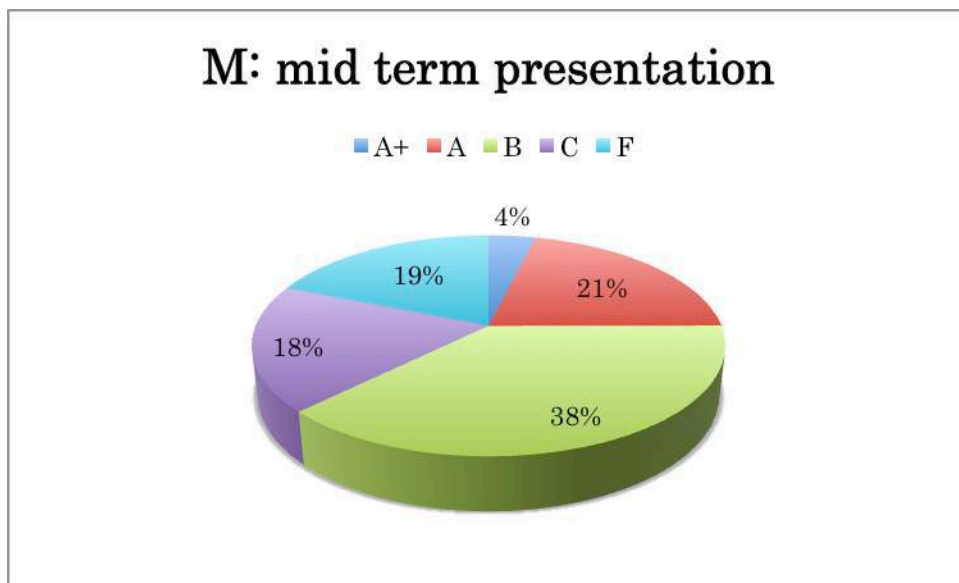


Graph 2

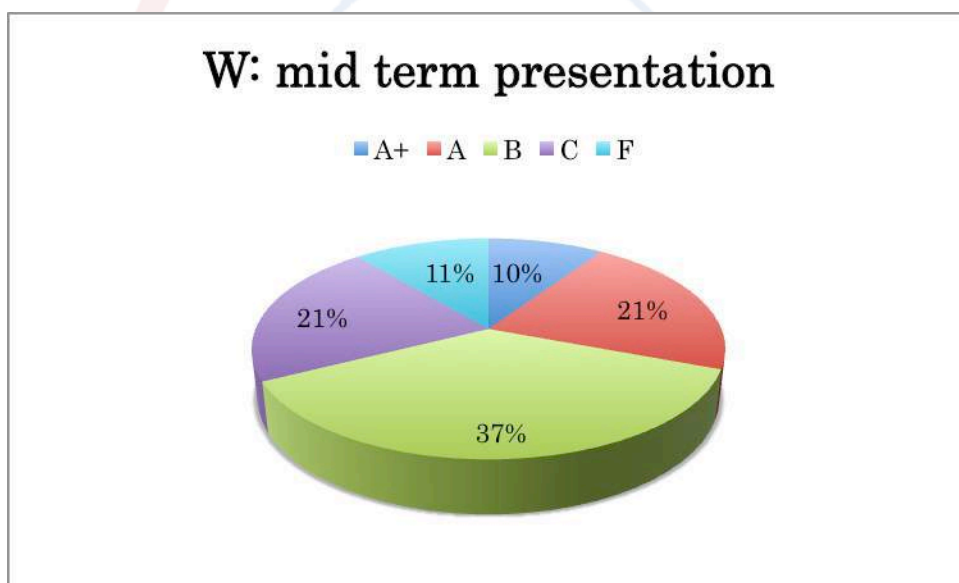


To compare graph 1 and 2, women in this study showed better grades than men in this study. While 7% of women scored an A+, only 3% of men scored an A+. While 39% of women scored an A, only 28% of men scored an A. In total of both A+ and A, 46% of women scored above an A grade as opposed to 31% of men scored above an A grades. As for women in this study, nearly the half of women got either an A+ or A grade. In addition, only 4% of women got a F grade while 14% of men got a F grade.

Graph 3

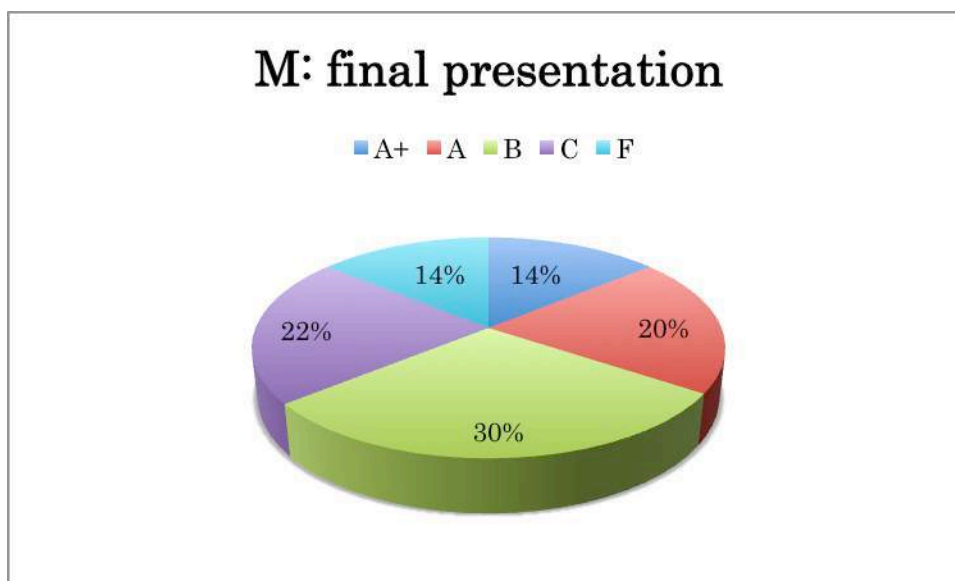


Graph 4

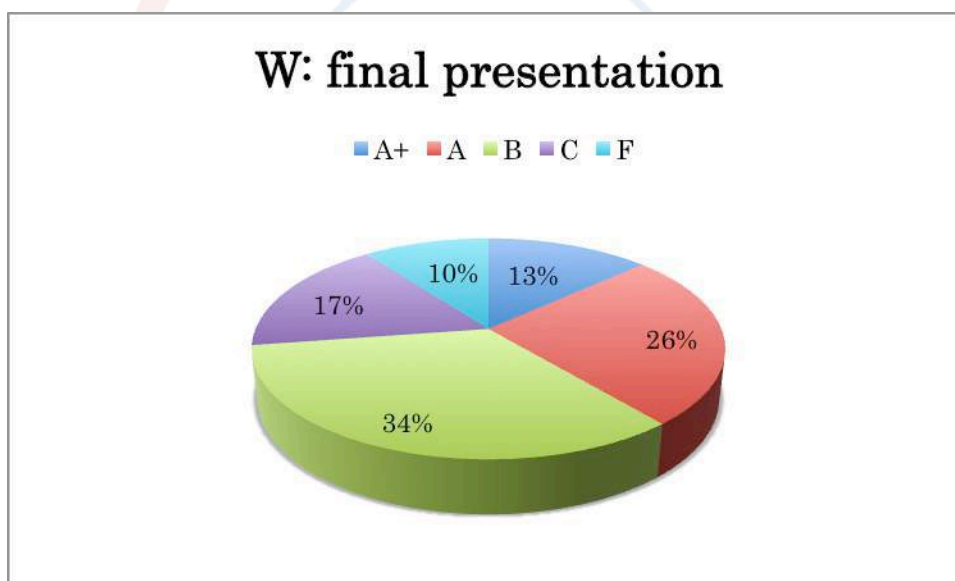


Both graph 3 and 4 show the results of scores of mid term presentations. 21% of both men and women got an A grade but there is a slight difference of an A+ between men and women. While 10% of women got an A+, only 4% of men got an A+ for the mid term presentations. As for a F grade, 19% of men got an F but 11% of women got a F grade.

Graph 5

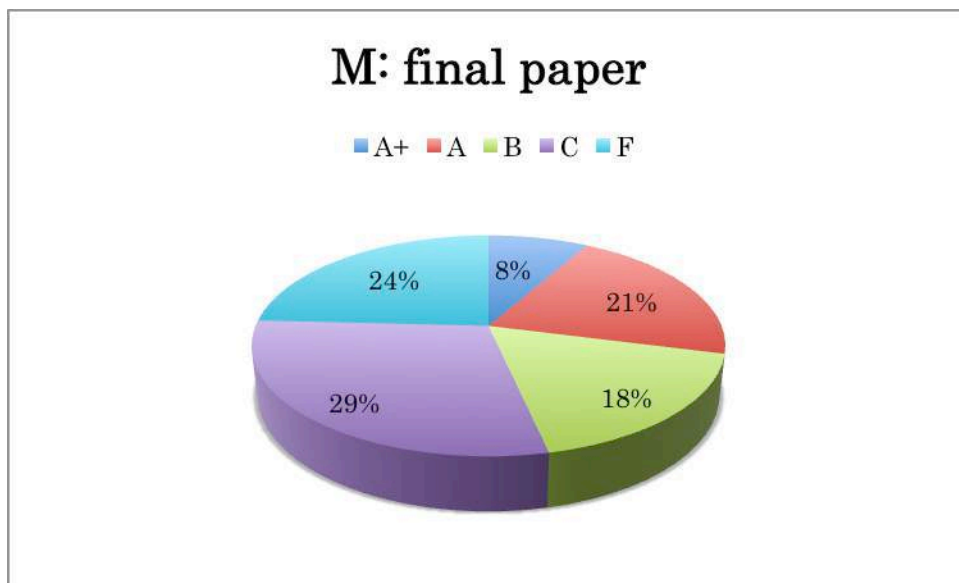


Graph 6

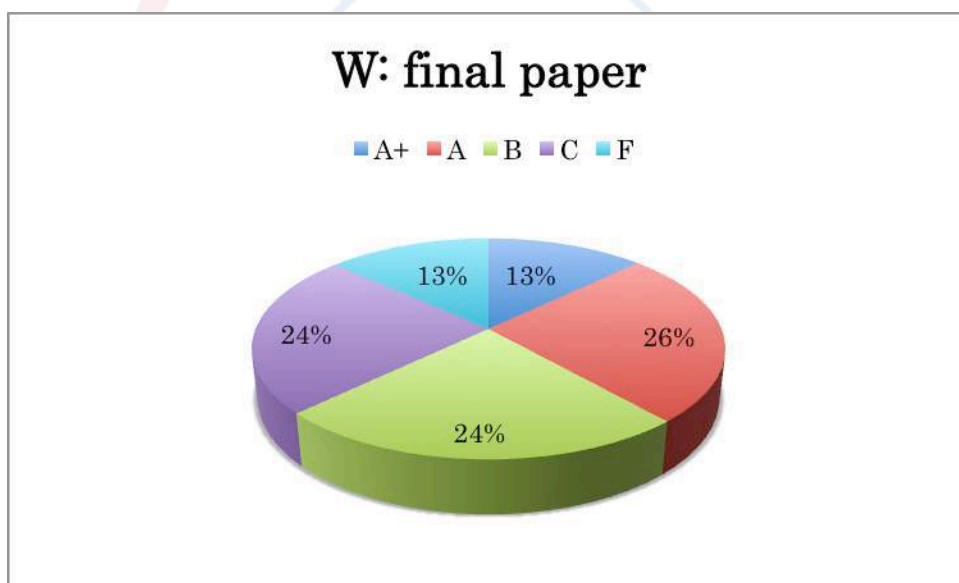


Both graph 5 and 6 show the results of scores of final presentations. 14% of men got an A+ and 20% of men got an A for their final presentations. Thus in total of both A+ and A, 34% of men got both A+ and A. As opposed to men, 13% of women got an A+ and 26% of women got an A for their final presentations. In total, 39% of women got either A+ or A. In addition, 14% of men got a F grade while 10% of women got a F grade. Interestingly, as for the results of their final presentations, men scored more A+ than women as well as men scored more F than women.

Graph 7

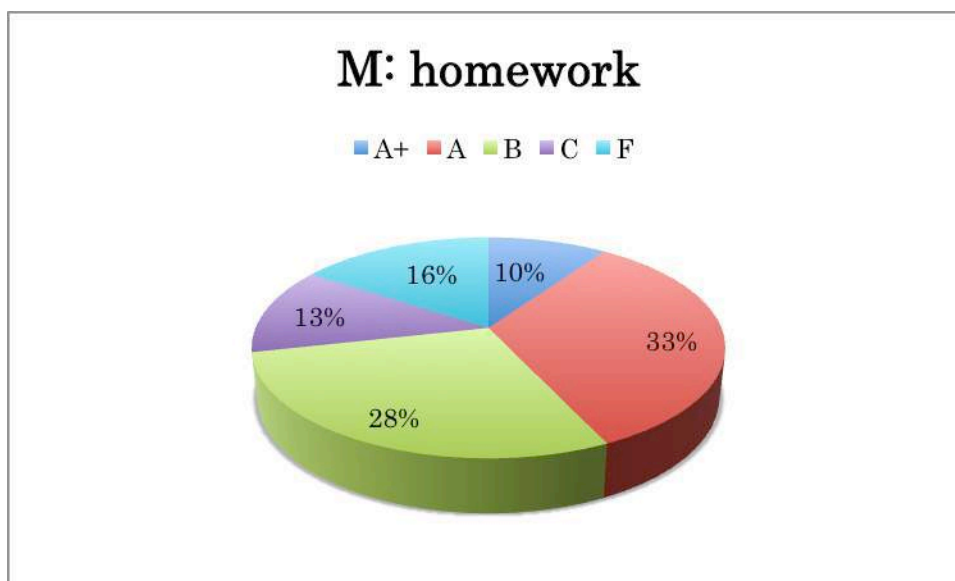


Graph 8

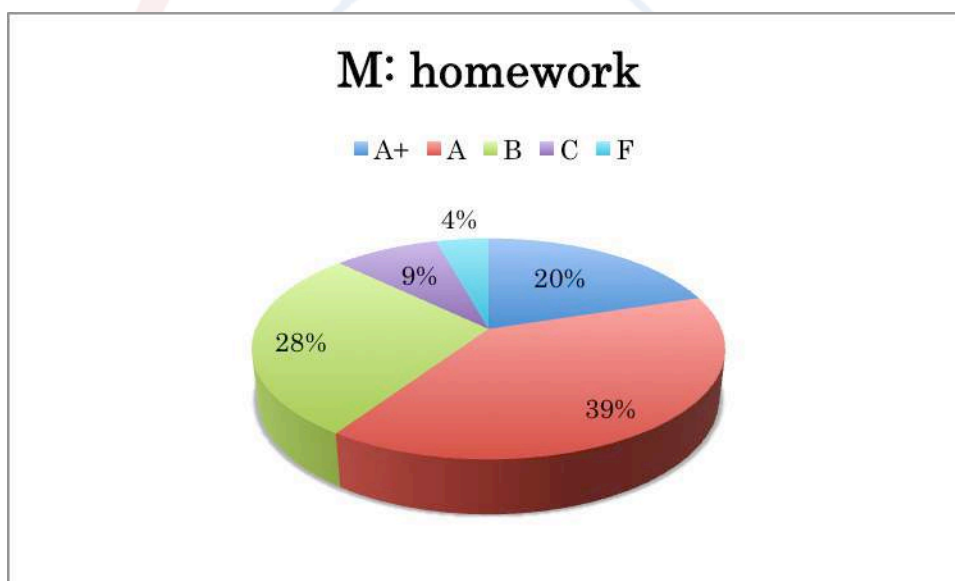


Both graph 7 and 8 show the results of final paper grades. 8% of men scored an A+ and 21% of men scored an A for their final paper while 13% of women scored an A+ and 26% of women scored an A. Thus the total of 29% of men scored whether an A+ or A, 39% of women scored either an A+ or A grade for their final paper. There is a big difference on a F score between men and women. 24% of men got a F while 13% of women got a F.

Graph 9



Graph 10



Finally homework scores are shown. 43% of men got either an A+ (10%) or A (33%) for their homework while 59% of women got either an A+ (20%) or A (39%). Once again, there is a big difference on a F score between men and women. While 16% of men scored a F, only 4% of women got a F.

In short, as all results showed, women overall scored better than men in this study with one exception. Men scored more A+ than women for their final presentation. In addition, women scored more A+ and A than men did, and also women had fewer F than men had.

Discussions

Results of this study showed similar results such as Guimond and Rousell (2001) and Heinzmann (2009). Women in this study showed overall better scores in their English subjects. As was explained earlier, English was one of the compulsory subjects for students who are majoring in whatever field they were. Kobayashi (2002) concluded Japanese female university students tended to choose English as their major at their university because they thought having good English skills would give them an opportunity to get a better job in the future. However, his theory could be applied to women in this study. This study investigated Japanese university students who were majoring sport and health science. Therefore, students in this department finish studying English as their subjects after they move on to their 3rd grade when they start to learn special subjects in sport and health science. In addition, since they are not majoring in English, some might be interested in learning English but the others might not be interested in English at all. They need to pass English subjects to get credits which are required for their graduation. However, as the results of this study showed, women performed in their English subject better than men. Women in this study could see English was one of important subjects for their future career and thus they might have studied it more than men in this study did.

Overall, women in this study performed better in English than men did but there was an interesting result which was seen in the scores of their final presentation grades. In this study, men scored more A+ scores for their final presentation than women did. This result only showed that men did better than women in this study. This phenomenon could be explained by one of the male gender stereotypes that men tended to be competitive (Holmes, 2003). Students in this study must do both mid term presentations and final presentations which are assessed by their lecturer. The author of this study gave students results after their presentations in person. He also gives overall feedback about their presentations after his students finish their presentations in class. As the results of the mid term presentation scores showed, male students in general did not perform well on their mid term presentation. Therefore, they could have thought that they needed to recover their scores on their final presentations. Thus they could have prepared their final presentations well in advance and then they were able to perform well on their final presentations.

Conclusion

This study explored one of the gender stereotypes that women were better at learning languages than men. Many past studies showed that women who were learning a language in institutions such as high schools and universities showed better results in their classes than men (Heinzmann, 2009; Guimond and Rousell, 2001; DiPrete and Jennings, 2012). The aim of this study was to examine whether female students performed better at learning English at university level. The total of both 393 male and 234 female university students participated in this study. The data was quantitatively analyzed and it showed that women in this study tended to perform better in their English subjects than men in this study. The results of this study in general showed the gender stereotype that women were better at learning languages than men. In general, women in this study scored more A+ and fewer F than men did. However, there was one exception where male students scored more A+ than female students in their final presentations. This could be explained as one of the male

gender stereotypes that men were competitive (Holmes, 2003) because men in this study tried to recover their scores from their mid term presentation in which they scored badly. This study focused on examining gender differences on their grades of English subjects. Therefore, further research is needed to explore whether male students still perform better in science subjects than female students. This study suggests that language teachers could be aware of gender stereotypes in language classes which still exist.



References

- Archer, J. and Lloyd, B. (Eds.). (1985). *Sex and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bihagen, E. and Katz-Gerro, T. (2000). Culture consumption in Sweden: the stability of gender differences. *Poetics*, 27, 327-349.
- Chatard, A., Guimond, S., and Selimbegovic, L. (2007). How good are you in math? The effect of gender stereotypes on student's recollection of their school marks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 43, 1017-1024.
- Eagly, A. H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2002). The leadership styles of women and men. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54(4), 781-797.
- Educational Testing Service (ETC), (2013). 2013 report on test takers worldwide: the TOEIC Listening and Reading Test. Retrieved from https://www.ets.org/s/toeic/pdf/ww_data_report_unlweb.pdf
- Fisher, Q. H., Rodrigues Mosquera, P. M., Van Vianen, E. M., and Manstead, A. S. (2004). Gender and culture differences in emotion. *Emotion*, 4(1). 87-94.
- Guimond, A. and Roussel, L. (2001). Bragging about one's school grades: gender stereotyping and students' perception of their abilities in science, mathematics, and language. *Social Psychology of Education*, 4, 275-293.
- Holmes, J. (2002). Women at work: analyzing women's talk in New Zealand work places. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 22(2), 1-17.
- Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: how gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 657-674.
- Heinzmann, S. (2009). "Girls are better at language learning than boys": do stereotypic beliefs about language learning contribute to girl's higher motivation to learn English in primary school? *Bulletin VALS-ASLA (Swiss Association of Applied Linguistics)*. 89, 19-36.
- Kobayashi, Y. (2002). The role of gender in foreign language learning attitudes: Japanese female students' attitudes towards English learning. *Gender and Education*, 14(2) 181-197.
- Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and Women's Place*. New York: Harper & Row Publisher.
- Li, N. and Kirkup, G. Gender and cultural differences in Internet use: a study of China and the UK. *Computers & Education*, 48, 301-317.

Prentice, D. A. and Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: the contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269-281.

Steffens, M. C., and Jelenec, P. (2011). Separating implicit gender stereotypes regarding math and language: implicit ability stereotypes are self-serving for boys and men, but not for girls and women. *Sex Roles*. 64(5-6), 324-335.

The ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology, Japan (2011)

Retrieved from

http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/daigaku/04052801/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/11/14/1341433_01.pdf

The ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology, Japan (2014)

Retrieved from

<http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?bid=000001054431&cycode=0>

Vogel, D. L., Wester, S. R., Heesacker, M., and Madon, S. (2003). Confirming gender stereotypes: a social role perspective. *Sex Roles*. 48(11-12), 519-528.

The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a dynamic, circular design.

Moral Aspects of Economic Theories and Present-Day University Curriculum

Tatiana Suprun, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Contemporary science of economics considers itself to be primarily based on the teachings of the 18th century moral and political philosophers. Yet, the moral aspect of their ideas seems to have been largely neglected, which is probably no longer affordable given the present-day developments in the economic and political life of the civilized world. After 2008, issues connected with growing inequality have received serious attention in the works of eminent economists in Europe and the United States, but the rationalistic approach that goes back to Newtonian “rational mechanics” and Bentham’s “hedonic calculus” still prevails. Similar situation arose in Russia, where the mainstream economics obediently follows neoclassical prescriptions while voices against the so called conventional wisdom have been assiduously ignored. Since this moral negation found its intellectual expression in the sphere of economic theory, it is important to understand what was taken from the classics, what was deliberately or unintentionally omitted, and how it may be possible to incorporate the moral aspect into the teaching of economics without provoking adolescent reactions in the students. Hence our attempt to look closely at the works of Adam Smith and his contemporaries, study their views on the moral and religious aspects of human activity and find out how the influential economists of the last century and present-day university professors and government consultants have treated the issues of good and evil, right and wrong in their books, lectures, academic papers and public pronouncements.

Key words: economic discourse, moral issues, teaching

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

History is full of surprises and economic history especially so. Although the 18th century Britain is supposed to be the birthplace of today's economic science, little attention seems to be paid to the study of the environment that proved so fertile in terms of its ability to generate very consequential theories. It might be argued that knowledge of this kind cannot be the top priority for economic education as it is not directly linked to the world of work, and the future employers of our students are hardly interested in their employees' general economic erudition. However, in the aftermath of the crisis when the memories of the Big Meltdown are still relatively fresh, it is probably good time to take a look back and remember how it all began.

Adam Smith was a professor of moral philosophy¹. The 18th century "moral philosophy" did not only mean the study of morality or ethics, but covered all aspects of knowledge about human beings. In this it differed from the natural philosophy, which is now called natural science. Students of economics are not traditionally keen on physics or chemistry, but moral issues, even understood broadly, should be of some importance to them for reasons that look obvious to a lay person but somehow tend to escape attention of many professionals. Besides, the fact that it was the area of interest of the economic science's founding father ought to matter as well.

However, students of the Economics faculty of Moscow State University, where the author of the present paper happens to be teaching, although they all have had a course in the history of economic thought, know next to nothing about Adam Smith's ideas apart from the idea of self-interest and that famous and somewhat creepy invisible hand, the latter being expected to work miracles in the process of reconciling the multiple former. When my students were asked the direct question: have your lecturers talked to you about the moral component of their various economic subjects, the reaction was rather strange: they did not seem to understand the question. The impression was that in their minds economic matters existed in isolation from everything else.

Their professors' answers were similar. I have not found out how the things are in Europe or Asia, but I know very well that some authoritative writers (S.D. King and Adair Turner among them) lamented the ignorance of university graduates in the history of economic development, including very recent history, let alone earlier epochs. This lack of knowledge about facts is suggestive although it does not necessarily mean that knowledge about theories is also absent. Still, judging by popular textbooks and university curricula, discussions about the good and evil in economic matters are not very widespread. Fair or foul play is certainly considered, but mostly in legal or ethical rather than moral terms.

Moral theme in the Current Economic Discourse

Publications are numerous. Serious books have been written aiming to convince those concerned that there is a dire need to get liberated from the economic folly of the age, i.e. the belief that the laws of economics are basically the same as laws of engineering (Orrell, 2010). If one looks up the topic "economics and morality" in the Internet, one may think that everything is fine, discussions are under way, professors of economics

¹It is interesting that N.N. Taleb calls him "the first and the last moral philosopher."

and law publish papers, write in blogs and even deliver occasional lectures on the subject. Not only the determined Keynesian Robert Skidelsky (2009) urges economists to take as their motto Keynes's words that 'economics is a moral and not a natural science', but even such practicing financiers like Adair Turner call for 'the prosecution of the discipline of economics' (Turner, 2012) and insist that the economic science ought to recognize the significance of political, philosophical and ethical issues.

And yet, these ideas do not seem to have reached university classrooms on any noticeable scale. This is true for the leading Russian universities and, judging by what Jeffrey Sachs said on 30 March this year in the first talk of a new series by the Masters Programme in Bioethics at Columbia, in the US they have similar problems. He was very straightforward saying that his University 'should fight against the moral degradation inherent in 21 century life'. Although in his speech he was not dealing with economics as a university discipline, he absolutely clearly expressed the idea that moral discourse is not currently as normal as it should be in the university environment.

The mainstream economics prefers to ignore the human dimension of economic activity. This attitude found its very effective expression in the lecture on supply and demand by Timothy Taylor (2005). He points out that the statements and propositions about prices do not have any moral implications as they deal with facts of life in a way similar to that of natural sciences. And then he lets slip a most telling phrase about the emotionally liberating character of such position. Later, in 2014, stating that "economists prefer to sidestep moral issues" he admits that "moral issues aren't willing to sidestep economics" but so far there has been no perceptible reverse of the trend in education.

One of the most highly esteemed academic institutions, Harvard Business School, had to introduce a course on moral and ethical matters in 2003, after the scandal with Enron, the company that employed "scores" of Harvard MBAs, beginning with the CEO. The course was called Leadership and Corporate Responsibility and there is evidence from a 2006 HBS graduate that, before the course had begun, his fellow-students expressed "considerable scorn" about it, (Broughton, 2008), though later were grateful for having an opportunity to think and talk about the right and wrong in business. It is an interesting fact that an ethics Chair was funded twenty years previously, after insider trading scandals of the 1980s. So great was the respect for the subject that it took almost two decades to start teaching it.

Scorn is not the only and probably not the prevailing feeling. According to interviews of Moscow University professors, it is skepticism rather than scorn. Many of them do not believe in the usefulness of talking about moral questions at schools teaching economics. And yet, the idea that something should be done is growing stronger. Besides, market values seem to have acquired a certain quality, which only moral values used to possess. This, in Eric Schoenberg's opinion (2011), explains "the religious fervor of free market fundamentalists". Paul Krugman agrees (2011), pointing out that a counter-narrative is necessary. For both purposes, that is for teaching and creating the narrative, the crucial point is probably to find an adequate way of enhancing students' moral attitudes, which may awaken their interest in the relevant issues, and it seems reasonable to try and begin from the beginning of the

economic science itself. With very few exceptions (like the disapproval of life insurance as it was considered to be morally unacceptable practice of gambling against God) the understanding of good and evil and therefore major values are still the same.

Moral values in *The Wealth of Nations*

What is really striking about the famous *Wealth of Nations*, is the kind and caring attitude of its author to people who work to earn their living and to increase the well-being of their country. It seems necessary, when acquainting students with the ideas of self-interest, invisible hand and beneficial openness of the economy as formulated by Adam Smith, to lay special emphasis on what he writes about the major principles that should form the very foundation of economic activity.

The first idea, or principle, close to what used to be the cornerstone of ideology in the Soviet Russia, is that “labour is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities” (*The Wealth of Nations*, p.43). And even stronger: “The real price of every thing is the toil and trouble of acquiring it”. In many countries economic life is still based on this firm foundation, but unfortunately there are places on the globe where people tend to forget about the basics, thinking that work and hard work in particular no longer matters once there is money to buy the said commodities even if its amount has very little to do with any kind of work. Economic life has certainly changed since the 18th century and the labour theory of value is not as popular as it used to be, but, as experience of some countries has shown, prosperity is impossible without deep respect for people’s labour, and universities should deliberately cultivate this attitude in their students. We in Russia have seen what happens when children and students are not constantly reminded about the value of work itself.

It is not only the value of labour that was so important for Adam Smith. He had a very sober, unbiased look at the topic, which is exceedingly popular today: skills or, as is now fashionable to say, competences involved in a particular kind of work. Writing about ploughmen, he points out that being “generally regarded as the pattern of stupidity and ignorance” (*Ibid.*, p.175), they are “seldom defective in their judgment and discretion”, because “many inferior branches of country labour require much more skill and experience than the greater part of mechanic trades”. Such comparison with mechanic trades may be no longer relevant, but the observation itself is most valuable: in those business cultures where future CEOs do not normally begin their careers on the shop floor, this is something they must be constantly reminded about. Without due respect for labour successful production is hardly possible.

Adam Smith’s conviction that labour is the only universal and accurate measure of value determines his views about the position of people who provide it. Fully aware of the love of men to reap where they never sowed (Matthew 25:26) he reminds his readers about the seemingly obvious truth, saying that “no society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, cloath and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labour as to be themselves tolerably well-fed, cloathed and lodged” (*Ibid.*, p.110). It is not surprising that he shows understanding of the situation of those desperate people, “who must either starve or frighten their masters into an immediate compliance with their demands”

(p.95). His understanding is not confined to those who are desperate. In *The Wealth of Nations* we come across maybe the first expression of concern about occupational safety and health in scientific literature. Having emphasized the necessity to pay higher wages he also warns against allowing people to overwork themselves lest their health be hurt by excessive labour (p.114-115).

Maybe the most remarkable feature of his great work is the idea that, like a music theme, goes through the whole book. For Adam Smith as a consistent representative of the Scottish Enlightenment, the foundations of proper economic arrangements are the dictates of reason and humanity, natural liberty and justice. Like many other Enlightenment thinkers he was a great believer in the wisdom of nature and regarded injustice and folly as derangements of the natural order of things. Students of economics do not probably need to be overconcerned about the purely philosophical aspect of the issue, but it seems really important to draw their attention to the fact that one of the core postulates of the book is not quite what they were taught to remember. Most students of economics (and their professors, too) have it engraved in their academic memory that every man is perfectly free to pursue his own interest, as long as he does not violate the laws. But the actual statement is slightly longer: “as long as he does not violate the laws of justice” (p.873). In the context of the book ‘justice’ means ‘fairness’ and is frequently and clearly opposed to ‘injustice’.

It very often happens in the modern world that elements of economic or social organization functioning well in one country are implemented in another, which is sometimes fundamentally different, and the results of such implementation prove to be most unfortunate. Not only many of the policy-makers, but also a lot of economically educated citizens accept the existence of cruel economic laws and, consequently, unjust regulations based on such laws, because they were taught to believe that, like the forces of gravity, economic laws are indifferent to human well-being or suffering. The complex of ideas, which leads to this or similar perception, is assumed to have evolved from the writings of Adam Smith. But this is a wrong assumption.

Why does conventional economics so consistently ignore the unconventional views of Adam Smith, the famous patron saint of “capitalism” as was aptly put by Nassim N. Taleb (2012, 399)? The explanation seems to be quite simple. This is what often happens with big serious authors whose ideas are used in a “self-serving selective manner” and can be really sad if we imagine the author’s reaction to such application of his ideas. It is easy to find in Smith’s writings passages both in favour and against government intervention in the economy, or joint-stock companies as a form of business organization (although those against seem to outweigh those in favour), or taxes, duties and the need to protect domestic producers from foreign competition. This is not surprising because Smith as a scholar did not suffer from academic dogmatism and always had in mind the ultimate objective of economic activity – the wealth of the nation as a whole and the well-being of every individual contributing to it, which in turn ought to be in accordance with the fundamental principles of truth, humanity, liberty and justice.

Smith's Friends and Supporters

Interpretations vary and sometimes conflict, but in search of the understanding of *The Wealth of Nations* that would be objectively closest to the author's ideas and feelings, it may be useful to find out which of his contemporaries were his friends and supporters. David Hume was his closest friend, despite the difference in their philosophical ideas. In economic area they seem to have been thinking along similar lines, but economic issues did not belong to Hume's core interests. Moreover, as a skeptic and atheist, he contributed substantially to the treatment of morals as a psychological, or utility phenomenon based on "pain or pleasure", which ran counter to Smith's Christian perception of universal values as "the business of God and not of man", explained in *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* (1759) .

A more telling fact is the understanding between Adam Smith and Edmund Burke. "Mr Smith...told him, after they conversed on subject of political economy, that he was the only man, who, without communication, thought on these topics exactly as he did."(Bisset, 1800). Since E. Burke, "the greatest and the most underrated political thinker" (Norman, 2013) is known for his critic of liberal individualism, we have the right to at least question the assumption that Adam Smith was its active promoter.

But even if he was, we should remember that, as the American journalist and author John Cassidy points out, the classical economists were less dogmatic than many of their twentieth century followers (Cassidy, 2009). If dictates of reason, justice and humanity required a departure from the principal of self-interest and unrestricted liberty, they did not hesitate, for instance, to call for the nationalization of the Bank of England (David Ricardo) or to advocate a national system of education for children (Nassau Senior). They seem to have been genuinely open-minded and set a good example for today's students (and their teachers) in terms of the culture of thought, academic discourse and intellectual attitudes – not to mention their style of writing.

Adam Smith, together with his friends and supporters believed in ordered liberty (Norman, p.280), that could only make it possible for the nation to live a life, in which there would be place for industry and enjoyment. Political economy was seen as part of moral philosophy and the scholars who undertook to study the organization of people's economic activities did not find it inappropriate to write about their happiness or misery (Smith, p.954) or to remind that the country should have well-fed, active, diligent and expeditious workmen, generally in good health and high spirits (Smith, p.114,116) because this is required not only for practical reasons, but also by irresistible moral causes.

John M. Keynes's Unattainable Dream

In recent years there appeared quite a number of publications whose authors are really concerned about moral issues, but they remain peripheral to the mainstream academic teaching of economics. As for the famous economists, authoritative for both students and professors despite all disagreements and reservations, a similar inner spirit with comparably serious concern about the right (not only effective or efficient) economic organization of society, can be found in the works of John Maynard Keynes.

He also thought that the ultimate goal of the government should be the well-being and happiness of the governed. Being a brilliant intellectual and an art-lover, he had a beautiful dream – about the time (somewhere in the mid-21st century in his estimate) when *the economic problem* was solved and people, after 3 hours of daily toil, could have leisure for “cultivating into a fuller perfection, the art of life itself”, and when they could “value ends above means and prefer the good to the useful...” (Keynes, 1930).

There have been many papers explaining why it could only be a dream. And there have been some attempts to make this dream a reality. For a short while this had even seemed possible. Sadly, no longer. It is perfectly clear why it is impossible on the global scale, but within a prosperous country, or group of countries, where incomes are high and there are more than enough goods to go round (Dorling, 2011) – why even there, chances for Keynesian meaningful leisure are getting thinner and thinner? There is little hope that the situation will change even if incomes start rising again. My personal pessimism is determined by many factors, most of them quite obvious and there is hardly any need to dwell on them. But one piece of empirical evidence is probably worth including in this paper.

It is a well-known fact that for at least two decades the salaries of employees in the financial sector have been noticeably higher than in the other sectors of the economy. It is also widely known, thanks to several books written by ex-employees of investment banks, that people working there have to put in very long hours, effectively giving up social and sometimes family life. This may seem strange, given higher-than-average incomes in the industry: apparently there are good conditions for a healthier organization of work, which is objectively in the best interests of all those concerned, as Adam Smith had rightly pointed out long before the term “occupational safety regulations” was introduced into employment practice. However, for people in the business better work-life balance is not a priority, probably not an issue at all.

One of the consequences of such situation is rather unexpected, albeit logical: young traders (and not only young) find it necessary to maintain a 24-hour lifestyle. This being not exactly bearable, they use drugs as stimulators, raising their personal and overall productivity. There is a story about a memo sent around the trading floor of a British merchant bank: “If you are going to snort cocaine please do it in the toilets and not at your desks or on the trading floor” (Wilson, 2011).

The memo story comes from the 1980s, but things have not improved since then. According to the European Drug Report 2014, London is the cocaine capital of Europe. Medical experts say that the links between drug-taking and Wall Street or the City of London have been a truism for years and members of financial community already call for drug testing in the City (Shah, 2014).

This is really sad, because the industry seems to have all resources needed to set a good example to the rest of the business world; the resources include not only money but also a lot of graduates of best universities who could try to live up to the beautiful ideas of John Maynard Keynes. However, there is little hope that anything will change. Michael Lewis, the author of the book *Liar’s Poker*, had hoped that, having read his book, bright and talented young people would decide in favour of a career in

some good and useful area, like for example oceanography. Yet, he soon started getting letters full of thanks for helping to choose the right subject, namely finance.

**‘Is it worth it?’
‘Is anything?’²**

It would be utterly naïve to believe that a course on the 18th century moral philosophy could be of any noticeable impact. And yet, there are two considerations that may encourage university professors in the attempts to introduce such a course into economic studies curriculum. The first is that if we recognize the existence of the problem we may feel moral commitment to try to address it whatever the outcome, according to the principle *Fais Ce Que Dois Advienne Que Pourra* or *Do What You Must, Come What May*. Ways and means can always be found to do it in a thought-provoking and stimulating manner without raising adolescent protests.

Secondly, we should probably remember about the nonlinear quality of human affairs. The effect of a small event may be disproportionately strong and far-reaching. As it is written in an old Russian poem:

Not in thy power to foresee / The flight of word that uttered thee.
And thy compassion for the wretched / Is hidden working of the Grace.

At the present moment at least three ministers of the Russian government are graduates of the faculty where I am now teaching students of economics. They must have been good students who, as young people, seriously believed in those provisions of the economic theory that were taught to them, without paying much attention to the ideas, without which the theory, in the opinion of many authors, becomes at best useless, at worst harmful and destructive. In the 1990s, economic views prevailing among the Russian policy-makers were definitely lacking that compassion for the wretched, about which the Russian poet and philosopher Feodor Tjutchev wrote in one of his profound poems. In the new century the life in the country has been better on average, but we would like our successful graduates to be more interested in real production, in genuine economic development, not only in the provisions of Washington consensus. So it probably makes sense to put more emphasis on this side of the issue appealing, among other things, to the authority of the founder of economic science and relying on perception abilities of the young brains.

Reality and Human Consciousness: The Secret of Good Teaching

It should not be viewed as an attempt to impose ideas, it is a way to help students acquire fundamental knowledge about the subject. Adam Smith’s book became so well-known and influential not only thanks to the quality of its content, but also because the material was laid out in accordance with the structure of reality as it is reflected in human consciousness. In the Russian scholarly tradition there has always existed an aspiration to look at reality from the point of view of time and culture. Thus, Moscow University professor Michael Kryukov (2013) uses the model, in which the texture of reality is presented as a three-dimensional structure with two axes, Past–Future and Temporal–Eternal. This structure, in its turn, conjoins with the

² Adams, D. *The Restaurant at the End of the Universe*. Picador, 2002, p.223.

structure of human consciousness, the resulting figure being a tetrahedron with, obviously, four vertices (Fig.1):

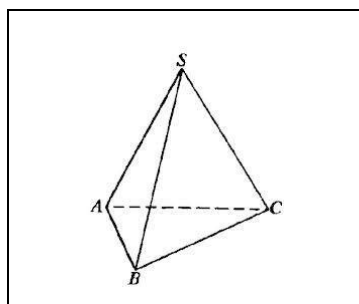


Figure 1.

A: Past; Denotation, Reason;
B: Temporal; Sensation, Feeling;
C: Future; Action, Will;
S: Eternal; Meaning, Spirit.

The model is really valuable since acquisition of knowledge is a process that occurs in human consciousness and it can be most effective when it involves all its structural elements. *The Wealth of Nations* is a great book from the teacher's point of view because it does precisely that. It gives food for thought, for feelings and for spirit at the same time providing guidelines for action. Which can remind one about the anecdote told by N.N. Taleb in his book "*Antifragile*". When asked for a rule on what to read he felt excessively irritated and blurted out: "As little as feasible from the last twenty years, except history books that are not about the last fifty years". The recommendation did not seem exactly practical, but "the student developed a culture in original texts such as Adam Smith, Karl Marx and Hayek, texts he believes he will cite at the age of eighty". (It is interesting that among other gains it had an effect, which the writer calls detoxification.)

Conclusion

Awareness of economic history has acquired particular significance in recent years and the need for better education in the area is recognized in many leading universities. Although the major focus is on the events that occur in the system of production and consumption, the history of ideas also deserves most serious attention. The forgotten parts of the great work written by Adam Smith may become a good starting point for thinking about the moral aspect of economic theories. It is essential to remember that the most important knowledge, whether in professional or private life, can hardly be useful when it is learnt from books or lectures only in order to pass exams. But it becomes effective and forceful when a student discovers it himself using information as a means of that personal and unique discovery. A *condicio sine qua non* for this discovery is the involvement in the learning process of the emotional and spiritual dimensions; in the area of economics the greater emphasis should probably be laid on the latter. Then it may be possible that the next generation of our graduates will possess better knowledge of economic matters and greater concern about their moral implications.

References

- Bisset R. (1800) *Life of Edmund Burke*. The second edition, Vol.II. London, p.428-429. Available at: <http://books.worldpubliclibrary.org/members.6/oca/1/lifeedmundburke02bissgoog.pdf> (Accessed 10 June 2015)
- Broughton, F. D. (2009) *What They Teach You at Harvard Business School*. Penguin Books, London, 158.
- Cassidy, J. (2009). *How Markets Fail. The Logic of Economic Calamities*. Picador, NY, 34.
- Dorling, D. (2011). *Injustice: Why Social Inequality persists*. Policy Press, University of Bristol, 21.
- Hume D. (1739-1740) *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, 2011, 381
- Keynes, J.M. (1930) *Economic Possibilities For Our Children*. P.4-7 In: *Essays in Persuasion*, New York: W.W.Norton & Co., 1963, pp. 358-373. Available at: <http://www.econ.yale.edu/smith/econ116a/keynes1.pdf>. (Accessed 5 June 2015).
- King, S.D. (2014). *When the Money Runs Out*. 250-258
- Krugman, P. (2011). *The Conscience of a Liberal: economics and Morality*. The New York Times, 10 January, 2011. (Accessed 20 April 2015).
- Kryukov, M. (2013). *The Impact of Ecological Business Simulation Game on the Consciousness of participants*. Vliyaniye Ekologo-Ekonomicheskoy Igrы na Soznanie Uchastnikov. In: *Interaktivnoe Obrazovanie*. Conference Proceedings. Lomonosov Moscow State University, 2012.
- Norman, J. (2013). *Edmund Burke: The Visionary Who Invented Modern Politics*. William Collins, London, 1.
- Orrell, D. (2010, 2012). *Economyths*. Icon Books Ltd. 9.
- Sachs, J. (2015) *What is a Moral University in the 21st Century?* Speech at Columbia University. Available at <http://jeffsachs.org/2015/04/2748/> (Accessed: 15 June 2015)
- Shah, A. *Drugs in the City: an Open Secret, So Why No Testing?* At: The Conversation. Available at: <http://theconversation.com/drugs-and-the-city-an-open-secret-so-why-no-testing-21713>. (Accessed 10 June 2015).
- Shoenberg, E. (2011). *Zombie Economics and Just Deserts*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-schoenberg/zombie-economics-and-just_b_806110.html In: *Business*. (Accessed 25 April 2015)
- Skidelsky, R. (2009). *Keynes: the Return of the Master*. Penguin Books, London, 189.

Smith, A. (1759) *The Theory of Moral Sentiment*. Part VI, Section II, Chapter III, VI.II.49. Available at: <http://www.econlib.org/library/Smith/smMS6.html>.

Smith A.(1876) *The Wealth of Nations*. Bantam Classic, 2003.

Taylor, T. (2005). *Economics, 3rd Edition*, Part 1. The Teaching Company, Virginia, 49.

Taylor,T. (2014). *Economics and Morality*. In: Finance and Development, Vol.51, No 2. Available at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2014/06/taylor.htm> (Accessed 22 April, 2015)

Taleb, N.N. (2012). *Antifragile*. Allen Lane. An imprint of Penguin Books, 255.

Turner, A. (2012). *Economics After Crisis*. MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, London, 94.

Wison, E. *The City's Toxic New Drug trends*. In: LondonLovesBusiness, 15 November 2011. Available at: <http://www.londonlovesbusiness.com/the-citys-toxic-new-drug-trends/1044.article> (Accessed 11 June 2015).

Contact email: ta-tatiana@mail.ru

iafor



America, Our Home? A Qualitative Study of 1.5-Generation Asian Americans

Nadia Benyamin, University of Northern Colorado, USA

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Background: The term 1.5-generation refers individuals who were born in a foreign country and migrated to the U.S. during adolescence. Unlike their first- and second-generation counterparts, 1.5 generation individuals spend part of their developmental years in their native country and another part in the U.S.

Objective: The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the growing up and acculturation experiences of 1.5-generation Asian immigrants in the U.S.

Design: A descriptive phenomenological research design is used.

Sample: The purposive sample consists of six 1.5-generation Asian Americans.

Method: Interviews are conducted and analyzed using Colaizzi's (1978) descriptive phenomenological method.

Results: Five major themes emerged: (1) "It is always just us, no one else"; (2) "We will always be perpetual foreigners"; (3) "I am in constant in-betweenness, but it's a good thing" (4) "I struggled then I succeed"; and (5) "I want to be a different kind of Asian".

Conclusions: Although 1.5-generation individuals articulated many challenges in their path to discovering their self identity and belongingness, they also described their own resourcefulness and strategies to overcome challenges and shared many positive experiences that have helped shape them today.

Keywords: phenomenology, qualitative study, 1.5 generation, Asian Americans, acculturation, Asian students

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The United States is a multicultural, multiethnic nation. Today, the number of immigrants in this country continues to rise, increasing from 28 million foreign-born individuals in 2000 to 39 million foreign-born individuals in 2009 (Martin & Midgley, 2010). According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the Asian population is growing at a much faster rate than any other race groups in the country. As a whole, the total U.S. population increased by 9.7% from 2000 to 2010; in contrast, the Asian population increased by 45.6% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). It is the only population to increase as a result of immigration (Pew Research Center, 2013). As the population of Asian immigrants and their children grow, it becomes increasingly important to improve our understanding of how these individuals experience becoming and living as Americans.

Acculturation and Generation 1.5

Acculturation is briefly defined as a process by which an individual adopts cultural customs, ideals, assumptions and practices from a host culture. Immigrants to this country and their families are faced on a daily basis with the challenge of learning to live in a new culture while simultaneously holding on to the values and beliefs learned in their past. Studying the process of immigrant acculturation is not anything new. Past studies are interested in looking at how the different immigrant generations experience acculturation. These studies sought to explore the various challenges faced by immigrants throughout generations, typically between the first generation immigrants to consequent generations (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Padilla, Alvarez & Lindholm, 1986).

Padilla and Gonzalez (2001) define a first-generation immigrant as an individual who was born in a foreign country and migrated to the United States as an adult. A second-generation immigrant is an individual who was born in the host country to at least one immigrant parent or migrated to the host country before the age of six (Van Ours & Veenman, 2003). In comparing first- and second- generation immigrants, research have shown that there exists significant differences in their physical and psychological developmental stages, their socialization processes in the family, the school, and the society at large, and their orientation toward their homeland (Zhou, 1997).

In contrast to their first- and second- generation counterparts, the term 1.5-generation refers to a group of immigrants, who was born in a foreign country and migrated to the U.S. during adolescence (Portes, 1997). Unlike their first- and second- generation counterparts, these individuals spend a part of their developmental years in their native country and another part in the U.S. (Portes, 1997). The 1.5-generation immigrants have different adaptive experiences from the first- and second-generation immigrants in that they have the social and linguistic exposure as well as immersion to both the U.S. and their native culture within their formative years (Hurh, 1990). Though scholars vary in their specific age cut-off for defining a 1.5-generation immigrant, many agree that a 1.5 generation individual is one who moved to a different country after the age of six and before the age of 12, a time period mostly referred to as “pre-adolescence” (Zhou, 1997). It is a significant period during which

most individuals begin their education and start to develop an attachment to a given culture (Van Ours & Veenman, 2003).

We are finding more and more of 1.5-generation students in every level of education. Typically, these students are familiar with contemporary American culture; however, some still struggle with the academic and social challenges of the American education system (Harklau, Dosey, & Siegal, 1999; Harklau, 2000). Because of their unique status, neither recent immigrants nor mainstream American, they often fall through the cracks and have to fend for themselves. These students could easily deceive their teachers due to their oral fluency in English without an accent, yet continue to struggle with the academic expectations asked of them. Past studies have found that 1.5-generation students experience numerous academic struggles (Rodriguez, 2006; Ruiz, 2003). As an example, Rodriguez (2006) found that upon careful examination of their written English, 1.5 generation Hispanic American students struggled with writing issues that are similar to those found with English as Second Language (ESL) learners. Rodriguez (2006) also pointed out that much of the literature available about how to teach English to students is addressed to first-generation immigrants who are just learning to communicate in English, whereas 1.5-generation students are already orally proficient in the language. Inadequate research on meeting the differing needs of 1.5 generation is found in almost all areas. Fittingly, 1.5-generation individuals are one of least understood and most overlooked group in our education system today.

The Model Minority Myth

The model minority stereotype suggests that Asian Americans as a group are achieving a higher level of academic, economic, and social success than the overall American population (Hartlep, 2013; Tran & Birman, 2010). This stereotype is very much engrained in the American culture today; however, such acceptance does not reflect the whole truth.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 52.4% of Asian Americans over the age of 25 have a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to only 29.9% of the total population and 30.3% of non-Hispanic White Americans, signifying higher overall educational attainment for this group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). However, this high number failed to consider the differences within the Asian population with some subgroups having educational levels that are significantly below the national average. The 2010 U.S. Census also reported that Asian Americans have a significantly higher annual family income than any other racial groups in the country, though it failed to mention that Asian American families tend to be larger with more family members that are contributing to that high annual income number (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

How the model minority stereotype can negatively impact the overall educational experience for the Asian American students is not adequately explored at this time (Museus, 2008). Though some studies have looked at performance outcomes, such as GPA comparisons between Asian subgroups and other racial groups, not enough emphasis have been placed on understanding what their educational process and experiences look like and how the model minority stereotype affects such experience. For instance, Fuligni (1997) reported that while East Asian American students outperformed White students in math and English grades, Filipino American students did not. Hao and Bonstead Bruns (1998) found that while Chinese American students

outperformed Korean and Filipino students on standardized math tests and overall GPA, they performed similarly to White students. These two examples inform us that there exist discrepancies in the outcome performance between different subgroups of Asian American students and other students; however, due to their focus on examining outcomes, they fail to completely paint for us a picture of what their academic “experience” may look.

In 1997, a study by Steele first explored the negative effects posed by what he labeled as “stereotype threat” which is a phenomenon in which “the existence of negative assumptions about a group’s academic ability diminished academic performance among members of that group” (Steele, 1997). It is a type of subconscious test anxiety that somehow lowers test scores in African American students in high stakes testing. Do positive assumptions, for example the assumption that Asian Americans will outperform their peers in most academic subjects, affect academic performance? To address this question, a study was conducted with Asian American female college students (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000). Findings from this study revealed that participants who were first primed to their Asian American ethnicity felt the pressure to keep up with the expectation to perform well, which led to their difficulty in concentrating and thus negatively impacted their performance on the test (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000). Therefore, just as the fear of confirming a negative stereotype can negatively affect performance of African American students, the fear of failing to confirm a positive stereotype can worsen performance of Asian American students.

Within the academic domain, the model minority stereotype in a way implies that Asian Americans do not need the support offered to other minority populations. For example, affirmative action policies exclude Asian Americans, despite some Asian American having faced many of the same struggles as other minorities, such as coming from families who lack knowledge of the U.S. education system or having limited finances (Trytten et al, 2012). This stereotype also brings about additional problems in the classroom in that it becomes easier for teachers to make immediate assumptions of the Asian students’ self-sufficiency (Divoky, 1988). One study found that regardless of whether the Asian American students had high overall academic achievement, they all experienced to an extent academic difficulty in which they believe their teachers failed to ever notice (Wing, 2007). The overgeneralization that all Asian students will be successful on their own can lead to extensive feelings of inadequacy when one does struggle academically as well as a sense of invisibility, where the students may feel invisible and undeserving of that help.

Purpose of Study

Today, when foreign-born individuals are increasingly becoming a major part of the American day-to-day life, no longer can we ignore our changing demographics and their needs. This study explores the school experiences and overall acculturation process from the perspectives of the 1.5-generation Asian immigrants. This study attempts to paint a comprehensive picture of how the participants experience their life as a 1.5-generation Asian living and attending school in U.S. We will explore the education system through the 1.5-generation eyes.

The information yielded from this study can greatly enhance our understanding of the 1.5-generation experience within and outside of our school systems and assist human

service professionals (i.e. school psychologists, psychologists, counselors, teachers, and others) in better recognizing and knowing how to meet the differing needs of this group.

Methods

Methodology

This study of 1.5-generation Asian experience used a qualitative research design: descriptive phenomenology. The main purpose of a descriptive phenomenology is to examine a phenomenon as individuals experience it without too much emphasis on its origin or causal explanations (Husserl 1962). This phenomenological study provides thick, rich descriptions of the experiences of 1.5-generation Asian Americans that will help build our understanding of the 1.5-generation phenomenon.

Methodological Framework

A framework is a set of broad concepts that guide research. This study is based on the theory of social constructivism, which argues that knowledge and reality are created by social relationships and interactions (Creswell, 2013). According to social constructivism, humans seek to understand the world in which they live in by making subjective meaning of their experiences. This study relied on the individual participant's constructive experiences of being a 1.5-generation individual in the U.S.

Data Collection

The data for this research study was gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews with participants. Each participant was asked to take part in a two-part interview session, a main interview and a follow-up member check as needed.

The main interview lasted approximately one hour. The interviews were a one-on-one interview and for those outside of Denver and surrounding areas, mediated by technology (i.e. via Skype and Facetime video calls). All interviews were audio- and video-recorded. The interview contained broad, open-ended questions that encouraged the participants to express their perceptions and experiences as a 1.5-generation student in U.S. educational institutions. The questions covered a broad range of topics about the participant's past and present school experiences, friendship/relationship development and preferences, model minority experiences, career goals and dreams, belongingness, social and academic struggles at school, and family.

The follow-up interview, or member check, was an opportunity for participants to review and clarify areas discussed during the first interview. It was done as per needed basis to allow participants to rephrase, omit, expand upon, or add to topics that were discussed in the initial interview (Turner, 2010). Out of the six interviews conducted, only one person requested for this follow up interview.

Participants and Setting

Participants in this study included a group of six Asian American adults between the ages of 19 to 35 years old who consider themselves to be 1.5 generation. Zhou (1997)'s definition of 1.5 generation was utilized, which consisted individuals who were born in Asian countries outside of the U.S. and migrated between the ages of six to twelve.

Participants were a convenience and snowball sample consisting of researcher's personal contacts as well as referrals made by existing participants. The participants were not be located in any single geographic location as individuals can experience the phenomenon of being 1.5 generation in many places.

Data Analysis Procedures

Information gathered from these interviews was analyzed using Colaizzi's (1978) descriptive phenomenological method, which included the following steps that were closely followed:

1. The researcher would read the transcription of each participant's interview and listen to the interviews multiple times in order to get a feeling for the participants and their responses.
2. The researcher would underline and extract significant statements from the transcript that directly pertained to the phenomenon of interest. These statements would be recorded on a separate sheet noting their pages and line numbers.
3. The researcher would formulate and develop meanings for each significant statement. This process would require constant comparing and contrasting between the original transcript, the significant statements, and formulated meanings from all of the participants.
4. The researcher would organize the formulated meanings into categories, clusters of themes, and themes. In order to validate clusters or themes, the researcher would compare them with the original interview and refine them to reflect the original intent of the participants.
5. The researcher would integrate the results of the data analysis into an exhaustive description of the 1.5-generation academic and acculturation experiences.
6. The researcher, as a measure of credibility, would ask available participants to read the final exhaustive description in order to ensure that it accurately represents their experience.

(Sanders, 2003; Speziale & Carpenter, 2007).

Scientific Rigor

In qualitative research, scientific rigor can be measured by credibility and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility ensures that the phenomenon was accurately identified and described (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, effort was made to assure credibility: the audit trail; the iterative comparison of statements, formulated meanings, and the exhaustive description. Confirmability is similar to the concept of objectivity in quantitative research designs (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, confirmability was achieved through "bracketing" of the researcher's preexisting knowledge in order to see the phenomenon solely through the eyes of the study participants. Bracketing was done by the writing of a reflexive journal

throughout the entire research process. The reflexive journal included detailed notes of the research process, challenges, and reactions after interviews for the purpose of identifying and reducing bias from the data analysis. Finally, a sample of the interviews was analyzed by another researcher and compared with the researcher's analysis to ensure a bias-free description.

Results

The final, purposive sample consisted of six individuals who shared stories about their experiences at school and home while being 1.5 generation. There were four females and two males. Two of the participants were originally from South Korea; two from Indonesia; one from Taiwan, and one from China. The participants' ages ranged from 19 to 35, while ages at the time of move ranged from 6 to 12. All participants had experienced going to school in their native countries prior to starting school in the U.S.

TABLE 1. *Participant Information*

Name	Present Age	Age of Move	Country of Origin	Location of Move	Current Location
Penelope	19	12	Indonesia	Texas	Germany
Natalie	26	12	Indonesia	Colorado	Colorado
Calvin	28	6	South Korea	Texas	Texas
Helen	22	6	South Korea	Texas	Texas
Timothy	28	12	China	Texas	Illinois
Rose	35	11	Taiwan	Virginia	Colorado

After analysis, 153 significant statements of 1.5-generation experiences were identified and given corresponding 28 formulated meanings. Table 2 below provides selected examples of significant statements and corresponding formulated meanings. The formulated meanings were then clustered around five themes. The themes that emerged from the analysis of the formulated meanings were: (1) "It is always just us, no one else"; (2) "We will always be perpetual foreigners"; (3) "I am in constant in-betweenness, but it's a good thing" (4) "I struggled, then I succeed"; and lastly (5) "I want to be a different kind of Asian". All five themes were experienced by each of the participants, though some of the participants focused more on one theme than another within their interviews.

TABLE 2. *Selected Examples of Significant Statements and Corresponding Formulated Meanings*

Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning
Well, everybody knows how crazy the education system is back home, how stringent it is, right? So I think my parents wanted more for us than that, even if it meant leaving everyone else.	Parents of the participants relocated to the US for its better education system and opportunities, even if relocating means having to leave everything else behind. (<i>related to theme 1</i>)
...I was exposed to a new culture and	Generation 1.5 individuals feel that they

- language but at the same time I was expected to retain most of [old language] and experiences back home.
- I remember the first day of school being a culture shock. It was totally different from what I have been experiencing. I remember it was the first time I ever rode a school bus... I was watching how different the kids interacted, how different the school was, how more laid back it was. Here, you are able to be yourself. There was enormous freedom.
- The majority of our neighbors were white and they didn't deal with minorities at all. The majority of my classmates at school were white with very few Hispanics and almost none of them were of oriental origin. So for me, I experienced some of those stereotypes, but for them it was just ignorance, I don't think they meant to be disrespectful, they just didn't know any better.
- I took care of my sister whenever my parents were at work. It was always just us. My English was also improving at a much faster rate than my parents', so I would also have to translate for them. For example when paying for bills, etc.
- It is really important to retain that Asian identity...[because] it is who you are, how you are built. You are never going to be fully American. Right now, I'm more balanced. Though sometimes I struggle between the two cultures, I feel it is a good thing.
- are expected to adjust quickly to a new language and culture, yet simultaneously maintain their culture and language of origin. (*related to themes 2, 3*)
- Because generation 1.5 individuals had started school at the countries of origin, they are able to recall the differences between the school systems. One thing that stood out entirely is the enormous amount of freedom for students at school. (*related to themes 4,5*)
- When asked about experiencing the model minority stereotype at school, participants faulted a lack of experience of dealing with minorities. Discrimination and stereotypes happen because others "didn't know any better". (*Related to Theme 2, 4*)
- For those that are older siblings, taking care of the younger siblings is a responsibility gained as soon as they moved to the U.S. Other responsibilities included translating for the parents whenever English use is required. Some expressed frustration and concern at these added responsibilities. (*Related to theme 1*)
- 1.5 Generation individuals feel a need to have a balance between their Asian and American identity, a huge part due to feeling that they will never be entirely American. However, they do not see this as a disadvantage, but rather an advantage. (*Related to theme 4, 5*)
-

Discussion

Theme 1: "It is always just us, no one else"

Many 1.5-generation individuals moved to the United States with just their immediate family members (i.e. parents and siblings). Though some expressed that choosing where to move to in the U.S. depended on where other extended family and friends have moved to in the past, for the most part, they start over as a single family in a brand new place. In a way, this struggle to start fresh at a new place necessitated them to be close as a family. As one participant's father would say "...there is no one that is going to be consistent, a constant in your life other than your family".

All of the participants expressed a need to care for each other, in particular of their siblings while their parents worked. Calvin described his relationship with his younger sister now to be more than a typical sibling relationship; "[Coming here] definitely brought my sister and me closer. She says our relationship is closer than most brother and sister relationships... there is this fatherly, guardian aspect". Calvin, however, also mentioned that as much as he can appreciate having to take care of his sister now, he also said, "It was a bit crazy. Because I shouldn't have to do all of this. I was only a kid too".

Another participant, Natalie, mentioned with some frustration, "Sometimes I'd get jealous of friends who have cousins, grandmas, grandpas, uncles, aunts. I had no one. It was always just us. Mom, dad, my sister, and me. No one else"; however, Natalie agreed that she is now grateful for such a close-knit relationship with her family.

Theme 2: "We will always be perpetual foreigners"

All of the participants agreed that they will never feel or be viewed by others to be entirely "American". One participant, Rose, mentioned, "As fluent as I am in English, as familiar as I am to this culture, as many years as I have lived here, others will always see me as an immigrant." When asked to expand upon this statement, she spoke of an instance where others would question where she was from, "then they would ask, "Where are you from, like where are you *really* from?". Every single participant spoke of other instances where they are made to feel not entirely belonging in this country.

One of the interview questions asked the participants to talk about where they felt they most belong. "I got used to not belonging. I always feel like we will always be perpetual foreigners", Rose again said. In contrast, Calvin, who became actively involved in the basketball team at school, mentioned, "I didn't ever feel like I belonged entirely there either. Like "this is my group!" I feel that I could belong to all of the little groups that I was part of. I think this is still true today." In a way, participants expressed that being 1.5-generation forces one to "mold" to the different groups in order to belong. Rose also mentioned that being 1.5 generation forces you to be "comfortable" with being the "kid that is different. The new kid. You maintain this title even after being there for so long."

It is not just others viewing them as "perpetual foreigners", in a way, it seems that they too view themselves as such. "It could be my accent", said Rose, whom to the researcher lacked any "Asian" accent, "but I will never be American enough".

Theme 3: ““I am in constant in-betweenness, but it’s a good thing”

Earlier it was mentioned that most participants share the sentiment of not feeling entirely American. At the same time, they also do not feel entirely Korean, Taiwanese, Chinese, or Indonesian, there seemed to always be this constant “in-betweenness”. However, all participants agree that this is not always a negative, as painted by one of the participants, Timothy:

So there is always going to be that struggle, conflict. For example, when I am hanging out with my American friends, how do I become not so Asian? When I am with my wife’s Chinese friends, how do I become not so American? However, as I mature, I feel that the process becomes more and more natural. With maturity, I have also learned to be respectful and recognize that there are good things about both cultures. It isn’t necessary for me to ignore one and focus on the other at any given time. I have to welcome both. You become a mesh of both. This is what makes you unique.

Another participant, Calvin, stated:

I had the luxury of getting the best of both worlds. I love the fact that I have my Korean heritage. When you belong to 1.5 generation, you may not feel like you fit in entirely anywhere, we can all see that, but you really do get the best of both worlds. For me, I can pick and choose at any time.

In a way, 1.5-generation individuals become masters of adapting. They adapt who they are in order to fit in. Calvin also admitted during his interview that he finds himself “talking a different way when I am with different groups. For example, when I would be with my basketball teammates, I’d be more “street”. When I would be with my church friends, I again speak differently”. This ability to control the amount of “Asian” and “American” seems to be present in all of the participants interviewed.

Theme 4: “I struggled, then I succeed”

When speaking about challenges faced when first moving to the U.S., one of the first things the participants mentioned was the obvious language barrier. Rose, who was an avid reader before she moved to the U.S. found herself almost “illiterate”:

It was a complete hit on my self-esteem. I had zero English. It seemed that my 6-year-old brother was picking up English way faster than me. For the first time in my life, I couldn’t read. I couldn’t speak.

Another participant also shared this challenge, stating that it was hard not to feel “dumb”. Most of the participants were excelling academically prior to moving to the U.S.; however, the language barrier placed them temporarily behind in comparison to their American peers. One participant mentioned that moving changed her personality in a more permanent way:

I was very outgoing and talkative in Korea...but because of that language barrier when we moved here, I felt that I no longer knew how to communicate with my new classmates or the new people that I was meeting, I became really shy. I really feel that those first 2 or 3 years in the states definitely shaped the rest of my experiences here... I am much better now, but I’m still shy.”

It was also very easy for others like friends and teachers to assume within those initial years of moving to the States, that these individuals knew “nothing”. However, all of the participants attributed others behavior towards them to a lack of “experience” with new immigrants. Most of the participants moved to predominantly white areas in Texas, Colorado, and Virginia; these experiences would most likely be different in more diverse settings.

In regards to English acquisition, all of the participants agreed that their language skills were developing at a much faster rate than their parents’. As a result, they had to take on translating roles in settings outside of the home. This is especially true for individuals who are the oldest children. Parents and younger siblings come to rely on the older sibling to communicate with others.

After the first few years of struggling with the language, most 1.5-generation individuals found themselves on par or even exceeding their peers academically. This is the period when the model minority stereotype became most apparent to the participants, as stated by Calvin:

I remember that other students would assume that I would be really good in math or something. Much to their shame when they finally figured out that I am not very good in math[...] It never hurt me. I would actually joke about it.

Others thought similarly, that the model minority stereotype never really affected them in a negative way. Penelope mentioned, “I really was outperforming my peers. For once, it felt good. It became my identity as the smart kid”. It seems that in most of these cases, the 1.5 generation participants would struggle initially mainly due to the language barrier, which then greatly affected their self-esteem; however, all of the participants ended up finding other roles and identities to once again rebuild that self-esteem. Both Calvin and Timothy found this through sports; others through excelling academically.

Theme 5: “I want to be a different kind of Asian”

All of the participants interviewed mentioned a desire to be “a different kind of Asian”. Calvin stated:

Back then, it was so important to me that others knew that I was not your stereotypical Asian. I hated math. I was terrible at it. I was awesome at basketball. I didn’t really want to hangout with the “Asian” group at school. For the longest time, it was important to be like everyone else, like the white kids. But, I feel like I have finally grown out of that. I finally realize that only I can define my own happiness... that I actually don't want to be like everybody else. It actually is a very uplifting freeing thing to be different.

Calvin’s case is a bit extreme in that he mostly avoided even befriending the Asian students; however, others try to differentiate themselves by involving themselves in extracurricular activities that were not “Asian”. Rose joined theater and choir. Timothy joined soccer. When asked what the stereotypical “Asian” student would be like, responses varied from students who lack social skills to those who dress a certain way. These stereotypes are ones that all participants fought hard to overcome. In a way, the participants wanted to be the “model” student, not necessarily the “model minority”, who carries with him or her all of the negative stereotypes associated with

having such a label. When asked why it was so important to be “a different kind of Asian”, Natalie said “I don’t know. Maybe for the longest time, that was my only identity. The Asian kid who didn’t talk. So I ended up spending all these years trying to disprove it.” Another participant mentioned, “Because that’s not all I am. I am more than that. I am more than just that Asian kid.”

Conclusion

Although 1.5-generation individuals articulated many challenges in their path to discover their identity and belongingness, they also described their own resourcefulness and strategies to overcome these challenges. Participants also shared many positive experiences that have helped shape their personalities today. It is important to remember that there are unique stories to individual participants not included in this paper that were not shared by all of the participants, which indicates that school experience and acculturation are not always experienced in the same way.

An increased understanding of the experiences of 1.5 generation Asians in the U.S. can help human service professionals to work more effectively with these individuals and other diverse populations. Findings from this study can help us to realize that for most 1.5 generation individuals, their family is oftentimes the only people they have in the country; that they have added responsibilities in the family that their peers may not have; that they often feel a lack of belongingness in group settings, though it is not always a negative; that sometimes they are ashamed of their differences, though over time will eventually learn to embrace them; that they often are struggling for the first time due to the significant language barrier. Our awareness of these results will enable us to be a better teacher, friend, school psychologist, social worker, whatever our role may be, to these 1.5-generation individuals, who oftentimes fall through the cracks within our education system.

This qualitative study aims to improve our understanding of the nature of the 1.5-generation individual’s experience of growing up and living in the United States. It is a good first step to understanding this group, though there continues to be a need for further exploration that will go beyond just their first hand experiences to greater and larger outcomes.

References

- Abouguendia, M., & Noels, K.A. (2001). General and acculturation-related daily hassles and psychological adjustment in first- and second-generation South Asian immigrants to Canada. *International Journal of Psychology*, 36(3), 163-173.
- Carpenter, D. R. (2007). Phenomenology as method. In H. J. Streubert & D. R. Carpenter (Eds.), *Qualitative research in nursing: Advancing the Humanistic Imperative* (pp. 75-99). Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott.
- Colaizzi, P. (1978). Psychological research as the phenomenologist views it. In R. Valle, & M. King (Eds.), *Existential-Phenomenological Alternatives for Psychology* (pp. 48-71). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, J. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Englander, M. (2012). The interview: Data collection in descriptive phenomenological Human Scientific Research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 43 (2012) 13-35.
- Harklau, L., Dosey, K. M., & Siegal, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Generation 1.5 Meets College Composition: Issues in The Teaching of Writing To U.S.-Educated Learners of English*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence.
- Hartlep, N.D. (2013). The model minority? *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, 30(2), 14-15.
- Hurh, W. M. (1990). The "1.5 generation:" A paragon of Korean-American pluralism. *Korean Culture*, 11(1): 21-31.
- Martin, P., & Midgely, E. (2010). Immigration in America 2010. *Population Bulletin*. Retrieved from <http://www.prb.org/pdf10/immigration-update2010.pdf>
- Martins, D.C. (2008). Experiences of homeless people in the health care delivery system: A descriptive phenomenological study. *Health Nursing*, 25(5), 420 – 430.
- Padilla, A.M., Alvarez, M. & Lindholm, K.J. (1986). Generational status and personality factors as predictors of stress in students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science*, 8, 275-88.
- Padilla, A. M., & Gonzalez, R. (2001). Academic performance of immigrant and U.S.-born Mexican heritage students: Effects of schooling in Mexico and bilingual/English language instruction. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(3), 727-742.
- Pew Research Center (2013). *The Rise of Asian Americans*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/04/Asian-Americans-new-full-report-04-2013.pdf>

- Porter, S. (1993) 'Nursing Research Conventions: Objectivity or Obfuscation', *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 18: 137-43.
- Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 799-825.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R.G. (2001). *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Rodriguez, L.A. (2006). *The forgotten generation: High School and College Generation 1.5 Students* (Master's Thesis). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Accession Order No. [1434461])
- Ruiz, I.D. (2003). *Generation 1.5: A Border Culture in Ethnography*. (Master's Thesis). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (Accession Order No. [1418554])
- Rumbaut, R.G. & Ima, K. (1988). *The Adaptation of Southeast Asian Refugee Youth: A Comparative Study*. Final report to the Office of Resettlement. San Diego, CA: San Diego State University
- Rumbaut, R. G., & Portes, A. (2001). Introduction- Ethnogenesis: Coming of age in immigrant America. In R. G. Rumbaut, and A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Tran, N. & Birman, D. (2010). Questioning the model minority: Studies of Asian American academic performance. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 1(2), 106-118.
- Turner, D.W. (2010). Qualitative interview design: A practical guide for novice investigators. *The Qualitative Report*. 15(3), 754-760.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). The Asian Population: 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-11.pdf>
- Van Ours, J. C., & Veenman, J. (2003). The educational attainment of second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands. *Journal of Population Economics*, 16, 739-753.

Musical Pedagogy's Improvement through New Technologies and Musicology: The Oigma Project

Guillaume Deveney, Aix-Marseille Université, France

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

What is musical pedagogy? A way to teach someone the technical practice of an instrument? To learn how to express oneself through sounds? Something between these two approaches? We tend to think that this latter assertion is the closest to the truth. We learn how to play music by our countless hours of instrumental practice; however, it doesn't sum up our way to play: reading sheet music or playing a song alike the original is not a proof of a real musical expression. Therefore musical pedagogy grasps a third dimension: musical knowledge. Not necessarily on theoretical elements, but on our knowledge of a musical culture: the genre's genealogy (i.e. from which previous style it came from), the great names in the style, or the musical characteristics of it. A great deal of our musical vocabulary (whether we are composers or performers) arises from our familiarity with these musical universes (when we play it, hear it or learn it). In the case of French musical pedagogy, this last dimension is slightly left behind. It is from this conclusion that the idea of a new project in pedagogy is born: the OGMA project . Its only purpose is to improve the ways of teaching music, toward students or music professionals . The main goal of this virtual presentation is to introduce the main axes of our research in pedagogy, and our will to establish, in long term, a cooperation network through the research centers (private and universities) in different countries.

Keywords: Musical pedagogy, new technologies, musicology, musical philology, text theory

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

The Different Axis of Musical Pedagogy

Musical pedagogy lies on three main axes, which structure our progression in artistic practice. First and foremost, teaching music is about training students to use their instruments – including singer's voice. We call this first layer technical practice: showing and leading pupils on the way to master – or at least understand and use correctly – their tools on musical matter. It is the most common way to define it – a definition that anyone can tell to describe musical education.

Secondly, we can consider musical pedagogy as an approach to expand individual expression throughout artistic form. This aspect emphasizes on the decisive role of teachers to help students' musicality to flourish and, finally, develop their own musical personality. It guides the person to build his proper voice, through two principle tools: on one hand, with instrumental practice (i.e. I produce a sound, a mode, I play a particular aesthetic and I include it to my vocabulary); on the other hand in listening to different kind of music, different composers... in short, you shape it while you are listening and understanding other ways to create music, in accepting or denying their approach. These two positions make the student evolving, by encountering the musical background of different repertoires.

Which lead us to our third axis: musical knowledge. We have to understand the aesthetic of songs, of an artist, of musical styles, and so on. Therefore musical pedagogy grasps a third dimension: musical knowledge. Not necessarily on theoretical elements, but on our knowledge of a musical culture: the genre's genealogy (i.e. from which previous style it came from), the great names in the style, or the musical characteristics of it. A great deal of our musical vocabulary (whether we are composers or performers) arises from our familiarity with these musical universes (when we play it, hear it or learn it). Students – and first of all teachers who drive them – have to emphasize on this particular point. Not only in listening: for musicians, it is not a passive activity. This is the significant distinction between hearing and listening. The first indicates a passive action whereas the second implies an active study, involving multidimensional analysis (e.g. rhythmic, melodic, harmonic, etc.). Besides, earning musical knowledge doesn't only grow from listening: it develops itself by practicing these different kind of repertoires. Playing – even if this word (in English or French) is misused (as Hans-Georg Gadamer pointed out in *Vérité et Méthode*¹) and might be replaced for the reader by the term of “studying” – put the student right into the core of musicians playing issues, both in terms of instrumental technique and balance between performers². Therefore, listening and playing are the two decisive sides of the same coin: the musical knowledge. A good musical development, to our mind, requires a valuable balance between these two points.

To conclude this part, musical pedagogy is built on three primary dimensions: technical practice, artistic expression and musical knowledge. Those three points aren't isolate one from each other: on the contrary, they are simply the different faces of a very one concept. The main observation during our years of practice as a musician, and a student, is that each individual emphasizes one – or more – aspects, all

¹ Gadamer, Hans-Georg, *Vérité et Méthode. Les grandes lignes d'une herméneutique philosophique*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1996.

² In the case of collective practice (e.g. chamber music, orchestra, band, duet, etc.).

along his apprenticeship. This consideration is not only employed by students, but also by the teaching staff in musical schools – such as conservatory or private schools of music – even if teachers try their best to bring their students to see these three dimensions. Nevertheless, these axis aren't fully represented in those institutions. Indeed, each one of them may highlight one dimension rather than the other. It is not necessarily the vision of a single school, but also a national approach of musical education. For instance, French musical pedagogy focus on technical practice and artistic expression. Therefore, musical knowledge is slightly left behind.

This observation upon musical pedagogy is at the root of our article. We try here to show new paths in order to improve our way to think – and do – student/musician's education. As far as we are concerned, two elements brought by recent works in the field of musicology allows us to interrogate anew our teaching practice. We will detail them on two distinctive parts: first, aiming on advances in the field of musical philology, and finally we will show a new vision of the application of musicology in cultural practices and, also, in musical pedagogy.

New Textualities and Musical Works: Impact of Philology in Our Way to Understand Creation

Musical Philology and New Textualities

Since the audio support's appearance, with its role of musical production's preservation, it has become essential to modify our perception of philological object. When a new version of a song appears on an audio support, our view of it is reshaped. This audio document become then a textual form: Its action works on our perception of the musical work, guiding our aesthetic apprehension of the production. From this observation emerged the sound philology, coming out of the need to modernize this discipline.

This philology's field deals with sound archives: discographic funds gathering various amount of audio supports. Sound philology is particularly interested in the role of computer science toward audio preservation: in few words, how digital changes sound into an audio textual form. Indeed, the musical work's textuality is not confined in a scriptural form, to the only sheet music. Most music didn't need to write down their productions, and their repertoires still spread all around the world. Textuality, as Barthes evoked in *Le degré zero de l'écriture*³, relates to the idea behind the scripturality, the written text being only the vessel through which the sense come to the reader. Musical work acts the same way: the creation developed by all the members of the creative process is not simply reachable with the score, but by all the layers of significance present: they can be produced by the light programming, choreography and so on. All of these elements are different kinds of texts. These findings gave birth to a new way of conceptualize musical document, called "new musical textualities⁴".

In order to understand the purpose of this research field, we have to look upon the issues that composers were confronted with during the second half of the 20th

³ Barthes, Roland, « Le degré zéro de l'écriture », in *Œuvres complètes*, Tome I, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2002.

⁴ De Benedictis, Angela Ida, "Le nuove testualita musicale", in Caraci-Vela, Maria (ed.), *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2, Lucques, LIM, 2002, p. 71-116.

century. Jean-Yves Bosseur shed light on the premises of the mid-century's quandary: "However [...] when, at the beginning of the 20th century, some composers desired to include in their vocabulary some unused sound materials in traditional western music, they just have to face the failing of a notation that has not evolved so much from a century⁵". Those difficulties to represent the new compositional practice and the new sounds modalities (e.g. tone, spatialization) have reached their full proportions during the 1960s. The link between sound and textual form is preponderant in the text/performance relation. Its evolution is tied with the new ways to work on the sound matter, which leads philology on new inquiries on the musical text/musical work's relationship, main questioning in the new musical textualities' research field.

The mutation of the philological questioning is related to the technological innovation in the sound processing and recording's field. This subject took a different issues due to the support's digitalization. How we could qualify as a support something not physical. Angela Ida De Benedictis tries to redefine the textual concept with the digital "support": "The textual concept should be applied to tape as much as digital inscription [...]. All these sound experience linked to the computer technologies are similar to "on paper" composition bound to scriptural technologies⁶". New musical textualities' field of research consider this technical dimension as new step, an innovative point of view regarding our way to set the creation on a support. Angela Ida De Benedictis shows that musical textuality's evolution is bound to the computer, especially on the work on sound, putting the notion of sound at the core of the textuality's concept.

Moreover, this section of musical philology deals with the ways of broadcasting musical works, their history and their recent new advances. During the 21st century's first decade, a vast range of broadcasting platforms spread on the internet, such as Myspace, Deezer, Youtube, Itunes, Facebook, Twitter, and so on. These networks represent numerous measure for an artist – or a label – to promote their works. Thanks to the internet, the digital encoding has become a major form of audio support. This transcription mode is consider, according to musical philology, as the next step of musical notation. Digital encoding is often correlate of what is called "computer music": "even more than its printed homologous, digital text can take a great variety of forms, even if its potentiality is far from being exploit to its maximum, in view of the screens and software's limitations⁷". Computer music gathers all the practice employing sound processing software, both used by technician (i.e. sound engineer) and musicians to compose or work on sound itself. It includes the score editions software, as Sibelius or Finale, recording software (e.g. Cubase, Pro Tools, Logic, Ableton Live) and plugins of sound processing (e.g. compressor, equalization, mastering plugins, etc.) Computer music opens new perspectives on our way to work on sound, to record and write it on an audio support. Therefore, it is through this new area that new musical textuality find a crucial importance: "Computer music's advent [...] opens new frontiers in textuality/creation relationship thanks to the complete substitution of the paper toward the music edition software. The writing domain's extension has become, during the 1980s and 1990s, a major tendency for computer musical experimentation [...]"⁸.

⁵ Bosseur, Jean-Yves, *Du son au signe*, Paris, Editions Alternatives, 2005, p. 95.

⁶ De Benedictis, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

⁷ Vanderdorpe, Christian, *Du papyrus à l'hypertexte*, Paris, La Découverte, 1999, p. 88.

⁸ De Benedictis, *Ibid.*, p. 81.

New Textualities: Influence of the Evolution of Textuality's Concept

With the textuality's concept widening, we have to reconsider our way to understand musical work. Studying a song is not simply referring to sheet music in order to reproduce it. Many textuality forms are involved in the production process. To summarize Barthes' theory, a text refers not only to the scriptural form, but also to the idea behind it. Thus we can consider stage direction, choreography, lighting programming, even the session⁹ on a recording software (such as Pro Tools, Cubase or Logic¹⁰), as a textuality forms that carries a level of significance regarding the musical work. They contribute to its accomplishment, on an audio support as much as in live performance. Likewise our description of the three aspects of musical pedagogy, recording and stage performance are two sides of the same concept. In fact, they simply highlight different textualities, and therefore, different layers of signification that each one brings to the audience. As a result, studying a song is not only "reading" sheet music, but concerns a wide range of dimensions, both artistic and technical. Consequently, it shows that musician – student or professional – has to approach musical creation in all these dimensions that characterize it.

Textualities' multiplicity should be reflected on our way to teach music to our pupils. This result strengthens the weight of musical knowledge and musical identity development. Indeed, when a student faces different audio versions (and then different arrangements or orchestrations), he will have to choose between them, determining which one suits him best¹¹. Searching, hearing – and seeing¹² – different variants of a track, performed by different artists, in different situations (recording, live performance, etc.), at different periods (which implies different musical gears and setups¹³)... all these factors reinforce our knowledge of the musical culture about a repertoire, about the way we perform a musical work, as much as our perception of the distinctive manner to emphasize the ideas beneath the textualities.

The development of textuality's concept leads us to realize the relevance of these questions for the student's evolution. Learning – and playing – music brings him to embrace a large range of artistic expression (e.g. lighting, stage setting, choreography, etc.) and technical practice (e.g. sound engineering, light engineering, computer music, etc.). Consequently, he will not simply read a score, but will consider musical production as a whole of various skills put together¹⁴ in order to perform music. Music production, its execution, is the result of cooperation: this distinguishes the common way to consider it as the product of this virtual encounter between the composer's will and the performer¹⁵: "the only performer's purpose is to understand musical work's truth and make the audience grasp it¹⁶". We think, as the different works in musical philology illustrate, that performing a song – especially in the case of popular music – is the result of multiple contributions, in the creation but also in

⁹ It refers to the folder on which the song is recorded and mixed. The name may vary according to the software employed: for example, Ableton Live calls it "project".

¹⁰ With all the plugins used to shape the sound set on the audio format

¹¹ He may also didn't want to choose, and will prefer mix the different versions. The appropriation's process still the same in that case.

¹² In the case of recorded shows.

¹³ Obviously, we don't record the same way in the 1960s than today.

¹⁴ This action collecting, putting skills together, reminds us the true definition of composition: It came from the Latin *cum ponere*, which can be translated as "putting together". Composing is putting elements all at once in order to produce something new.

¹⁵ Leibowitz, René, *Le compositeur et son double*, Paris, Gallimard, 1986

¹⁶ Leibowitz, René, *Ibid.*, p.33.

the performing process: the knowledge and skills of the various actors contribute to the performance advancement. Thus, in order to develop student's musical expression as much as their musical knowledge, music teachers (in all levels of teaching¹⁷) have to put them in contact with all these dimensions, and make them grasp the idea that a musical production doesn't lie solely on sheet music, but express itself through a tremendous amount of modalities.

Is an Applied Musicology Possible?

Musicologist and Creative Process

Traditionally, musicology is considered as a speech on music. In *L'altération musicale*, Bernard Sève distinguishes five different types of speech on music (theoretical, philosophical, musicological, activist, scientific¹⁸). The musicological discourse is representative of how musicology approaches its subject of study: "It has to be descriptive, analytical, historical, but not normative, it analyzes facts but doesn't prescribe any rules [...]"¹⁹.

Musicology shows a duality regarding musical study, as known as "participative" and "objective" approaches. The first encloses the musicologist in the observed phenomenon: by his position, he has a unique perception of the event. The second tendency, on the contrary, demonstrates that the previous position might involve a subjectivity bias, because the musicologist only has a limited sight on the entire phenomenon. Thus, it would be better to take some distance from it, be objective toward the event, so as to avoid interaction prejudice. This is what we called "objective" approach. As a result, we consider musicologist's theoretical approach through two elements: his disciplinary orientation (e.g. philology, historical, etc.) and his involvement (or non-involvement) toward the event studied²⁰.

Traditionally, musicology's subject deals with discourse on music, glossing on musical practices, significance and its impact on society. However, could we consider musicologist as being a part of the creative process? We think the encounter of these two worlds might be sources of opportunities and innovations.

What musicologist could bring to the creative process? In the case of an historical production²¹, his knowledge concerning the period (style, analysis, technical and social ways to produce a piece of music, etc.) is particularly valuable. Together with the other members of the musical project, the musicologist could assume the role of advisor regarding production's historical authenticity. Moreover, musicologist can be a source of information on possible repertoires melting, especially on crossing western, traditional and/or pop music. His historical and analysis knowledge (on style, specific composing methods, etc.) may guide composers (and arrangers) in their crossing choices, preventing false alternatives. The approach's aim is to guarantee a certain authenticity, or at least a fine quality about the way we borrow stylistic

¹⁷ E.g. high school, conservatory, music school, university, etc.

¹⁸ Sève, Bernard, *L'altération musicale*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2002, p. 45.

¹⁹ Sève, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁰ This description refers to the main theoretical musicological approaches. Of course, those choices aren't absolute: we can observe some crossing between the different tendencies.

²¹ I.e. a production that tries to reproduce a musical work in its original conditions (using instruments of the same period, using the same recording technique, etc.).

elements from a certain repertoire. In these two cases, musicologist can have a reliable influence on a technical point of view (i.e. advising and coordinating) in conjunction with other members of the creative process.

The musicologist's help can grasp other creation levels. His familiarity with broadcast modes (including web process of broadcasting), about audio supports and different forms of textuality can contribute to the musical project in guiding through new ways to explore. For example, with the help of the sound engineer, they can exploit new forms of sound spatialization (moving from stereophonic to multiphonic productions, in 5.1 or 7.1 for example), or using some video performance devices (e.g. motion capture, MIDI triggering on visual effects, etc.). These examples have already been applied by different teams (e.g. the works on the Inuit singer Tanya Tagaq by the research team of Serge Lacasse and Sophie Stévançe²²), but the true musicologist's relevance lies on his profound knowledge of all the different technique employed in show performance, and the efficiency of the process. Besides, he can propose new strategies (concerning textual elaboration, broadcasting form, etc.) pulling out the conclusions of the previous attempts in musical history.

Canadian's research team have develop a research field called « Research-Creation ». The purpose of it is to join artistic practice and scientific research. It can be used by a unique person (e.g. a PhD student producing an artistic work during his degree course, adding consequently scientific reflection on his production), or in conjunction with a research team. Findelli and Coste see in this approach a “fruitful way” which “seek to dig out this “[research] need”, to see on what concept it relies, to better understand the factors and their reason to be, in short to make a reasoned and argued inquiry²³”.

Nevertheless, we consider musicologist's role in the creation process as a complementary member of the creation team. In this way, musicologist's advising role will be a systematic element of the creative process. The musicologist's wide musical background (in history as well as technical and mediological practices) offers a full range of tools that he can put at the creative team service. Furthermore, considering his activity as a musician, he has a unique vision of the questionings and issues in this field of practice. All of these elements are in favor of our repositioning will of the musicologist's role in supporting the creative production.

Musicology's Contribution to Musical Pedagogy

Thus, the previous part has revealed that musicologist knowledge and know-how can be useful in the creative process. This element brings a new perspective to apply on musical pedagogy. The example of textuality's concept expansion is an excellent illustration. The link between musicological reflection and practice echoed primarily on his work as a composer. We try here to highlight the musicological knowledge as a significant resource to exploit in the case of musical pedagogy.

This consideration is at the core of the OGMA Project²⁴. It is a brave new initiative in french musicology, trying to extend the links between university and schools of

²² « L'ethno-pop selon Tanya Tagaq : une démarche artistique cosmopolite comme manifestation d'un équilibre social chez les Inuits », in Gresem [en ligne], consulté le 03/10/2014. URL : <http://gresem.oicrm.org/projets-de-recherche-creation/tagaq/>

²³ Findelli, Alain, Coste, Anne, « De la recherche-cr ation   la recherche-projet : un cadre th orique et m thodologique pour la recherche architecturale », in Lieux communs, n  10, 2007, p. 151.

²⁴ French acronym for Office G n ral de Musicologie Appliqu e (General Office of Applied Musicology in English).

music. As we said before, the musicology's definition is clear: it refers to the speech on music. Once produced, it will be rewrite on paper, or deliver in a lecture, in order to be used by other musicologists. Its impact on student – except students in musicology – is not decisive for musical practice. Which is a shame: we saw what could bring works in philology to our conception of a musical creation. We assume this illustration is a first step toward a wider contribution of musicological research in our music pedagogical system.

That is why we use the terms “applied musicology”: we are looking for a way to put the musicological knowledge – and know-how – to serve musical practices. This definition should be extended to the whole cultural process which contribute to the musical production. The interdisciplinary approach is at the root of this initiative: as we have described musical creation as a cooperative process between characters of specific abilities (e.g. sound engineering, staging, etc.), we need to approach the musical production through all its dimensions (artistic, technic, mediologic). This method is, to our mind, the only way to fully understand a cultural phenomenon such as musical creation. Furthermore, the OGMA's position concerning musical pedagogy is not limited to music students: it must be broaden to professional practitioners who want to study new forms of understanding of their own art and, in contact with musicological works, try to find new ways to perform.

Musicological part in musical practice development's could take different forms, depending on which musicological field the person want to expand. Here are some examples of the different possibilities, it is, of course, not a definitive list of options.

- *Musicology of production*: a study of the different production modes in music industry, of its protagonists, etc.
- *Musicology of recording*: Critical study of the recording modes employed through the history of recording, including the ways to pick up sound, understand and establish a recording aesthetic and help to develop new techniques of recording.
- *Musicology of performance*: From a research about various version of a same musical work, trying to point out similarities and dissimilarities between the different performance.
- *Musicology of musical creation*: investigations on the creative process, document the different step of a production, by periods, repertoires, etc.

Cooperation between musicology, cultural practice and pedagogy – in its widest sense – might be decisive to develop a new way of thinking musical practice and education. The OGMA project tries to initiate a reflection about interdisciplinary connection and collaboration in order to promote new approaches on cultural practices. One of our goal is to open an original consideration of this questioning with other institutions – musical as musicological – throughout the globe concerning this design: readjusting musical pedagogy – and musical practice – to the evolution of our manner to think the musical creation and practice process, through observation (i.e. considering, for example, the numerous amount of actors involved in musical production) and theory (i.e. our way to conceptualize the phenomenon, and drew the relevant elements from it).

References

Barthes, R. (2002). *Le degré zéro de l'écriture. Œuvres complètes*, Tome I, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Bosseur, J-Y. (2005). *Du son au signe*, Paris: Editions Alternatives.

De Benedictis, A. I. (2002). Le nuove testualita musicale. Caracci-Vela, M. (ed.), *La filologia musicale* (71-116), Vol. 2, Lucques : LIM.

Findelli, A., Coste, A. (2007). De la recherche-cr ation   la recherche-projet : un cadre th orique et m thodologique pour la recherche architecturale. *Lieux communs*, 10, 2007.

Gadamer, H-G. (1996). *V rit  et M thode. Les grandes lignes d'une herm neutique philosophique*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Lacasse, S., St vance, S. (2012). L'ethno-pop selon Tanya Tagaq : une d marche artistique cosmopolite comme manifestation d'un  quilibre social chez les Inuits. Grecem [online], consult  le 03/10/2014. URL : <http://grecem.oicrm.org/projets-de-recherche-creation/tagaq/>

Leibowitz, R. (1986), *Le compositeur et son double*. Paris: Gallimard.

S ve, B. (2002). *L'alt ration musicale*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Vanderdorpe, C. (1999). *Du papyrus   l'hypertexte*. Paris: La D couverte.

Contact email: deveney.guillaume@gmail.com



Developing Social Work Practice for People with Disability through Digital Storytelling

Shinsuke Funaki, Fukui Prefectural University, Japan
Shoichi Fujita, Human Support Nest, Japan
Kazunori Taiencho, Kacho-kai, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

The International Federation of Social Workers adopted the new global definition of social work in 2014. Although promotion of social cohesion and respect for diversities was included in the new definition, social work practices for promoting cultural citizenship are still under development in Japan. Since 1990s, community arts organizations in Australia have developed community engagement projects for people with disability through digital media production such as digital storytelling. It is important to develop the collaboration method between social workers and artists to promote cultural citizenship for social minority groups such as people with disability.

With the aid of artists and social workers, iPad digital storytelling workshops for people with intellectual disability were organized in Fukui, Japan from 2013 to 2014. The digital media training programs for human service professionals and social work students were organized in Sydney, Australia and Japan prior to the workshops. During this research project, we conducted interviews with participants to understand the ways in which people with disability and local community interact with each other through digital storytelling. This paper explores two key questions. First, we examine how digital storytelling can be employed for community engagement between people with disability and the local community and how it can help them achieve cultural citizenship. Secondly, we investigate how we can develop social work practice for people with disability through digital storytelling.

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The new global definition of social work was adopted by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) in 2014. IFSW is a global organization for social work professionals, which comprises 116 national associations. IFSW has been granted Special Consultative Status the United Nations¹. Although promotion of social cohesion and respect for diversities in terms of cultural citizenship was additionally included in the new definition, social work studies on practical levels in terms of cultural citizenship are still under development. Since 1990s, community arts organisations in western countries such as UK, Canada and Australia have developed community engagement projects for migrants or people with disability through digital media production. It is important to develop the collaboration method between artists and social workers to promote cultural citizenship for social minority groups.

This paper discusses a practice-based research based on community cultural development project carried out in Fukui, located in northwest Japan from 2012. I organized: 1) Research visiting to community arts organisations in Sydney, Australia 2) iPad Digital Storytelling (DST) workshop with person with autism spectrum disorder and their family in Japan. This research focuses on mainly two questions, firstly, this study would attempt to analyse the effectiveness of community arts and cultural development through digital storytelling to promote community engagement and community participation of people with disability in Japan. Secondly, this study examines how we make use of digital storytelling and its production for social work practice for people with disability and their family to enhance their cultural citizenship.

Research Method

In our research project Firstly, in 2012 and 2013 we conducted a research visiting to community arts organizations in Sydney, Australia. Funaki was a coordinator for research visiting with social workers in Fukui with the financial support from Unveil foundation in 2012, Mitsubishi foundation in 2015. Japanese social workers received DST training by community artists in Sydney. Secondly, with the aid of social workers in disability field in Japan, iPad digital storytelling workshops for a person with autism spectrum disorder were organized and two DST were created in August and October 2013. Finally, exploratory research includes interviews with participants including a person with autism spectrum and his mother conducted by a social worker. The coordinator conducted the interview with a social worker. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to allow informants to speak freely not only about their impression of the workshops but also their subjective values and the perceptions of community engagements between people with disability and local community. Interviews varied from about an hour conducted by Japanese. Interviews are filmed and edited by the coordinator

Interviews were transcribed and analyzed thematically. Participants were fully briefed at an information session about this project and were able to watch the interviews and the analysis documents by researchers before this presentation. A written consent was obtained from the participant and his mother before the project commenced. I also

¹ <http://ifsw.org/get-involved/global-definition-of-social-work/> accessed 22nd April, 2015.

conducted participant observation as a coordinator of the showcase event and interviews. This observation gave me exposure to community sentiments and informal information shared among participants and was valuable in supplementing the research.

This paper will not represent the perception of community engagement between people with disability and the local community through the use of digital media in Japan. The aim of this exploratory study is to bring a new conceptual basis for social work practices with people with disability through the use of digital storytelling (Harrison, 2007, p.74).

New Global Definition of Social Work

In this new definition, you will see two major changes from previous definition. Firstly, The social work profession's core mandates deleted problem solving in human relationships, focuses on promotion of social change, social development. Therefore, the participatory and person-centered approach is reflected in commentary notes for the definition that "Engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing." In this definition, social workers promote community-based practice by working with rather than for people.

Secondly, promotion of social cohesion and respect for diversities was additionally included in the new definition in terms of cultural citizenship. Social work in western discourses respects the first and the second-generation rights including civil and political rights, socio-economic and cultural rights. Especially, the conceptualization of social justice as distributive justice focuses on unconsciously to the class division of societies (Hölscher 2012; Rawls 1971). Theories of justice for recognition criticized such a limited understanding of distributive justice (Young 1990). Frazer (2008) argued that as the aim of social justice everybody is able to participate equitably, as full partners in interaction with others and as fully recognised members of society so called participatory parity. In order to achieve participatory parity, it will be important to require a just distribution of rights, opportunities and resources, as well as equal recognition of status and just framing, that is, the fair awarding of membership and political voice (Hölscher, D. & Bozalek 2012). Internal status hierarchies among race, ethnicity, gender, disability, etc, and a theoretical element of justice for recognition for minority communities have been underestimated in the discussion of revised global definition of social work. In this sense, the promotion of cultural rights and citizenship will be a significant issue in social work studies.

Community Arts and Community Cultural Development (CCD) in Australia

I have been researching on social work and community development practices with social minority communities such as migrants and refugees or people with disability in Australia since 2005. I visited many ethnic organizations and non-government organizations in NSW and Victoria, which engage in community settlements and social services for them. Since 1990s, community arts organisations in western countries such as UK, Canada and Australia have developed community cultural development projects for migrants or people with disability to promote cultural citizenship. It is important to develop the collaboration method between artists and social workers to promote cultural citizenship for social minority groups. These

projects are often called as Community arts or Community Cultural Development (CCD). These projects are usually funded by the chief funding body, The Australia Council of the Arts. The program is currently called Community Partnerships program. Badham (2010) analysed the characteristic of Community Partnerships program as follows. She argues that CP promotes collaboration with non-arts organizations (such as health, welfare, education, housing). Community Partnerships focuses its support in a number of specific areas, which include regional Australia, disability, young people, cultural diversity, emerging communities, Indigenous people, remote Indigenous communities, and specific critical social and cultural issues requiring focused attention.

Secondly, CP recommends entrepreneurial model with self generated revenue sources. Artists in CP are expected to be at the service of a community and become a CD practitioner. Practices are more about community capacity building rather than creative outcomes (Badham 2010:93-94). This model attempts to build self-reliant and resilient communities with long-term projects.

Another trend of in Community Arts and CCD practice in Australia is using digital media. In the 1990s, notions of community arts and culture expanded to include practices that new media such as Internet. Since 2000, community arts and cultural development organizations in Australia have promoted community engagement with use of digital media such as Digital storytelling, short filmmaking, and theatre production. For example, Beyond the Square project, based in Western Sydney, NSW, organized a number of community arts and cultural development programs with digital media for people with disability from 2011 under Creative director Alison Richardson's leadership.

Beyond the Square give the chances to people with disability to create their own short movies or digital arts production not only for leaning digital literacy but for speaking up in Australian society and contributed to breaking stereo-typed image among local people. This digital media project attempted to develop new cultures and promote social changes by people with disability called Community Cultural Development. Especially digital storytelling which include the narratives of people could give opportunities to not only people with disability but to socially marginalized group such as aged people, women, indigenous people, victims and can reconstruct the community engagement with local community effectively (Hartley and McWilliam 2009) Also, several showcase events of digital media production within local community created a space for listening for mainstream Australian society.

Digital Storytelling Workshop with a Person with Autism Spectrum Disorder

What is Digital Storytelling? Digital storytelling (DST) is a two to three minute video clip, which combines photo images, sounds with a storyteller's voiceover. Typically during intensive workshop, each participant speaks freely to address their personal stories so called 'story circles' before creating DST by computer or tablet-type device like iPad. This digital media program was started in the USA in 1994. The Center for Digital Storytelling in California directed by Joe Lambert was the primary and leading organization. DST is currently practiced around the world in many different contexts, such as community cultural development with migrant youth, health research with cancer patients, including social work programs in the UK, the USA, Australia,

Canada, South Africa, India (Burgess 2006; Hartley and McWilliam 2009; Lenette 2013; Ogawa and Tsuchiya 2014; Salazar 2011).

In 2013 August Digital Storytelling (DST) workshop with a person with autism spectrum disorder was organized in Fukui by Mr. Shoichi Fujita, a social worker in Fukui. Shinsuke Funaki, a researcher was a coordinator on this program. Participant's name is Ken, fictitious name, and a 19 years old person with autism spectrum disorder. He graduated from a special needs high school in Fukui in 2012. He currently uses a transition support for employment and is looking for a job in the local community. This workshop was organized August and October 2013 at his house under the facilitation of the social worker. He uses iMovie on iPad by himself with the aid of the social worker. He spent about several hours to discuss the topic he would like to create with the social worker before creating DST. Ken wrote down the script and chooses the pictures by himself with the support of the social worker. They created two digital stories with iPad. Ken told at the interview after the DST workshop that it took so long to think about creating his storytelling and choosing picture and music especially in the first DST. The title of his DST was 'My dream' (6 minutes and 30 seconds production) about his favorite things and hobbies. However, in the second time of DST making, Ken got used to the process of DST and finished earlier than the first time. His second DST was 'Fukui marathon running tournament story', which express his motivation and passion about marathon running. Showcase events were organized in his group work session among his self-help groups and careers' group in December 2013.

Positive benefits of Digital storytelling were expressed by both participants. Firstly, The process of DST promoted a self-representation for participants and created self-empowering narratives of his life.

The person with autism spectrum, Ken, said;
I was very happy to express my favorite things in this movie. Very good expression. This is a cool movie like a movie preview. I would like to create this kind of movie again!.

His mother, Mariko, said;
I was very surprised to know his Motivation and expression to enjoy his life for the first time though DST.

According to his mother's interview, his motivations to practice running became much stronger after deciding to participate in DST workshop.

Secondly, The participant became positive and active to self-representation especially to family and friends, after experiencing a showcase event.

Ken said;
I was a little embarrassed when I heard friends' laughing during my showcase. It made me very happy because I was a comedian. I would like to show this movie to other friends and friends' family.'

At a showcase event among friends and self-help group, He was so confident on his DST and friends and their parents looked so proud of his achievements.

Mariko, his mother said;

He was very happy not only to show this production among friends but also to feel positive responses from friends. I believe it brought him a confidence on his life. After participating in DST, I realized he changed his attitudes in his self-help group meetings. He tries to express his own feelings and opinions very positively and actively now.

She additionally said;

His digital stories are just like a small documentary. This documentary is very small and armature, not like a professional TV one, but I believe it has a powerful possibility to empower other people with disability through digital media production.

Thirdly, what was the effectiveness of community arts and cultural development through digital storytelling to promote community engagement and community participation of people with disability from social work perspective.

Shoichi, Social Worker said;

After facilitating DST with Ken, I felt our relationship has changed positively. For example, when Ken is participating in group work meetings for social skill training by my facilitation every month, it is becoming easier for both of us to communicate with. Moreover, after he finished a showcase event among other young persons with disability. He was able to enhance his self-expression and narratives not only to me but also other friends with disability. Additionally, Ken's self-expression in this showcase event influenced on attitudes of other people with disability. Other participants in group work felt confidence on expressing their feelings and ideas as well.

Shoichi recognized the effectiveness of DST as self-expression not only in the process of group work settings, but also in his daily life. Ken started Facebook with the aid of his sister after creating his DST and updated his own hobbies such as paintings or family events. He makes use of Facebook as an engagement tool with friends and community.

Mariko, His mother said;

I feel like making my DST as well after seeing my son's DST. I would like to give my advice and ideas for raising a child with disability to the parent who are worrying about babyhood parenting of a young child with disability through my DST. I have discussed babyhood parenting with childcare professionals and felt a kind of achievement for it. I want to create my DST with messages to other parents who have a child with disability.

Her words led to a new project of iPad DST workshop for helping professionals and carers in October 2014. Mariko created her own DST and also learned how to facilitate DST workshop. Our project also shows that showcase events among friends became an opportunity to celebrate on the success of a person with disability. However, in the case study of DDM project, it is fair to say that the effectiveness of community engagements between people with disability and the local community was very limited because of ethical concern in the local society.

Shoichi, Social Worker, said;

DST would be a great tool for promoting self-expression and narratives for people with disability in the society. However, it will be more important to have a space to accept thoughts and sense of values among participants in a tolerant atmosphere, rather than making DST by people with disability.

Ochiai (2012) analysed the three stage of intercultural literacy through a case study of a digital media project with young migrants in Kobe, and argues that new young migrants need a comfortable place (call *Ibasho* in Japanese) outside school settings to be accepted as new comer foreign children by dialogue with those who understand them, and to express their message to the host society in the first stage. It would be important to find out how to create a comfortable space called *Ibasho* for participants in the local society of Japan in order to seek out the alternative model of digital storytelling to fit the Japanese culture and society.

In Japan one of the leading research project is called 'Media Conte' organized by professor Ogawa Akiko, Yuko Tsuchiya (Ogawa and Tsuchiya 2014). Media Conte is a collaborative workshop of digital storytelling, particularly targeting marginal voices. However, in their workshops vulnerable participants such as people with disability seemed unable to voice what they desired to say in individual situations and were not conscious about their own stories. They argued that in the Western model of DST little attention has been given to the story-generating process to create their own stories.

Conclusion and Future Issues

In social work field, Lenette (2013) discussed the benefit of DST for supports to women from refugee background in Australia and argues that the self-representation through DST has a potential to produce counter-narratives, both at the individual and broader community levels. She also discussed ethical concerns and limitations to the use of DST. Practitioners need to carefully consider the full realm of implications in terms of privacy and respectful use of recorded narratives. As Lenette pointed out ethical concern, other studies in Japan in the case of social minority issues such as migrants or people with disability showed that there are some risks for showing personal stories among local audiences who express conflicting views or are not interested in digital media production (Funaki 2014). Dreher, an Australia scholar in media studies addresses that a politics of speaking and representation is necessary but limited framework for strategy in multicultural media. She also argues that politics of listening across the cultural difference is important (Dreher 2008). We have to concern whether showcase events create a safer space for community engagement process between people with disability and local community in order to promote cultural citizenship for people with disability in the community. ¹

References

- Badham, M.(2010) Legitimation: The Case for 'Socially Engaged Arts' - Navigating Art History, Cultural Development and Arts Funding Narratives, *Local-Global: Identity, Security, Community*,7,pp.84-99
- Burgess, J.(2006) Hearing Ordinary Voices: Cultural Studies, Vernacular Creativity and Digital Storytelling, *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, pp.201-214.
- Burgess, J. at al. (2006) Everyday creativity as civic engagement: a cultural citizenship view of new media, *Proceedings communication policy & research forum*, Sydney.
- Delanty, G. (2007) Citizenship as a learning process -Disciplinary citizenship versus cultural citizenship, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 22 (6),pp 597-605.
- Dreher,T.(2008) Media, multiculturalism and the politics of listening, *ANZCA08 conference*, Power and Place, Wellington, July 2008.
- Harrison, G. (2007). Language as a problem, a right or resource?: A study of how bilingual practitioners see language policy being enacted in social work. *Journal of Social Work*, 7, pp.71-92.
- Fraser,N. (1997) *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the "Postsocialist" Condition*, Routledge.
- Funaki,S. (2014) Community cultural development through digital media production in Australia – Case studies of community arts projects with migrants and refugees in Western Sydney, *2014 International Conference of the Australian Studies Association of Japan*, Tokyo, July 2014.
- Hartley, J. and McWilliam, K. (2009) *Story circle: digital storytelling around the word*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Hölscher. (2012) Considering Nancy Fraser's Notion of Social Justice for Social Work: Reflections on Misframing and the Lives of Refugees in South Africa, *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 8,1, pp.20-38.
- Hölscher, D. & Bozalek, V.G. (2012) 'Encountering the Other across the Divides: Re-grounding Social Justice as a Guiding Principle for Social Work with Refugees and other Vulnerable Groups', *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(6), pp.1093-1112
- Lee-Shoy,T. and Dreher, T. (2009) Creating listening spaces for intergenerational communication - Tiffany Lee-Shoy in Conversation with Tanja Dreher, *Continuum*, 23, 4, pp.573-577.
- Lenette,C.,Cox,L.and Brough, M.(2013) Digital Storytelling as a Social Work Tool: Learning from Ethnographic Research with Women from Refugee Backgrounds, *British Journal of Social Work*, November, pp.1-18.

Ogawa,A. and Tsuchiya, Y. (2014) Designing Digital Storytelling Workshops for Vulnerable People: A collaborative story-weaving model from the 'pre-story space', *Journal of Socio-Informatics*, 7,1, pp.25-36.

Salazar (2011) Digital stories and emerging citizens' media practices by migrant youth in Western Sydney, *3CMedia Journal of Citizen's, Community and Third Sector*, 6, pp.55-76.

¹ I would like to acknowledge the financial support from Univail Foundation.





The Influence of Gender Role Ideologies in Women's Careers: A look at Marianismo and Machismo in the Treatment Room

Carmen Inoa Vazquez, NYU School of Medicine, USA

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Global statistics document an increase in women's careers in the professions and portray successful female roles in the industrial, political and financial areas, with some variation in different regions of the world. Nonetheless, women hold only a small percentage of board seats and other influential positions in these areas worldwide. It is also known that presently, women see themselves as progressive and career-oriented. Yet in the treatment rooms of the mental health professionals they share experiences that evidence a great deal of discomfort in achieving successful careers free of self-stigma and guilt. One perspective in the understanding of this paradox lies with an appreciation of the gender role ideologies of marianismo and machismo, which socialize women and men differently across cultures. Gender role expectations have not completely disappeared from women's experiences in their day today professional interactions, and are not confined to members of traditional societies. When marianismo and machismo are not understood within the proper context, women's overall self-esteem and successful career outcomes can be affected. This paper illuminates how these dynamics manifest in the treatment room of clinicians.

Keywords: gender role ideologies, marianismo and machismo, women's careers, self-esteem

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Attaining success in a career of choice can be significant for feelings of self-perception and self-evaluation (Abu-Hilal, et al., 2014; Heine 2001), but the definition of success is intimately related to cultural values, given that: “individuals evaluate themselves in culturally appropriate ways, deriving feelings of self-esteem, particularly from those identity aspects that fulfill values prioritized by others in their cultural surroundings” (Becker, et al., 2014 p. 16). Among those key cultural values that have been connected to self-esteem are marianismo and machismo. These are concepts that determine, based on gender, what is considered appropriate behavior within a specific traditional cultural group. The practice of these principles is further reinforced by different organizations, including the family, legal, labor, educational and religious systems.

Marianismo is a gender specific value associated with the Latino culture, that holds detailed guidelines for the types of behaviors considered appropriate for women. This set of beliefs is practiced among other ethnic groups, under different definitions or names. The demands of self-sacrifice intensify among those women who have been socialized within marianismo, in particular when faced with difficult choices relating to their families and careers. These are stressors that can render women at much higher risks for anxiety and depressive disorders (Englander and Yañez, 2012; Gil and Vazquez, 1996).

Machismo is a gender-specific value that assigns precise behaviors to men. This is a term primarily associated with the Latino culture, but can also be applied to other cultures. Most definitions of machismo include both negative and positive behaviors in men, providing a strong base for male gender role identity (Englander and Yañez, 2012; De La Cancela, 1986; Erdmenger De Staebler, et al., 2011; Edelson, Hododa and Ramos-Lira, 2007).

Historically, many societies that adhere to gender specific values mold children’s behavior in ways that are considered important for the wellbeing of the family and the society. These values include educational and career choices, simultaneously conveying a strong message that prioritizes the creation of family for women, and the expectation that men are to be the providers, responsible for financially supporting and protecting their families. Any deviation from these societal goals can result in a grave burden for women, with feelings of regret and a sense of failure translated into a “lack of goodness”.

Present Statistics - Lack of Parity for Women Globally

Economic necessities and the need to fulfill one’s identity have been motivators for women to pursue fulltime careers, but such career women continue to face a marianismo paradox in spite of their awareness of successful role models, in all areas of the business, and academic worlds, such as Christine Lagarde, Janet Yellen, Inga Beale, Sherry Coutu, Joanna Shields, and others (Slaughter, 2012; Freeman, 2012), and by the existence of more opportunities for advances in education, as evidenced by a greater number of women than men attending and graduating from colleges, obtaining advanced degrees, and participating in the labor force (UNESCO, 2010).

Adding to the paradox of women progressing in their careers is the indication that although the enrollment of women in tertiary institutions has doubled compared to

that of men since the 1970's, there is neither parity across all disciplines, nor in all areas or countries. Specifically in the area of science and technology, women encounter significant barriers as they move up the educational ladder toward research careers (Lalande, Crozier and Davey, 2000). Data on the proportions of women researchers are available from 34 out of 89 countries; these data show that less than 30% of researchers are female. In Japan as of 2013 there were 127,800 female versus 759,200 male researchers (WPGE, 2014). In South Asia the overall rate is 12%, primarily reflecting the situation in India where only 10% of women are researchers. Other data from Asian countries participating in this study include the following proportions: 11% in Macao, China 42% in South East Asia, and 55% in the Philippines, and in Myanmar, the Asian countries reporting the highest proportion of women researchers. In Europe 32% of researchers are women, and only five countries have reached gender parity, including Latvia and Lithuania. In the United States women's participation rate is consistent with the overall world average of 27%. In Africa, about 29% of researchers are women; the only high-proportion countries are Cape Verde (gender parity), and quite strikingly, Lesotho, which reports the second highest proportion of women researchers in the world (76%) (UNESCO, 2006).

In the United States, there is a shortage of women occupying leadership positions in psychiatry (Freeman, 2012). The profession of psychology presently demonstrates strong gains with more women than men enrolling in graduate programs. A most recent poll reports that in 2013, female faculty were more evenly distributed across the ranks of full (30 percent), associate (31 percent) and assistant professor (31 percent) than male faculty (Wicherski, et al., 2014; APA, 2014). The profession of psychology appeals to women for the opportunities it affords of flexible schedules, allowing a better balance between family and profession. This scheduling flexibility does not apply equally to many other careers.

Studies conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Latin America have shown that role expectations of wives and mothers place many women in difficult positions when faced with the requirement of prioritizing their families. Research on the association between marital status and motherhood and women's opportunities of achieving tenure and holding full professorial rank reported that 27% of women in science and engineering holding doctorate degrees, who were unemployed or out of the work force, cited their family responsibilities as the main reason (UNESCO, 2010).

A longitudinal study conducted in the United Kingdom focusing on the retention of qualified women scientists in science-based jobs in England and Wales, found that women holding degrees in engineering technology had a higher retention rate than those in engineering and science. Those women who remained in science and engineering, tended to have children much later, or not have children at all. (Blackwell and Glover, 2008).

A separate study that looked at reasons that could explain the lower level of representation in senior administrative positions of women in Latin American universities, found that gender role expectations, and guilt related to choices between their families and careers, to be the main reasons for this low representation. This finding is notable, given the representation of women scientists in Latin America of 46% is among the highest reported, and suggests the value of marianismo, as a

possible significant reason for the lower level of representation in these women. Similar difficulties related to the reconciliation of work and family have been reported in Japan, with 70% of the relatively low paid temporary workers being women, and an under representation of women in academics (OECD, 2012).

Studies that have looked at the impact and relevance of marianismo and machismo within the Latin American culture report a lack of consensus. This lack of agreement can in part be due to the complexity and the multifaceted aspects of these concepts. (Olowude, 2002). It seems that the complexity of these concepts require investigators to search within individuals at an unconscious level. This endeavor is not always possible to attain in time limited studies. The time often required in the achievement and development of a therapeutic relationship could in part explain the discrepancies reported in some of the studies that have attempted to capture the emotional impact of marianismo, rather than proof that the concept is not valid, given that there are studies that have reported positive findings in the connection between depression and marianismo (Guzman, C., 2013; Beitra, D., et al., 2012; Villegas, et al, 2010; Bull, 1998).

Recurrent Narratives in the Treatment Room

The complexity of women's conflicts in the management of their families and careers is often marked by narratives that illustrate a significant connection between their feelings of personal worth, and the gender role expectations of marianismo, with symptoms of depression, low self-esteem and anxiety. Exploration of the presenting dynamics facilitates an understanding for both clinician and patient of the debilitating guilt caused by marianismo beliefs that can jeopardize progress of the goals and performance of the daily career requirements.

The most salient presenting problems women bring to the treatment room include feelings of inequality and lack of success in both their family and career roles. These problems can be understood, and are supported by the research on general stereotypes that informs on how people form implicit gender stereotypes or beliefs segregating specific behaviors, capacities and performances even when they question these beliefs (Nosek, Banaji and Grenwald, 2002; Rudman and Goodwin, 2004; Banaji and Hardin, 1996). Individuals may choose to report the stereotypes they hold accurately, or may not even be consciously aware that they are holding certain beliefs and self-concepts (Rudman and Phelan, 2010).

An added contribution to the conflicting narratives in the treatment room are the messages offered by the media, professional publications, and other sources that encourage women not to allow the responsibilities posed by their families and careers, interfere with professional success, and not to underestimate their abilities. These recommendations are challenging and confusing to many women, who confront intrinsic cultural beliefs, and economic demands that require they work outside of the home, while attending to their family needs. Conflicts can further intensify by self comparison with women, such as Marissa Myer, President and CEO of Yahoo, who simultaneously announced her presidency and pregnancy. A formidable role model that could be perceived as evidence that women can have successful careers and family without any visible or apparent conflicts.

The well intended advice and recommendations that encourage women to “go for it all”, do not always have the intended effect. In many cases, there has often been an opposite effect, that make women feel more conflicted rather than empowered, to feel pressured, rather than relieved. These conflicts are not only complex, but require exploration at an emotional level that facilitates an understanding of the connection between the gender role expectations of the early socialization, and the woman present emotional state. An attempt to offer support and understanding, based on studies that describe the difficulties faced by women in their daily quests while attempting to fulfill their family and personal needs (Gould, 2014), not always translate to the realities faced by career women with families on a daily basis, when these are related to gender role expectations. Even when provided with good childcare, and other types of support at home, an option not always available, women still face emotional conflicts and difficulties in the fulfillment of their roles.

One of the main goals of my clinical work with career women who seek professional help has been to explore predictable patterns of behavior within contextual cultural and gender frame-works. Clinically it becomes clear that conflicts manifesting in low self-esteem are closely related to women’s perception of not functioning or performing to their satisfaction while attempting to balance their careers, and family, as well as sex-based discrimination at the work place. Women face other stressors that relate to lack of mentoring, networking power, glass ceiling barriers, corporate mobility, and others, but most of the difficulties reported are framed by an undeserving feeling, a lack of authenticity, or not having achieved real success in spite of significant career achievements, including monetary gains.

The performance of many career women is often of high caliber even if they have low self-esteem. This high performance is probably due to a compensatory effect which is typical of some individuals with low self-esteem who are portrayed in the literature as possessing a high level of persistency. Yet, the general belief is that people with high levels of self-esteem would perform better in many life tasks (DiPaula and Campbell, 2002). Regardless of the performance exemplified by these indefatigable women, the emotional toll on their lives ends up affecting both family and career. The conflicts with family do not solely refer to the nuclear family but to the extended family, as well. The importance of the family includes the care of the elders or filial obligations. Japan’s introduction of a nationwide long-term care insurance (LTCI) system in 2000 made long-term care a right for older adults regardless of income and family availability, but there is no evidence that there has been a decline at the emotional support level for family members. Research findings indicate that the use of LTCI services has increased the provision of emotional and cognitive supports to the elders among societies that adhere to Confucian norms of filial obligations of family members, including women. Despite the increase of these services these family members including women still continue to provide care for their elderly family members (Tsutsui and Higashino, 2014).

Career women seeking treatment for their low sense of self-esteem and feelings of lack of authenticity, first require an in depth examination of the inner voices of the past that determine the priority that is given to balancing the multiple roles in their lives and the demands presented within the values of familism, or the importance of the family. This includes the prioritization of their nuclear families and the extended family and social circles. Then, they can move on to a further understanding of how

realistically difficult the fulfillment of both roles is, particularly when the model of success is based on the traditional (male) model of uninterrupted employment and total dedication to work (O'Leary, 1997; O'Neil and Bilimoria, 1997; O'Neil, Bilimoria and Saatcioglu, 2005). Attempting to fulfill both roles is at least in part an important component that explains the reasons many of these women do not feel accomplished. They face a constant struggle in attempting to fulfill the family, professional and personal needs in their lives instead of placing their plight in context i.e. that most women presently face these issues due to their gender role expectations. They instead tend to blame themselves and feel incompetent. Their narratives clearly indicate that they are struggling with traditional role expectations that get reinforced by spouses, family and society.

Many career women often report facing conflicting daily demands from work and family that cause them to feel guilty and debilitated, for example, when asked to attend the meeting for prospective law partners on their child's first day of school. On the other hand this does not indicate that men do not feel guilty when career demands interfere with their children's needs but these are not the main narratives presented by men seeking psychological help regularly. The different patterns of socialization, where men are expected to be the main providers for their families, offer a solid basis for such differences in feelings. For women, the conflicts worsen when faced with families, economic, and professional demands without appropriate support, or an understanding of the realities, in particular when the society reinforces that the primacy of the family is the main responsibility of the woman. It is particularly striking that the United States of North America, is presently among the four countries in the world, next to Liberia, Papua New Guinea, and Swaziland, that do not mandate maternity and /or parental leave paid benefits. Paid maternity and parental leave is being considered in the United States of North America with the hope that it will be provided. In the meantime, the benefits are provided on an ad hoc basis, according to the company. California, Rhode Island and New Jersey are among the few states that include benefits to families in need of parental leave (Gault, et al. 2014).

Removing the Threat of the Gender Role Expectations

It is important to recognize that many women do not experience low-self-esteem regularly, in spite of being brought up with traditional values, such as marianismo. Many women can be assertive and successful, coping quite well, multitasking and facing the stressors of work and family. They often share upbringings that truly convey a sense of equality in choice of career and family. In general, it is very difficult to have a thorough understanding of the effects of marianismo in women's careers, particularly where the intertwining of individual differences interacts with the multidimensional aspects of the concept. In particular, when several studies have found a positive relationship between marianismo and depression in women. (Caceres-Dalmau, 2004; Cano, 2004; Vazquez, 1998).

The symptomatology seen in the depressions and anxieties can be due to many emotional conflicts other than marianismo's beliefs, but the clinician should also consider that exploring the possible connections with this construct can offer a better understanding to the career woman seeking treatment. It can be useful to explore behaviors that produce self-doubts in women, as exemplified in the Ten

Commandments of Marianismo. These ten concepts evolved through clinical observations and interventions in the treatment room. (Gil and Vazquez, 1996).

The anxiety related to some aspects of marianismo is ubiquitous among many women in different areas and relationships, and is not solely focused on career choices and/or performances in those women seeking treatment. It is nonetheless, an important component in the level of anxiety experienced by many career women, who are defining themselves by the tenets of marianismo, which is reinforced by the machismo beliefs that men in their lives adhere to, as well. The ten components of marianismo's behavior in women illustrate the paradox between family, career and self-fulfillment that many women experience regardless of their place or their ethnicity:

1) "Do Not Forget a Woman's Place" - The woman's dilemma of following old world tradition vs. New Life Style. This system of belief is quite prevalent among traditional males and females and responds well to explorations and support in the treatment room. Although the literature related to implicit association has focused primarily on racial stereotypes, recent research looking specifically at gender stereotypes reported promising findings. These findings indicated that women were able to imagine themselves as successful in roles usually associated with males (Rudman L. A. and Phelan, J., 2010; Davies, Spencer and Steele, 2005).

2) "Do Not Forget Tradition" - This is a component of the acculturation process, or what (John Berry, 1980), refers to as the adjustment that takes place when individuals from different cultures come into continuous and direct contact with, and learn from one another. Acculturation is a process that could affect both men and women and merits explorations by those clinicians working with people from other cultures in general.

3) "Do Not Be Single, Self-supporting, and Independent-minded" - Many women patients express difficulties in handling situations where they feel pressured by marianismo's beliefs that prioritize finding a partner. These beliefs are salient in many young women in the early stages of their careers. Through in depth explorations women obtain insight on available options, including the option of enforcing marianismo or forging a personally satisfying-Lifestyle.

4) "Do Not Put Your Own Needs First" - Women struggle with obtaining a balance between their own needs, such as pursuing an education or a career. By understanding that their implicit thinking stem from intrinsic ideas related to traditional values, women can gain awareness and institute changes of their inner beliefs. It is often useful to help women differentiate between selflessness vs. self-fullness. Dynamically, the roots of marianismo and machismo are strongly reinforced by the mother. Exploration and analysis of the mother/daughter conflicts can shed light into many feelings brought to the treatment room in addition to a fear of losing part of the self given the close relationship between role ideology and women's sense of self. Resolution of the cultural attachment and the mother role can help the patient move to a separation/individuation level beyond blame. Life choices can be challenged and the woman is helped to understand her fears of career vs. family life. Women often move in their relationship with their mother from adversaries to allies.

When traditional gender behaviors are questioned, within a safe environment, women are helped to challenge these beliefs.

5) “Do Not Wish For More In Life Than Being A Housewife” - Understanding the dynamics of this concept leads to an understanding of functional ways to prioritize and integrate realistic choices, including an integration of the worlds of work and home free of guilt. When fear of success is caused by marianismo, women can be helped by understanding the power these beliefs exert and interfere with their professional development, existing potential, and growth in their careers. Traditional gender behavior is questioned, but at the same time supported allowing women to challenge these beliefs. The patient is also supported in learning and applying assertiveness skills both at home and at work.

6) “Do Not Forget That Sex Is For Making Babies, Not For Pleasure” - The traditional sexual attitudes held by men and women impose significant guilt and anger for women when this problem is presented in the treatment room the goal is to explore the traditional sexual attitudes held by both genders. Women express an absence of self-entitlement and refer more to a sense of duty. One helpful technique is to help women assess and reprogram their sexuality in ways that promote an understanding of feelings as a culturally learned imposition. They should feel entitled to their sexuality regardless of lifestyle.

7) “Do Not Be Unhappy With Your Man, No Matter What He Does To You” - Obtaining awareness of what constitute abuse is very important. Marianismo values can impact and prologue domestic violence, a very serious and tragic problem. When a woman presents domestic violence as a problem, the clinician should first assess that the patient or members of the family are not in immediate danger. Then the initial intake interview as well as the subsequent focus of the therapy can be beneficial by elucidating the many pressures accompanying the fulfillment of a career, and a family and available solutions can be explored. Abuse can also be psychological and requires awareness and support. These problems should be explored along with marianismo’s values that dynamically can make a woman feel that she is appreciated and admired by being a victim.

8) “Do Not Ask for Help” - Exploration of this culturally infused value often requires helping women to become aware of the source of this conflict and to find realistic ways to seek viable help with care of the family, including extended family and home without carrying a sense of guilt or unrealistic feelings of incompetence.

9) “Do Not Discuss Personal Problems Outside the Home” – Seeking professional help from a mental health professional still carries stigma, and disapproval in many traditional societies. This belief, can make women feel ashamed for seeking mental health help, and can be used by family members or others as a sign of weakness. This is a very important component to be addressed with career women seeking professional help. Addressing this conflict allows the treatment to evolve by removing emotional confusion, and paving the way for women to move on with their lives by discarding or modifying certain beliefs that cause difficulties in performing different roles.

10) “Do Not Change” - Dynamics of change bring fear, and it is recommended that these are explored, in particular the fear of change, its consequences, and gains. The recognition by clinicians of the impact marianismo exerts in many career women can serve as a vehicle for change. The therapy focuses initially in helping the patient understand what aspects of their life they feel require change, and whether marianismo has had effects on the progress of their careers and well-being.

Conclusion

Women presenting gender role conflicts in the treatment room can be helped through the understanding that for them both families and careers are central to their lives. They can be helped to gain insight into the source of their conflicts, which need to be addressed and understood as resulting from the barriers imposed by gendered social contexts (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987). The first and most crucial part of addressing this problem is to look at the unconscious pressures imposed by marianismo and machismo. This is very important to understand because values in traditional cultures resist changes or create emotional turmoil, if not properly understood by those following them.

In the treatment room women can also benefit from obtaining insight into their definition of success, which includes more than just paid work. Understanding that success has different implications for women who hold traditional values can facilitate a different understanding for them. This understanding allows these women to follow their own set of recommendations accepting the realities of their different demands as women who desire to have a successful family and career. This understanding often minimizes their sense of guilt and low self-esteem. Part of the attainment of this shift in understanding depends on removing the source of guilt associated with marianismo. This can be achieved if women can modify their appreciation of the early learned values without feeling that they are betraying themselves. Changing this mind set could benefit women’s functioning in their family and career roles, since for the most part most women who succeed in both family and career still feel that they have missed something. Changing this mindset is an issue for older women, but many younger women have not achieved this emotional balance and still have problems with self-esteem. Overall, at the moment there seems to be reason to believe that the definition of success for career women lies in their own definition of success which is measured through their socialization based on their gender. (O’Neil, Hopkins and Bilimoria, 2008; Sturges, 1999; Melamed, 1995).

There is a need to conduct research that further advances women’s career development besides studies that focus on mentoring, networking and sexual harassment or existing barriers such as those imposed by the glass ceiling and sex-based discrimination conducted at the Harvard Business School in a case study that looked at gender equity (Kantor, 2013). While studies in these areas inform the development of women’s careers, they lack a precise look at the specifics of gender role expectations, such as marianismo and machismo; studies of marianismo and machismo need to be replicated with a larger number of women. Gender bias based on machismo beliefs, as exemplified by Princeton Eating Club e-mails ridiculing women, and the Harvard Business School Case Study (Kantor, 2013), discussed earlier merit a deeper understanding and corrective actions. An understanding of this subject would provide more comprehensive knowledge that would contribute to the

understanding of women's conflicts in their career development in their contemporary lives. Further research in this area should examine the career development of women in different developmental stages, and from different ethnic groups and economic status.

Giving voice to women's own career and life experiences is an area of study that deserves priority. In particular, the research into the application of assertiveness and leadership skills that could possibly help to resolve the gender wage gap presently existing in academics, health care, banking and other important industries. In addition "respect" paid to women is another area for future research. A study conducted at Yale University by Victoria L. Brescoll (2011), reports that lack of respect for women has often occurred on the senate floor of the United States, where male senators with more power based on tenure and leadership spoke more than their junior colleagues, this is not the experience of female senators with equal power. Men were seen as more competent, listened to more frequently, and allowed a stronger voice than women, as further corroborated in a study evaluating chief executives representing both genders (Sandberg and Grant, 2014). Similar experiences have been reported in the film and television industry (Dargis, 2014). These conflicts should be studied further, in order to develop a better understanding of their origin and find ways that facilitate workable solutions.

It seems that the attainment of success free of guilt for career women and men, as well as the avoidance of gender gaps, could be achieved by including a real commitment to a new mindset. In this new mindset women and girls, men and boys would receive the message from parents, and society in general, of an equal responsibility for the welfare of the family, and freedom to choose a career within their ability and preference. The cultural and societal messages to women that their plight in life is to be the sole caretakers of the family place them in the position of striving for unattainable standards. These messages must be modified using more realistic goals that place equal responsibilities on the caretaking of children on both genders.

References

- Abu-Hilal, M., Abdelfattah, F. A., Shumrani, S. A., Dodeen, H., Abduljabber, A. S., and Marsh, H. W. (2014). Mathematics and Science Achievements Predicted by Self-Concept and Subject Value Among 8th Grade Saudi Students: Invariance Across Gender. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 268-283.
- American Psychological Association (2014). How is gender composition of faculty in graduate psychology departments changing?
www.apa.org/monitor/2014/10/datapoint.aspx.
- Banaji, M. R. and Hardin, C. D. (1996). Automatic stereotyping. *Psychological Science*, 1996, 7, 136-141.
- Becker, M., V. L., Vignoles, E., Owe, M.J., Easterbrook, R., Brown, P.B. Smith, and S. H. Koller, Cultural Bases for self-evaluation: Seeing Oneself positively in different cultural contexts. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. 2014, 40, pp. 657-675, p. 16.
- Beitra, D., Fieldstone, S. C., Augustin, D., Cooper, S. A., and Lewis, J. E. (2012). Psychological predictive Measures That Modify Marianismo in Hispanic Females in the United States. American Psychological Association.
- Bernard, T. S. (2014). Vigilant Eye on Gender Pay Gap, Your Money, November 15, 2014, Business Section. *The New York Times*. p. 1.
- Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models, and some new findings* (pp. 9–25). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Betz, N. E. and Fitzgerald, L. F. (1987). *The Center Psychology of Women* (Academy Press).
- Blackwell, L. and Glover, J. (2008). 'Women's Scientific Employment and Family Formation: A Longitudinal Perspective', *Gender, Work and Organization*. Vol. 15, No. 6. New York).
- Bond, S. (1997). Service and Self-Respect: Women Leaders in Latin American Universities. Study undertaken UNESCO Special Project on Women, Higher Education and Development cited in Huyer & Westho. Paris, (ED-97/WS-41).
- Brescoli, V. L. (2011). Who Takes the Floor and Why. Gender, Power, and Volubility in Organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. Vol. 56 no. 4 622-641.
- Bryant, A. (2014). Finding, and Owning, Their Voice The New York Times, page 6.
- Bull, S. S. (1998). Machismo/Marianismo Attitudes, Employment, Education, and Sexual Behavior Among Women in Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. *Journal of Gender, Culture and Health*. Volume 3, Issue 1, pp 1-27.

Dargis, M. (2014). It's a Men's, Men's World. Why women remain on the sideline in Hollywood. Arts & Leisure. The New York Times, Sunday December 28, 2014- page 1.

Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J. and Steele, C. M. (2005). Clearing the air: Identity safety moderates the effects of stereotype threat on women's leadership aspirations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(2): 276-287.

Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J., Quinn, D. M., and Gerhardstein, R. (2002). Consuming Images: How television commercials that elicit stereotype threat can restrain women academically and professionally. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1615-1628.

DeLa Cancela, V. (1996). A critical analysis of Puerto Rican machismo: implications for clinical practice. *Psychotherapy*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 219-296.

DiPaula, A. and J.D. Campbell, J. D. (2002). Self-esteem and persistence in the face of failure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol 83(3), 711-724. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.711>.

Edelson, M. G., Hokoda, A. and Ramos-Lira, L. (2007). Differences in effects of domestic violence between Latina and Non-Latina women. *Journal of Family Violence*, Vol. 22, No. 1.

Englander, K., C. Yañez, C., and Xochitl, B. (2012). Doing Science with a Culture of Machismo and Marianismo. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13(3), 65-68.

Erdmenger D. Staebler, I, Goicolea, C. B., Lubina, M., Gibbons, J. L., and Grazioso, M.D. (2011). Rejection of traditional machismo by university students in Guatemala. *American Psychological Association Convention Presentation*.

Freeman, M. P. (2012). Can Women Have It All? Psychiatry and the Gender Gap. *J. Clin Psychiatry* 73:8, August 2012.

Gault, B., Hartmann, H., Hegewisch, A., Milli, J., & Reichlin, L., (1998). *Paid Parental Leave in the United States: What the Data Tell Us About Access, Usage, and Economic and Health Benefits*. Institute for Women's Policy Research, p.12.

Gil, R. M. and Vazquez, C. I. (1996). The Maria Paradox: How Can Latinas Merge Old World Traditions with New World Self-Esteem. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Gould, H. (2014). Gender equality in finance industry: progress made and battles ahead. *Guardian Professional*.

Guzman, C. E. (2013). Toward a new conceptualization of Marianismo: Validation of the Guzman Marianismo Inventory. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, Vol 74(4-B(E)), 2013, No Pagination Specified.

Heine, S. J. (2001). Self as cultural product: An examination of East Asian and North American Selves. *Journal of Personality*, 2001. 69, pp. 881-905.

Kaminer, A. (2014). Princeton Eating Club Outs 2 officers Over Emails Ridiculing Women, *The New York Times*, Business Section. Tuesday December 2, 2014, p A19.

Kantor, J. (2014). A Gender Gap More Powerful Than the Internet. *The New York Times*, Front page. Tuesday December 23, 2014.

Kantor, J. (2013). Harvard Business School Case Study: Gender Equity. *The New York Times*, Education, September 7, 2013, Front Page.

Lalande, V.M., Crozier, S.D. and Davey, H. (2000). Women's Career Development and Relationships: A Qualitative Inquiry. *Canadian Journal of Counselling/Revue canadienne de counseling*/2000, Vol. 34:3 pp. 193-203.

Melamed, T. (1995). 'Career Success: The Moderating Effect of Gender', *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 47, 35-60.

Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M. R. and Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Math=male, me=female, therefore math \neq me. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2002, 83-44-59.

OECD (1912). Science, Technology and Industry Outlook 2012, Paris. Olowude, B. A. (2002). The contribution of acculturation and family variables on the expression of gender roles in a Latina/o population. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, Vol 63(2-B), 1041.

O'Leary, J. (1997). Developing a New Mindset: The 'Career Ambitious' Individual', *Women in Management Review*, 1997. 12(3), 91-99.

O'Neil, D.A., and Bilimoria, D. (2005). 'Women's Career Development Phases: Idealism, Endurance, and Reinvention', *Career Development International*, 10(3), 168-169.

O'Neil, D. A., Bilimoria, A. and A. Saatcioglu, A. (2004). 'Women's Career Types: Attribution of Satisfaction with Career Success', *Career Development International*, 9(5), 478-500.

O'Neil, D. A.; Hopkins, M.M.; and Bilimoria, D. (2008). Women's Careers at the Start of the 21st Century: Patterns and Paradoxes. *Journal of Business Ethics* 80;727-743.

Parks-Stamm, E. J., Heilman, M. E., and Hearn, K. A. (2008). Motivated to penalize: Women's strategic rejection of successful women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 237-247.

Rudman, L. A. and Goodwin, S. A. (2004). Gender differences in automatic ingroup bias: Why do women like women more than men like men? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 494-509.

Rudman, L. A. and Phelan, J.E. (2010). The Effect of Priming Gender Roles on Women's Implicit Gender Beliefs and Career Aspirations. *Social Psychology*; Vol. 41(3):192-202.

Sandberg, S. and Grant, A. (2015). Speaking While Female. *The New York Times*, Sunday January 11, page 3.

Slaughter, A.M. (2012). Why women still can't have it all. *The Atlantic*. July/August 2012. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07>.

Sarcey, D. (2014). A Conundrum for Saudis: Women at Work. *The New York Times* Business Day page, B1.

Sturges, J. (1999). 'What it Means to Succeed: Personal Conceptions of Career Success Held by Male and Female Managers at Different Ages', *British Journal of Management* 10, 239-252.

Tsutsui, T., Muramatsu, N. and Higashino, S. (2014). Changes in Perceived Filial Obligation Norms Among Co-resident Family Caregivers in Japan. *The Gerontologist* 54 (5):797- 807.

UNESCO, (2010). Women's and Girls' Access to and Participation in Science and Technology, Background paper presented by: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Paris, France.

UNESCO, (2006). Women in Science: Under-represented and under-measured, *UIS Bulletin on Science and Technology Statistics*, Issue 3.

Vazquez, M., D. (1998). Silencing the Self, relationship satisfaction and marianismo: An Analysis of Depression of Latinas. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, Vol 59(4-B), 1871.

Villegas, J., Lemanski, J. and Valdez, C. (2010) Marianismo and Machismo: The Portrayal of Females in Mexican TV Commercials. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, Volume 22, Issue 4, pages 327-346.

Wicherski, M., Hamp, A., Christidis, P. and Stamm, K. (2013-2014): Faculty salaries in graduate departments of psychology. Retrieved from www.apa.org/workforce/publications/13-fac-sal/index.aspx.

Wingfield, N. (2014). Microsoft Chief Sets Off a Furor On Women's Pay. *The New York Times*, Business Section, page 1, October 29, 2014.

WPGE 2014. Women in University Research. Strengthening Japan's Research Capacity. Gender Equality Bureau, Cabinet Office, White Paper on Gender Equality 2013. Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication Statistical Topics, No. 80.

Skateboarding Subculture in China: Development Path, Characteristics and Representation of Values and Social Change

Anna Chelnokova-Siejka, Beijing Normal University and Moscow State Linguistic University, China

The Asian Conference on Culture Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

In China youth subcultures were long located out of the public eye. Only over the last thirty years, due to their rapid development, they drew greater popular attention. One of the reasons behind the growth of youth subcultures in China is the Internet. The Internet constitutes a convenient communication platform for the creation of discussion boards, finding spiritual and avocation partners, and for a free exchange of ideas. During the last few years skateboarding subculture has become increasingly popular. Originating in the United States, this youth subculture is experiencing the phenomenon of globalization, which reflects not only the generation gap, but also embodies a hidden appeal to escape the shackles of society and transform existing values. For instance, one of the basic values that skateboarders pursue both in the United States and China is a sense of freedom. Yet the meaning of freedom differs in China. The elder age of the participants compared to the United States, the special attitudes towards youth in China, the strong influence of tradition, family and social pressure, and other factors all contribute to its different perception. Based on interviews with skateboarders in Beijing this research provides a valuable insight into the local characteristics of China's skateboarding subculture; specifically its development path, reasons for popularity, and the transformation of values amongst the contemporary Chinese youth.

Keywords: China, youth subculture, skateboarding, transformation of values, shackles, social and family pressure

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The topic of skateboarding subculture is new both in the Chinese academic circles and in the international sinological environment. The questions I would like to raise in this research are: How has the skateboarding subculture developed in China? What happened to the skateboarding culture in the Chinese environment? And which value transformation we can reveal in representatives of this youth subculture? Undoubtedly, youth value change can be revealed through other subcultures and there is valuable research that has been dedicated to youth subcultures (Clark, 2012), its development in the context of social change (Lu Yulin, 2007, Wang Hansong, 1997) and the change of values among the youth. (Qiu Ji & Wang Yi, Wang Weiwei, 2012) Skateboarding is not included among prior research in this field, and is almost never mentioned as a subculture. Moreover, there is no academic research that deals with skateboarding subculture in China.

What are the reasons for the lack of research in this field? First of all, due to many restrictions in previous periods, subculture is a relatively new phenomenon for China. Youth subcultures started to develop mainly after the Economic Reform and started to spread fast only after the coming of the Internet Era. Secondly, probably, as skateboarders in China is in quantity proportion to the young population quite low, thus draws less attention in comparison to, for example, the Anime subculture. Thirdly, many Chinese specialists regard skateboarding not as a subculture but as a sport. Due to these reasons, information regarding skateboarders and the skateboarding subculture that I provide in this article is based on my own field research. The *Observation Method* and the *Structured Interview Method* were applied in this research.

Basic information for my research was gathered during a few occasions, including some competitions among long-board skaters in *Wenquanmiaopu* village (April 2014), World Skateboarding day in Beijing (June, 2014) and special interviews in skateshops. The interviews can be divided into two types, the first one was mainly held to understand special values in the skateboarding subculture, local characteristics according to the Chinese environment “rules”, the value change among the young Chinese skateboarders, and their behavior. In this interview the respondents were asked a wide range of questions (around thirty questions) starting from their profession, family background and ending with life approach, life goal, worldview, family relations and others. This type of interview helped uncover the whole picture of the contemporary youth skateboarding world. The second type of interview was a much longer interview that aimed to understand the development of skateboarding subculture in the cultural heart of China – Beijing, and to connect it with the historical background. There were around fifteen broad topics, and the questions mainly related to general information about skateboarding subculture in China, its development, and the respondents’ impressions. In total I conducted 18 interviews in Chinese, ranging from fourteen to sixty-two minutes. Additional information was obtained from the analyses of blogs and special websites for the Chinese skateboarders. So here I represent a brief quality analysis of it.

The Development Path of Skateboarding Subculture in China

Skateboarding as a new way of entertainment entered China approximately in 1985. Nevertheless, it started to develop into a subculture a few years later in 1989-1990. As one of the first generation skateboarders mentioned, probably there were very few people skating before, but they were doing it alone rather than in groups. So around the year of 1989 a group of the Chinese skateboarders consisting of around thirty people started to gather in the *Gongzhufen* area in Beijing. The analyses on interviews with the elder generation of Chinese Skateboarders and website analyses shows that the film called «*Gleaming the Cube*» shown in 90-s at the Chinese television played a very important role in the development of the Chinese skateboarding subculture. Main characters were represented by American skateboarding stars, and showed many skateboarding tricks that of course attracted the young Chinese people. The others sources of information were foreign students skating in China and the Chinese people who studied abroad and got the information about skateboarding culture outside of China.

To understand the skateboarders of this time we should first understand the historical and cultural background of this time. The Cultural Revolution had just passed, entertainment matters were just developing, as was mentioned by a first generation skater: “television, audio cassettes, novels, were pretty boring for the young people and they wanted something else”. The development of skateboarding subculture took a long time at first because it required a strong material base, the skateboard itself cost the average of three months’ salary and was hard to obtain, and nowadays you get two or three for the same price. Another issue was the shortage of information: skateboarders shared video-cassettes between themselves, and they watched each cassette many times. One more containment to the development for the subculture was a public opinion and the dominating culture positions, which had regarded activity in subgroups as still inappropriate for “good” youth. Later on, with the new internet-era, new approaches to subcultures, and the new material abilities have contributed to the development of the skateboarding subculture.

Comparison between interviews of the first generation skateboarders and younger generations shows that while the first ones experienced a very slow introduction into the subculture, the younger ones easily obtained information about the tricks, lifestyle, and world views that made it easier to enter the skateboarding subgroup, cooperate, gather and organize activities. The skateboarders of the older generation who have been interviewed not only stayed in subculture circles but also brought the subculture to a new level by selling the skates and promoting the skateboarding lifestyle, and by creating a positive image of skateboarding. For example, one of them mentioned that he never smokes while skating because he was afraid that it might be perceived as a drawback of the skateboarding style.

Nowadays, skateboarding culture (and also snowboarding) even has the government support. Skateboarding has just started to experience commercialization process as it is strongly promoted on the Internet. Big skate parks and a skate school were established recently in China. Information, strong promotion in media, and government investment and support show us that in the future skateboarding subculture probably will broaden the frames and will allow the involvement of many youngsters in this lifestyle.

Characteristics of Skateboarding Subculture in China

Though subculture and youth culture seems to be a relatively new thing in China, I would say it is yet a small version of “imported” culture with foreign characteristics and values which comes through the process of assimilation and globalization in China. In the USA – the homeland of skateboarding, it is supposed to be an adolescence culture, covering the age of eight to twenty-two, mainly the period of children’s rebellion. In China the average age of a skateboarder is twenty-two to twenty-six. The elder age of skateboarders can be explained by the fact of the high risk of injuries skateboarding involves. As many of young skaters are single children, they experience strong care by their parents. Moreover, medical insurance in China cannot fully cover bone fractures, wounds and other injuries, which also purposes a challenge to the material background of the participants. Therefore skateboarding is not easy to be approved by the Chinese parents. Yet another issue is the influence of the family over the person; family values, the opinion of elder generations is still very important for the Chinese and in most cases the children won’t do anything against their wish.

Finally, the life of the Chinese child before entering university is completely devoted to his or her studies: the pressure to be the first in class, gain the best results, and enter the best university reduces entertainment to a minimum. It is obvious that as soon as they enter universities and don’t live together with their parents, they also enter a relatively “free” period of life. Although, as noted by one of the first generation skaters who has a skate business: “because of the high pressure on students during their studies many youngsters used to the pressure so they are not likely to entertain themselves, thus it is very hard to promote it”. Another young skater, a PhD student mentioned that his classmates spend the whole day in the library and are afraid to go out and entertain themselves because they will feel guilty about it.

Many of respondents of my interviews in skateboarding subculture seemed to be “*panni*”, which means rebellious in Chinese, and introduced great problems, even conflicts with parents, but not all of the young respondents acknowledged themselves as rebellious. The direct reason of conflicts with parents lies in the great generation gap between the people born before and after The Economic Reform.

If we turn to a detailed background of specific characteristics of skateboarding subculture in the Chinese environment, it can be mentioned that even in our days skateboarding lifestyle is still not easily approved by many representatives of an elder generation, the participation in this subculture is often noted as infantile. One of the most significant reasons is a spiritual misunderstanding between skaters and their parents that reveals that the parents’ generation stuck to materialist values while the children had already started to turn their mind towards post-materialist thinking, and try to meet their spiritual needs. According the recent research this kind of people represent a minority in Chinese society. (Guo Lian, 2010) As mentioned by one of my respondents: “my parents care about whether I eat well or if I get good results, they absolutely do not care my spiritual condition.”

Representation of Values and Social Change

“Skateboarding is so much more than just a physical act, it is a way of thinking, doing and living.” (Somers, 2010). It is interesting to reveal the value change from traditional to modern among the Chinese representatives of this subculture. One of the key values and basic appeals in skateboarding subculture is a freedom. (Slee, 2011) Freedom basically means the releasing of shackles. What does it mean in the American subculture? Firstly, freedom from rules, unlike the traditional sports, you can use any manner of skating you want to. Secondly, it means the existence of personal freedom. In China, in general adults try to control much of adolescent activities and free time (Slee, 2011). Interviews of young skateboarders revealed that in China the meaning of freedom for skateboarders is much broader than expected and have yet further explanations for these appeals. Interviews show that freedom for Chinese skaters means feeling free to integrate in skateboarder’s group, free from family and society shackles, feeling free from many traditions, free from thinking what others think, and free from constant pressure.

The skateboarding culture also shows a strong tendency of the participants in the subculture towards individualism. First of all, this subculture provides a platform for the youth to represent themselves, to compete with themselves and to overcome their own possibilities. All of the young generation skaters mentioned that it is the way of their self-identity and self-approval, the way to show their individuality. As described by one of the elder generation skaters, skateboarding is an individualistic and egoistic subculture, because you pursue the wish to show yourself. This statement is further verified in the answers of the respondents about their life approach. For example, when asked the question: “are your parents against your skating? If they were, would you continue doing it?” The respondents were unanimously likely to continue to skate even against the wish of their parents. The respondents showed lower attachment to the tradition and a high concentration on their lives and paid a lot of attention to self-expression and pursue of spiritual needs. Some of the Chinese youth living under the constant pressure of parent’s wishes learned to not follow parents’ blindly but listen to their own hearts, and sometimes neglect the tradition of filial piety. Generally, the youngsters were highly individualistic about governing their lives themselves and trying to escape or neglect the pressure and “shackles” from parents and family.

Due to local environment, skateboarding subculture in China has a broader meaning to one of the main values of skateboarding – freedom. In China the problem of freedom in youth circles is associated with a strong influence of family. It is hard to deny that China recently has been influenced by western values and is experiencing a period of transformation of the value system. There are different ways to affect the values of the Chinese youth; one of it is through the imported modern youth culture that provides a convenient platform for the introduction of a new lifestyle, worldview and more. In the case of the skateboarding subculture, we see a hidden appeal of the youth to changes in the relations with family, gain freedom from their hold and release from the burden of modern Chinese education, we see strong tendencies to stress individuality and searching of self-identity.

Conclusion

The development of skateboarding culture in China since the Economic Reform didn't really change the subculture itself but experienced different periods of relations with the dominating culture and society members. Nowadays we can say that it stands to the path of smooth development. Informatization, spreading of media, a beginning process of commercialization of skateboarding subculture and the strengthening of the material base among the young people has contributed to it greatly. Skateboarding subculture, being a foreign product couldn't be brought to China in its pure form. The main contradictions were met in family relations, strong influence of tradition, and approach towards entertainment for children, educational and even medical system. However American youth subculture brought to China many western values as individuality and individual lifestyle, youth entertainment culture that obviously got wide support among the Chinese youngsters and the existence of skateboarders itself proves the value changes and youth appeal to these changes. As the Chinese children have to study hard, foreign teenagers can experience many new things. Within the impact of western values the influence of the family institution is reducing. More and more Chinese try to escape everyday pressure, show their individuality and personality and skateboarding subculture provides the platform to do it.

The logo for iafor (International Association for Cultural Studies) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a dynamic, circular design.

References

Clark, P.(2012). *Youth culture in China: from Red Guards to Netizens*, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Guo Lian (2010). Zhongguo Gongzhong Jinnian Jiazhigua de Bianhua: You “Wuzhizhuyi Jiazhi” Xiang “Houwuzhizhuyi Jiazhi” Zhuanbian. *Xuexi Luntan*, 10, 61-63

Qiu Ji & Wang Yi, Wang Weiwei (2012). *Dangdai Zhongguo Qingnian Jiazhiguan Bianqian Yanjiu*, Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe.

Lu Yulin (2007). *Dangdai Zhongguo Qingnian Wenhua Yanjiu*, Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe.

Slee, T. (2011). Skate For Life: An Analysis of the Skateboarding Subculture. *Outstanding Honors Theses. Paper 29*, 1-22 http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/honors_et/29/

Somers, P. (2010). Go Skateboarding Culture. *Harrisonburg Times*. Print.

Wang Hansong (1997). *Dangdai Wenhua Chongtu Yu Qingnian Wenhua Sichao*, Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe.

Contact email: annie.che.89@mail.ru



Temples: Probing the Possibilities of Economic Regeneration of the Local Communities in Goa

Padmaja Kamat, PES Shri Ravi Sitaram Naik College of Arts & Science, India

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Temples of Goa have played a very vital role as symbols of cultural resistance to the Portuguese hegemony. In the post-liberation era, these temples have been integrated into the national pilgrimage networks and as such receive a large inflow of not only the Goan diaspora, spread far and wide in the country, but also tourists. Some of these temples have also found their way onto the international tourist circuit. Owing to this dimension, most of the major temples of the state have registered immense financial growth and their net yearly incomes exceed 10 million INR. Managements of some temples have been proactive in exploring new avenues of income generation for their respective temples, while others have not shown any substantial inclination towards amplifying their sources of income. However, there is a dearth of organized efforts, on the part of the temple management and the state government, to evolve a strategic plan to use the religious and cultural phenomena associated with these temples to ensure economic regeneration of the local communities and thereby facilitate economic and cultural enrichment of the state. This paper probes the possibility of temples playing a key role, along with the state government, in generating sustainable growth and development of local communities that are slowly losing their livelihoods in this age of modernization.

Keywords: temple, cultural resources, income regeneration, sustainable growth

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

Located on the west coast of India and in the proximity of the Western Ghats, Goa is one of the youngest and the smallest state of the Indian Union, with an area of only 3700 sq. km. Goa offers a cultural montage as it is inhabited by different ethnic and religious communities. Owing to the 450 years long Portuguese colonial occupation that lasted till 1961, the 'Old Conquest' areas of Ilhas, Bardez and Salcete project the latinized panorama, while the 'New Conquest' areas are characterized by the predominant Hindu landscape that is accentuated by the serene local temples. Though these temples were created and maintained by the village communities originally, they were patronized by the different royal dynasties that shaped Goa's destiny from time to time. Among these, the Kadamba dynasty needs a special mention (Fleet, 1898; Moraes, 1990). The Ponda taluka with a pronounced saturation of temples entailed by forced shifting of cults from the 'Old Conquest' areas, owing to the policy of religious persecution followed by the Portuguese, stands testimony to the largess shown by the royals towards the Hindu temples and their functionaries, as a numerous land grant charters cast in stone and copper plates are found in and around this taluka (Wagle, 1913; Mitragotri, 1999).

Taking note of the fact that these temples were the key symbols that dominated the popular psyche of Goa, the Portuguese Govt. attempted to regulate the administration of the temples by passing a law known as the *Regulamento* of 1886. It was superseded by another *Regulamento* in 1933. The constitution and management of the Hindu temples is conducted under the provisions of the Act of 1933 which reiterated that the *Mamlatdar* of the Taluka is the Administrator of the temples of his area (Devasthan Regulation, 2010). The temples bound by the *Regulamento* continue to be under his tutelage even at present, though nominally (Kamat, 2011). The existing scenario alludes to the fact that if these key cultural symbols of the local communities are to be explored for creating facilities to develop sustainable tourism program, both the Managing Committees of these institutions and the Govt. agencies have to work in tandem and need to make concerted efforts to harness these cultural resources and also to devise an action plan for ensuring economic growth of the local peoples.

Research Questions

- How to utilize the tangibles of Goa's rich cultural heritage, existing in the form of Hindu temples?
- How to harness the intangibles of Goa's heritage associated with temples, to act as drivers for the state's sustainable tourism program?

Literature Review

Many Western scholars have probed the economic dimension of the Economy of Temples in South India. Temple has been seen as a prime agent for redistribution of economic resources (Stein, 1960; Stein, 1978; Spencer, 1968). Some scholars have harped upon the role played by the temples in bringing about political and economic integration of a region (Dirks, 1976; Ludden, 1979; Heitzman, 1987a; Hietzman, 1987; Hietzman, 1991; Branfoot, 2008). With respect to Goa, the economic aspect of the Goan temples had hitherto remained a mystery since the hereditary temple managers were indifferent to research and systematic investigation (Kamat, 2013a). It

was only in the recent times that the Temple Economy could be taken up as the focal point of a serious study (Kamat, 2013b).

Regarding promotion of tourism as an important sector of the economy, it has been suggested that immense care has to be taken to protect the local cultures from the abrasive impacts of too many visitations (Steele-Prohaska, 1996). A study has been conducted to verify whether the enhancement of intangible heritage attractors, could be a driver for the sustainability of tourism (Guidici et al., 2013). The need to integrate tourism research with cultural heritage studies in order to develop a shared value system has been duly noted (Pocock, 2008). Dangers involved in commodification of a cultural resource to secure economic goals have been pointed out systematically. It has also been accepted that investment in heritage can generate social and economic growth for local people (Dümcke, C. and Gnedovsky, M., 2013). With respect to the Goan context of tourism, studies have been conducted which have identified the factors responsible for the rise in domestic tourism as well as international tourism (Patel, M. and Shah, P., 2013; De Abreu, 2008). The urgency with which the Govt. of Goa has to address the issue of protection of its cultural and historical assets has been pointed out with genuine concern (Ransely, 2012). Regional imbalances created by the faulty tourism promotional practices and their mal-effects have been painstakingly documented (Sawkar et al., 1998).

Methodology

The case study research design was chosen since according to Yin (2003), the case study is most suitable to answer exploratory research questions, where the investigator has no control over behavioral events and the focus of the study is contemporary. Many other scholars support the case study model (Weirisma, 2000; Thies, 2002, Hennick, Hutter and Baily, 2011) as it is capable of projecting human side of the issue and is effective in identifying abstract aspects like socio-economic status, etc. Multiple holistic case study design was utilized since different cases may have slightly different contexts and literal replication in such cases would improve the external validity of the study (Yin, 2003). Multiple case designs are chosen since the research outcomes are likely to be more robust (Rowley, 2002). The unit of analysis was a single temple. Three cases were chosen namely, the Shantadurga Temple of village Kavle, the Mangesh Temple and the Mahalasa Temple located in the village Priol, for literal replication, i.e. provide similar results as suggested by Yin (2003). These temples have huge economic resources, a large stake in the economy of their respective villages at the micro level and as a group, to a considerable extent in the state economy on macro level (Kamat, 2011). Their domination on tourist circuit is significant (Kamat, 2015). The focus groups for collection of data through interviews, have been the small business owners at the temple sites, street vendors, cab owners, tour guides, members of the Women's Self-Help Groups and amateur actors operating at the aforementioned localities.

Findings

Tangible cultural heritage of Hindu temples in Goa offers a rich resource that can attract tourists from abroad and the intangible cultural heritage associated with these temples in the form of oral histories, legends, ritual practices and festive observances provides additional avenues that can be tapped to magnify the tourist inflow.

Discussion

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) promotes responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism. It acknowledges tourism as a driver of economic growth, inclusive development and environmental sustainability (UNWTO, 2015). Its press release has estimated that over 1.1 billion people have travelled the world in year 2014, with India registering best growth trend in Asia and Pacific region with 7% increase in international tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2014). Cultural Heritage Tourism has been recognized as one of the 5 key segments in tourism markets. UNESCO has been promoting cultural tourism since 2005. The modern dynamics involving growth and deepening diversification has proved tourism to be a key driver for advancement, since it entails socio-economic development of host communities, promotes cross-cultural exchanges, and generates much needed resources for heritage conservation. No doubt, cultural tourism serves the purpose of mitigating the sinister effects of poverty and limits rural migration. In its preview of findings tagged as Tourism Towards 2030, 45 million people are expected to travel every year and the emerging economies are supposed to be surpassing the advanced economies in making substantial gains through their schemes related to tourism (UNWTO, 2012). The recently concluded UNWTO/UNESCO World Conference on Tourism and Culture in Siem Reap, Cambodia, ventured to explore and advance new partnership models between tourism and culture underscoring the importance of cultural tourism in nurturing a sense of pride and self-esteem among host communities (UNWTO/UNESCO, 2015).

Toeing the line of UNWTO, India has designed a detailed scheme to showcase her rich natural and cultural heritage by developing the brand called 'Incredible India' (Ministry of Tourism, Govt. of India, 2002). Taking a clue from the national govt., the Govt. of Goa too has come up with an avowed intention of upholding the human, social, economic and cultural values of tourism (NRI Commission, Govt. of Goa, 2015). It enlists preservation and enrichment of our cultural heritage, hinterland development and ensuring involvement of the local communities as participants and beneficiaries of tourism related endeavours, as some of its objectives. The cherished goal is of sustainable tourism as it has high potential to create white-collared jobs for a population with high literacy rate (Sawkar et al., 1998).

Within a few years of its liberation from the Portuguese colonial regime, the trend of tourism began in Goa around 1965. Pristine purity of the natural surroundings coupled with congenial population to make Goa, a much-cherished destination (Alvares, ed., 1993). Back-packers were the first to arrive to Goa and the charter tourists followed them. Sporadic rise of Hippie culture owing to the promotion of Beach Tourism was considered to be the chief factor responsible for drug abuse and prostitution (Lalnumwala, 2015). Today tourism is the fastest growing economic sector of Goan economy with a 30% rise in tourist flow in 2014, having received 40.58 lakhs of tourists as compared to 31.21 lakhs in the previous year, which is the highest among all states of the country (Goa Economic Survey, 2015).

The following table depicts the details of tourist arrivals in recent years to Goa:

Year	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Increase in %
2011	2,225,002	445,935	2,670,937	0.98
2012	2,337,499	450,530	2,788,029	4.20
2013	2,629,151	492,322	3,121,473	10.68
2014	3,544,634	513,592	4,058,226	30.01
2015(up to March)	629,199	191,379	820,578	

Source: <http://www.goatourism.gov.in/statistics/225>

The following table shows year-wise inflow of tourist from top 3 source countries:

Year	Russia	U. K.	Germany
2012	140,100	119,891	31,842
2013	162,746	145,431	46,472
2014	149,684	146,380	55,932

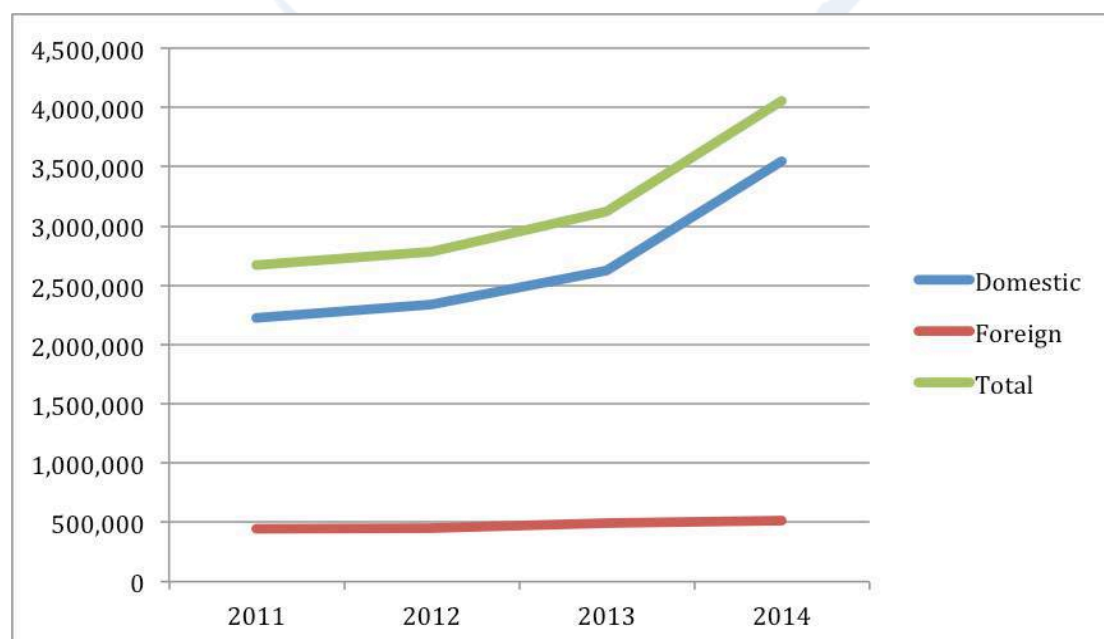
Source: <http://www.goatourism.gov.in/statistics/247>

The following table shows year-wise inflow of tourists by charter flights:

Year	No. of Flights	Passengers
2011-12	910	169,006
2012-13	996	215,304
2013-14	1,128	261,452
2-14-15 (up to May 30, 2015)	895	161,316

Source: <http://www.goatourism.gov.in/statistics/228>

Following is the graphical depiction of tourist inflows from 2011-14



Though the data about the yearly tourist inflow in to the state is provided by the official documents released, the Economic Survey report (Goa Economic Survey 2014-15, 2015) is pretty vague as it does not provide figures regarding how many of the total visitors were actually the pilgrim tourists or cultural heritage tourists, neither does it furnish the percentage of the domestic and the foreign tourists who visited the cultural heritage sites. This difficulty makes precision in observations about the topic, impossible.

It is beyond doubt that the state of Goa is going to continue to be one of the oft-desired tourist destinations despite a slump in the Russian visitations owing to the Ruble crisis (Economic Times, 2015). A saturation point was expected to be reached long back in the Beach Tourism' (Ransley, 2012), but the State Tourism Dept. is still in the stage of brand development (Times of India, 2015). Considering the fact that the majority of domestic tourists visiting Goa come from the middle class, and the foreign tourists do possess a higher spending tendency, the state has to promote both Budget Tourism and Up-Market Tourism simultaneously. It has to attract both – the Back-packers and the Charter Tourists.

Goa's cultural heritage tourism needs to be promoted with the focus it deserves as an enriching connection between the visitor and the host community and the potential it carries of inclusive growth. Temples need to be looked at as immense cultural resources with a tremendous appeal not only for the pilgrims but also for all those who have interest in sacred spaces, spirituality, history, architecture and aesthetics. Owing to the centuries long saga of colonial creed related discrimination and repression, a majority of temples that had to be relocated are invariably associated with rich history that needs to be narrated to the visitor in an effective and captivating manner. For this purpose some of the major temples of the state ought to be developed as heritage hubs provided with visitor centers, mini theatres for screening the orientation films produced by local film companies in collaboration with the professional technicians, that would brief the visitors about the vicissitudes the local population had to suffer in the course of their history. Dramatic religious encounters of the 16th century and agonies of the forced migration of the natives could be captured in breathtaking cinematography. Goa's cultural hybridity and religious syncretism (Henn, 2014) does offer an immense potential for documentation on celluloid. Such an endeavor can provide job opportunities to the local actors trained in acting skills along with the amateurs for the purpose. Vocal and instrumental music, dance and folk theater that have been developed and conserved within the temple precincts can be effectively projected in the mini theater to engage the tourists with artistic inclinations. Religious observances like *Ratkalo*, *Gaulankalo*, *Perni Jagor*, etc., folk observances like *Dhalo* and *Fugdi*, robust festivals like *Shigmo* and *Ghode Modni*, and rustic *Gavda Jagor* need not remain only the seasonal attractions to the tourists. Devotional performances like *Kirtan* and *Bhajan* and Temple Music involving *Chaughudo* and *Panchavadya* need to be explored as tourist attractions. The Govt. should make it a point to make not the capital city but the temple sites, the hosts of the cultural events *Bhakti Mahotsava*, *Kirtan Mahotsava* showcasing devotional music and *Sangeet Natak Mahotsava*. All such ventures will entail a major gain – the revival of Goan cultural traditions and at the same time generate employment opportunities for the locals.

Ponda taluka is renowned for its artistic human resources that are awaiting systematic and meaningful tapings. Living History Museums could be created in the vicinity of temples where the role players with whom an engaging dialogue can be initiated can tell the visitors the compelling narrative of local history, making history an experiential phenomenon. Its relevance to present times is obvious since it makes discernible to the visitors, the evolution of the local society and also permits reflection on their lives at present. The media centers therein may be equipped with cafés with the lawn courtyards that would serve ethnic cuisine as well as modern meals. Handicrafts shops may be set up in the complex selling holy souvenirs. This will realize the Tourism Dept.'s scheme of '*Hunar se Rojgar*' designed for the engaging the skilled labor of the locality. Enclosures could be created for educational programs, workshops, exhibitions and academic conventions. The Plimoth Plantation, USA (Plimoth Plantation, 2015), the Sydney Living Museum, Australia (Sydney Living Museum, 2015) and Black Country Living Museum, UK (Black Country Living Museum, 2015) can be looked upon as sources for inspiration in this regard to produce a historical recreation of 16th Century Goan village.

Goa has won the prestigious Pacific Area Travel Writers Association (PATWA) Award for the 'Best Wedding and Honeymoon Destination' at the *Internationale Tourismus-Börse* (ITB) Berlin 2015. The world famous wedding planners have already engaged themselves in developing the state as a wedding destination for high-end wedding celebrations (Desai, 2015). Almost all major temples in Goa have multi-purpose halls, which are given on hire for private ceremonies, thereby generating sizable revenues for the temple. The possibility of developing temple sites as wedding destinations for mid-end celebrations at least should be probed in the right earnest. That will provide income avenues for the catering agencies that have mushroomed in the neighborhoods of the temples and are either run by the women entrepreneurs or they have a key role in their management. Similarly there are many Women's Self Help Groups and Women's Associations (*Mahila Mandals*) that can be roped in to make vital contributions in the said business (Govt. of Goa, 2015). The dream of economic empowerment of women will come true as a result. The state govt. has already launched the Women's Taxi Service for the women passengers and driven by women (Govt. of Goa, 2014). That facility should not be restricted to the capital city but should be extended to temple cities and the drivers also need to be trained as tourist guides. Of course training in self-defense and equipping the vehicles with GPS system are highly recommended to take care of their security. Local women can also be encouraged to develop their residences as Guest Houses and for Homestays in order to meet their financial needs.

However it has to be agreed that such plans to empower the local communities and the women specially, can be possible only if the state financial agencies, co-operative banks and NGOs provide credit facilities for micro-enterprises in the rural areas in the tourism sector.

Above all, the main temples of Goa, which are privately owned to a large extent and administered according to their private statutes (*Compromissos*) and are managed using their independent funds, have to cooperate in working out such a futuristic development scheme. A major concern is that all three temples studied for this academic exercise do not permit people outside the fold of their constituent members to interfere with the administration of these institutions (*Compromisso* of Mangesh

Temple, 1909; *Compromisso* of Shantadurga Temple, 1909; *Compromisso* of Mahalasa Temple, 1911). Two of the temples from the village Priol dedicated to deities Mangesh and Mahalasa respectively, have stiffened their approach towards tourists, the first having imposed a dress code and the second having banned the foreign tourists from temple entry in order to enforce discipline and protect the sanctity of those sacred institutions (NDTV, 2011). The onus is on the Govt. negotiate a truce between the temple managers and the tourists so that income avenues for the local communities are not made hazardous. The temple authorities need to be prodded to join hands with the Govt. agencies to promote cultural tourism as a feasible and sustainable endeavor.

Conclusions

There could be a debate about what should be the volume of tourists that Goa can sustain but the fact cannot be ignored that tourism can substantially generate political and financial support for management and conservation of the rich temple heritage of the state. Precaution needs to be taken so that unbridled tourism does not eat upon the vitals of ecology of the locality and commodification of performing arts does not cause diminution of the cultural fabric of the state. The environmental and cultural impacts ought to be measured regularly to monitor and manage any untoward consequences. Goa's think tank has to engage itself in envisaging a business model to make tourism an adorable venture for the state.

The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a dynamic, circular graphic element.

References

Alvares, C. ed. (1993) *Fish, Curry and Rice: A Citizen's Report on the State of the Goan Environment*. Goa: Ecoforum.

Black Country Living Museum. (2015) Available at <http://www.bclm.co.uk/>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

Branfoot, Crispin. (2008) "Imperial Frontiers: Building Sacred Space in the Sixteenth Century South India" In *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 90 (2).

De Abreu, N. (2008) *Sustainable Tourism in Goa*.

Desai, N. (2015) <http://www.travelandtourworld.com/news/article/nikhil-desai-speaks-tourism-policies-future-plans-go-tourism-itb-berlin/>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

Dümcke, C. and Gnedovsky, M. (2013) The Social and Economic Value of Cultural Heritage: literature review. Available at <http://www.eenc.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/CD%C3%BCmcke-MGnedovsky-Cultural-Heritage-Literature-Review-July-2013.pdf> and accessed on June 28, 2015.

Economic Times. (2015) http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-03-19/news/60286597_1_go-tourism-premium-hotels-hotels. Accessed on June 29, 2015

Giudici, E., Melis, C., Dessì, S. Ramos, B. (2013) "Is intangible cultural heritage able to promote sustainability in tourism?", *International Journal of Quality and Service Sciences*, Vol. 5 Iss: 1, pp.101 – 114.
<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/17566691311316275>

Goa Economic Survey 2014-15. Available at http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/Goa%20Economic_survey_2014-15.pdf. Accessed on June 29, 2015.

Govt. of Goa (2014) Available at <http://goa-tourism.com/womantaxi.php>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

Govt. of Goa News (2015) Available at <https://www.goa.gov.in/pdf/GOVERNOR%20HIGHLIGHTS%20IMPORTANCE%20OF%20SELF%20HELP%20GROUPS.pdf>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

Henn, A. (2014) *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hennink, M. Hutter, I. and Baily, A. (2011) *Qualitative Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Herald (2015) available at oheraldo.in/usefullnks/goa,80. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

- Hietzman, J. (1987a) "Temple Urbanism in Medieval South India." In *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46 (4). Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2057102>. Accessed on May 12, 2013.
- Hietzman, J. (1987b) "State Formation in South India, 850-1280." In *Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 24 (1).
- Hietzman, J. (1991) "Ritual Polity and Economy: The Transactional Network of an Imperial Temple in Medieval South India." In *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol. 34 (1/2). Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3632277>. Accessed on May 12, 2013.
- Kamat, P. V. (2011) *Ponda: A History of Temples*. Ph. D. Thesis submitted to Goa University, Taleigao, Panaji.
- Kamat, P. V. (2013a) "Temple Economy in Goa" In *Official Conference Proceedings of European Conference on Social Sciences 2013* available at <http://iafor.org/category/research/conference-proceedings/ecss-official-conference-proceedings/>
- Kamat, P. V. (2013b) Temple Economy in Goa: A Case Study. In Damir Tokic ed. *The Macrotheme Review 2 (5)*, Fall 2013. Austin (Texas): Macrotheme Capital Management, LLC.
- Kamat, P. V. (2015) *Managing Temple Economics in Rural Goa: A Case Study*, Paper presented at IISES Conference in Amsterdam on May 14, 2015.
- Lalnumwaia, H. (2015) <http://www.trcollege.net/articles/74-development-and-impact-of-tourism-industry-in-india>. Accessed on June 29, 2015.
- Ludden, D. (1979) "Patronage and Irrigation in Tamil Nadu: A Long-term View" In *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 16.
- Mitragotri, V. R. (1999) *Socio Cultural History of Goa From Bhojas to Vijaynagar*. Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza.
- Moraes, G. M. (1990) *The Kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- NDTV (2011) <http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/goa-temple-bans-entry-of-foreigners-others-impose-dress-code-457702>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.
- Patel, M. and Shah, P. (2013) *Study of Goa State Tourism Scenario: An Indian Context*. www.academia.edu/.../GOA_ACADEMIC_TRIP_2013_Tourism_Planni. Accessed on April 13, 2015.
- Plimoth Plantation*. (2015) Available at www.plimoth.org. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

Pocock, C. (2008) *Towards a cultural heritage tourism research strategy: developing synergies in Australian research*. Queensland: Griffith University.

Ransely, M. (2012) *Goa And Its Tourism*.
www.academia.edu/4820673/Goa_and_its_Tourism. Accessed on April 20, 2015.

Regulamento das Mazanias das Devalayas do Estado da India. (1933) *Nova Goa*: Imprensa Nacional.

Rowley, J. (2002) "Using Case Studies in Research" in *Management Research News*. Volume 25 (1). arf.asia.org/resources/using_case_study_in_research.pdf. Accessed on April 25, 2015.

Sawkar, K., Noronha L., Mascarenhas, A., Chauhan, O., Saeed, S. (1998) *Tourism and the Environment. Case Studies on Goa, India, and the Maldives*. Washington D. C.: The Economic Development Institute of the World Bank.

Spencer, G. W. (1968) "Temple Money Lending and Livestock Distribution in Early Tanjore." In *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 5.

Steele-Prohaska, S. (1996) "Ecotourism and Cultural Heritage Tourism: Forging Stronger Links" in Elizabeth Malek-Zadeh (ed). *The Ecotourism Equation: Measuring the Impacts*. Connecticut: Yale University.

Stein, B. (1960) "The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple." In *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 19 (2). Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2943547>. Accessed on April 1, 2013.

Stein, B. (1978) ed., *South Indian Temples: An Analytical Reconsideration*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
Sydney Living Museum. (2015) Available at <http://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/>. Accessed on June 30, 2015.

Thies, C. G. (2002) "A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations". In *International Studies Perspectives* (November 2002) 3 (4). Available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1528-3577.t01-1-00099/pdf>. Accessed on May 10, 2015.

Times of India, (2015) May 6. Available at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/goa/New-tourism-strategy-for-Goa/articleshow/19905626.cms>

UNESCO, (2005), *Cultural Tourism*,
http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.phpurl_id=11408&url_do=do_printpage&url_section=201.html. Accessed on June 22, 2015.

UNWTO (2014) <http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2014-12-18/international-tourism-track-end-2014-record-numbers>. Accessed on June 29, 2015.

UNWTO/UNESCO (2015) <http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2015-02-06/unwtounesco-world-conference-tourism-and-culture-gathers-ministers-tourism->. Accessed on June 25, 2015.

UNWTO (2015) <http://www2.unwto.org/>. Accessed on June 20, 2015.

Wagle, S. V. (1913) *Gomantakatil Devasthananacha Sankshipt Itihas*. Mapuca: S. V. Wagle.

Wiersma, W. (2000) *Research Methods in Education: An Introduction*. 7th Edition. Boston: Allyn Bacon.

Yin, R. (2003) Case Study Research Design and Methods. *Applied Social Research Methods Series* Volume 5. 3rd Edition. California: Sage Publications.



One Nation-Different Fates: Kazakhstan in Pursuit of Cultural Identity

Aktolkyn Kulsariyeva, Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University, Kazakhstan
Shaigozova Zhanerke, Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University, Kazakhstan
Sultanova Madina, Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University, Kazakhstan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This article provides analysis of experience which modern Kazakhstan went through in process of determination of its own identity and place in the world in midst of rising globalization. Attempts to restore and safeguard the national identity become common practice in post-soviet countries including Kazakhstan. The transition from soviet identity to its own identity and recognition of being "Kazakhstani" proved to be quite challenging. This article focuses on problems of cultural self-recognition in Kazakhstan, in pursuit of its own unique identity through overcoming barriers that resulted during course of historical development artificially raised by Kazakhs themselves.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, culture, identity, self-recognition, unity.

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Today Kazakhstan is one of the largest states in Central Asia boasting with developed economy and a stable political situation. Twenty years of independence allowed Kazakhs to evaluate and perceive their own history and themselves in a different light.

Abatement of the main signs of national identity - traditional mode of life resulted in deterioration of culture and language, which inflicted severe damages to cultural memory. The first a half of the XX century was marked for Kazakhstan by the difficult, erratic events which lead to almost irreversible consequences for the Kazakh's cultural identity: collectivisation, Famine-Genocide, mass political repressions. Destruction of ethnic consciousness at the most different levels resulted in loss of national nomadic space, deaths of thousands of Kazakhs – bearers of traditions and calculated destruction of intellectual elite by government. Despite all efforts, the subsequent three generations of Kazakhs were not able to completely heal the scar left more than seventy years ago.

How to overcome this traumatic "experience"? What it steps should be taken right now to find the most reasonable way to create new identity, without destroying and without denying own history? And what role should be assigned to culture? We will try to find answers to these questions in this article. Authors do not aim to criticise existing historical events or to try to make the adjustments in the historical chronicle. The basis of this article is a sociocultural analysis of modern Kazakhstan as a juncture of two Kazakh mentalities those hundred years apart from each other.

Kazakh nomadism began in times of the Indo-Iranian tribes, synthesising in themselves achievements of Saks and later Turkic and Mongolian culture was developing rapidly until the XIX century. A gradual change in cultural values Kazakh nomads began with the joining Kazakh Khanate to the Russian Empire. "It is obvious that one of the means of swaying people to their side was that Russia incepted in the minds of people on the outskirts of empire imperial ideas, immersed them in the imperial political culture, skillfully using audio-visual, sensory channels of perception. Another way of retaining people was a change of lifestyle. Gradually, Russia accustomed nomadic people on outskirts to grain foods, including grain and flour in the salaries of the nobility. Russia systematically accustomed nomads to the urban way of life, arranging magnificent receptions of nobility in cities. This made immediate impact. Within a few years kazakh nobility began to build mansions, equip stationary place of residence, to furnish the house in the European style" [1,2].

By such methods the Russian Empire "accustomed" nomads to the "imperial culture". One of the worst parts of this transition was the seizure of the best herding pastures of the Kazakhs. Thus, in the late XIX - early XX century nomadic Kazakhs do not have the right to move freely around traditional nomadic routes as the reform of 1867-1868's lands of Kazakhstan were declared state property of the Russian Empire, and actively promoted immigration policy. Traditional way of life of Kazakhs was gradually deformed. Land deficit provoked settling of Kazakhs. At the same time "of the many historical records compiled by government officials, which can hardly be suspected of sympathising with the autochthonous inhabitants of the vast steppe, it is clear that the Kazakhs have repeatedly raised the issue of the development of the

provisions in the current legislation that would guarantee protection in real life land interests of the indigenous population" [3].

By the beginning of the XIX century due to the policy of the Russian Empire the intertribal conflicts become more frequent in the Junior Zhuz [4] that led to the economic crisis and massive devastation of the Kazakhs. Whole villages of Kazakhs crossed the border line on the Russian territory. Out of despair, many Kazakhs tried to get into the Cossack troops. "Since 1846 the Siberian troops were allowed to take in Kazakhs. But for Kazakhs the easiest way to get into the army was through baptism" [5]. The basic need of food forced people to convert to Orthodoxy, which led to a change in lifestyle, entering into a completely different cultural environment. Thus Kazakh started becoming "Russian".

Imperial Russia fought a smart and flexible policy of "Christianisation of the Kazakh population within the ethnic group, "the missionaries were operating in Steppes very carefully. They took initially waiting position and did not start from the open preaching, trying to calm all those who feared forcible baptism. In the first period missionaries have been studying the Kazakh language, the history of Islam, became acquainted with the peculiarities of nomadic life prepare for the possibility of theological disputes" [6]. As a rule, missionary activity was conducted with bankrupt Kazakhs.

Radical change in the history of the development of the Kazakh society, which occurred in the early twentieth century, forced to completely change all the parameters of the existence of society. There was obvious incompatibility of the nomadic societies with the Soviet social ideal that gave rise to the plan of forced collectivization of the indigenous population of Kazakhstan. Using "persuasion" policies former nomads instead of steppes of freedom were offered city life with the industrial landscape and instead of nature they were left with technological environment. This has borne fruit from 1926-1939 years the republic's population increased by 2.6%, while the city population by 268%. Terrible in its essence collectivization gave the opportunity to speak about the humanitarian disaster of the 1930s, where the "death toll of famine was 1798400 ethnic Kazakhs, or 46.8% of the total Kazakh population" [8]. Collectivization caused the final blow to the traditional livestock farming in Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries [9]. "The tremendous reduction in livestock and the subsequent famine undoubtedly created the conditions for irreversible sedentarisation Kazakhs. Radically disrupting the social balance by dragging ancestral group in the specified areas negatively affecting the transfer of traditions and memories of older generations, forced sedentarisation for Kazakh society has become a fundamental turning point and, to some extent, forced deculturation [10].

Although by the end of the Soviet period, livestock breeding in the region has been upgraded to a certain extent, at least, in terms of technology. However, it has been modernized in Soviet-style, meaning the worst and least efficient way, at great human, social and environmental losses due to government's overkill subsidies and total disregard for the natural factor. For example, in Kazakhstan, the number of livestock exceeded the optimal, and this has led to overgrazing and pastures degradation. Even if the Soviet Union were to survive the collapse this state of affairs could not continue any longer [11].

Without exaggeration it can be said that another part of the tragedy of the Kazakh steppe XIX - XX centuries was the Stalinist repressions. In the early 30-ies there were fraudulent political processes conducted all over USSR. The extermination of the representatives of the indigenous nationality was the destruction of the main carriers of the gene pool of the Kazakh people. Under the axe fell, primarily two categories: simple nomads - the keepers of traditions, who did not want or did not know how to change their lifestyle and thoughts; and the brightest of intellectuals - the owners of the spiritual potential feeding nomadic culture" [12].

Repression was blown to frightening enormous proportions. Repressions even reached the "traditional knowledge holders" - Kazakh shamans-"baksi", which J. Assmann calls special carriers of cultural memory [13].

During this period, the trend of migration had been strengthened, and about a million ethnic Kazakhs was forced to migrate from their historic homeland to neighboring countries. It was the first path of formation of the Kazakh Diaspora, but there was also a second way: "creation of state borders separated part of the kazakh people and made it difficult to communicate with the main ethnic masses" [14], this process in science is called irredentism [15]. Thus, in the second half of the XIX century after the establishment of the Russian-Chinese border part of Kazakhs who had been wintering in the former Qing Empire territory was in the allegiance of China. Subsequently, in 1916 after the suppression of the anti-colonial rebellion in 1932-1934. During dispossession, collectivisation and famine some Kazakh tribes migrated from Kazakhstan to Xinjiang and took Chinese citizenship [16]. The main concentration of the Kazakh migrant fell on Russia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Turkey, Mongolia and China.

Due to the special historical and political circumstances, one nation was artificially "split" into two parts "repatriates" and "local", which naturally provoke the break of once united culture in two, conventionally called "oralman" and "local" culture. Both of these cultures developed independently of each other, in the conditions where they could not communication between each due to "iron curtains" of the Soviets.

From the period of independence of Kazakhstan in the 1990s, the repatriation of Kazakhs to their historical homeland was declared one of the priorities of the migration policy of Kazakhstan. In the framework of this policy the fundamental legislative documents were adopted: The concept of repatriation ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland [17] and the Law "On Migration" [18]. The concept emphasizes the role of Kazakh repatriates as a key factor of «increase of natural population growth, improvement of the demographic situation in the country" [19]. For the years 2009-2011 the Government of Kazakhstan has developed and adopted a new program for immigrants "Nurly Kosh". The concept of "oralman" (translated into Kazakh means "repatriate") is unique and in world practice is unknown [20]. According to the latest data, the number of repatriates' oralman-kazakhs in Kazakhstan has exceeded 700 thousand people [21]. If we consider the indigenous population in Kazakhstan itself there are more than 9 million, while 700,000 impressive numbers and we hope that the number of repatriates will grow each year. Independent Kazakhstan - dream of ancestors, embodied today. A dream that did not come easy. From the 90s with the flows of migration of ethnic Kazakhs far abroad formed a third social group - oralmans (repatriates). The Government of Kazakhstan

is trying to take certain measures for their social adaptation and initial economic support (in the form of the issuance of land, migration quota, lump sums, etc.). But as the time of these measures are not enough. Many of the repatriates join the ranks of the unemployed. Within the project "Nurly Kosh", developed for the successful integration of oralmans in Kazakhstan society, stipulated the development of macro zones - small towns - satellites of major cities. Oralmans themselves interpreted this idea wrongly, "the idea of separation of oralmans from locals in reservations, which in turn nefariously influenced the behaviour and thinking of repatriates. Hence, the problem in communication between repatriates and the local population continues to grow. There is a strong illusion that repatriates have that they are not perceived as individuals and ethnic bearers, which explains their lack of tolerance of other nationalities. The situation is aggravated by the desire of repatriates to "settle" in already densely populated and highly labour sufficient regions (South Kazakhstan, Mangistau, Almaty and Zhambyl regions), which increases social tensions. "The difference in mentality is one of the main key factors of ambiguous and sometimes negative attitude towards oralmans [22].

So how do you rectify the formula given the current cultural situation in Kazakhstan? What is the way out of this situation? Cultural trauma - is a reality, our current problem. Another question is how to deal with it. One option is: to search for "guilty" and automatically recognise them as a public enemy and it is close to creation of the new mythology and the desire to "rewrite" history [23]. The other - is to follow example of Germany that after acknowledgement of the Holocaust tragedy and the analysis of the events, they admitted their guilt and made a thoughtful and conscientious amendments that were needed to be made [24]. And the third way: as proposed by the Kazakh an art critic R.A. Ergalieva, refer to the experience of European culture, which constantly reconnect with the world of evangelical values (except, of course, the postmodern era). "Multiple reflection of own basic spiritual idea led to the development and differentiation in levels of consciousness, from the standpoint of which can be discussed as a type, with all of advantages, features and shortcomings of the European way of learning and building a life" [23] in the modern era. In this era European culture has realised values of Christianity in the various theories of scientific and technical progress, the teaching of human rights and active creative personality of the individual.

For Kazakhstan and other Central Asian nations sources of this abundant energy are spiritual layers of Turkic culture. "The oldest, the main and sacred idea for a Turk" is the idea of "original harmony, kinship and union of man and the nature" should become a leitmotif in the revival of the Kazakh culture. "Developing in different ways, shapes and forms of modern culture this cardinal idea is trying to translate into painting and sculpture, films and music the diversity of Tengrian belief, mythology and folklore. Kazakh culture can solve the problem of the revival of the national culture to its past (the original state), its spiritual soil and might even bring something unique to the world's culture. As a result, such a spiritual vector designated by the words "Forward to the past" which provides an opportunities to the growth of culture and gives hope for brighter future, using their own unique spiritual heritage in the cultural space of the world [23].

This process of "forward in the past," or "The Way Home", gloriously begun in 80-90s of last century continues in the cultural situation in Kazakhstan today. It is not

chaotic, but "quite, calm and officially legalised. The search for identity is no longer a bother for the government on contrary it is now entirely supported at the state level [23]. "This clearly shows the state program "Cultural Heritage" (2004-2011), the ratification in December 2011 by Kazakhstan the International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, 17 October 2003) and the presidential program of historical research "The people in the flow of history" (2014-2016 years). Static condition allows us to look at this process more meaningful, highlighting "two streams its interpretation". One of them is marked by a deep sincerity of the authors that the presence of skill leads to the creation of genuine artistic masterpieces and the other being opportunistic reflection of the mainstream, reproduce ethnic values and archetypes household, cultural, historical tradition at all social levels from the ideological to the philistine [23].

Namely, "the implantation stage of identification signs", should be called overriding cultural mechanism to overcome the traumatic experience of modern culture of Kazakhstan. In this situation, there are two "Kazakh" cultures could be a cornerstone; each of them has something to "learn" from one another. So, to paraphrase, the famous words of B. Disraeli that "one nation could be divided into two nations - the nation of the rich and the poor, each of them has its own culture" [25] in our case our nation is divided into "locals" and repatriates, and each of them have "their own" Kazakh culture. This fact is noted in the review of the International Organisation for Migration (Almaty, 2006), although repatriates have the same roots with the local-Kazakhs, there is a difference in culture and customs. This is because the repatriates were able to preserve the traditional Kazakh culture and lifestyle, while Kazakhs in Kazakhstan have adapted, firstly, to the effects of the Soviet influence, and the recent changes that have occurred in the transition to a market economy [26]. It appears to be that the potential of both cultures is enough to restore the cultural memory: repatriates as carriers of traditional culture, and the local Kazakhs as carriers of "modernised" culture.

As a result of extensive research conducted by scientists from the Kazakh Institute of History and Ethnology named after C.C.Valikhanov in Mongolia (2003-2013 years), "it was revealed that the Kazakhs of Mongolia, despite the rather prolonged isolation from the main ethnic array preserved many features of traditional culture and household, which disappeared under the Soviet rule of Kazakhstan back in 1950-60 years. Large number of people still wields the traditional techniques and culture of cattle breeding which remained in its pure, complex form. In this regard, Western Mongolia is like a museum of traditional Kazakh culture in the open air. "The same way preserved not only archaic layers of traditional lifestyle (nomadic way of life), but also a system of spiritual support of ethnicity" many old lexical forms and expressions" of language, music and songs from the distant past (developed as a folklore), ceremonial and celebratory culture, hunting with eagles (hunting birds), traditional Kazakh crafts and clothing, the traditional cuisine in its original form (salting and drying meat for its long-term storage, etc.), "traditional calendar, astronomy, veterinary medicine etc - remains relevant, because they were in demand in the daily life of herdsmen" [27].

Almost a similar situation with the Chinese Kazakhs, that happened to be within the reach of territorial borders of "China" Kazakhs in general live in the Ili-Kazakh Autonomous Region (Altay, Ili, Tarbagatai districts) in the Kazakh-Mure (in Sangju-

Dungan District), Kazakh-Barkol (in Hamiyskom District) Xinjiang Autonomous District and Kazakh-Aksai Autonomous District in Gansu Province [28]. In another research project, a group of scientists from the Institute of Literature and Art named after M.O. Auezov carried out complex expedition to China (2013). The results, which showed the traditional life of the Kazakhs in China which undergone almost no fundamental changes. In the villages they still use many of the things that now we in Kazakhstan can only see in museums and history books. Picturesque handmade yurts with all necessary natural attributes that fits well into the modern landscape of China [29].

The prevailing number of repatriates and immigrants come from China and Mongolia. The authors carried out a field study of crafts and cultural traditions of Kazakh repatriates from China, compactly living in the village Tolkyn Enbekshikazakh district of Almaty region. Many of the repatriates, especially the women of the middle generation aged from 40 to 50 years old have no education. Because of this, women of this age are housewives and engaged in traditional crafts: manual production of carpets - syrmaks and sewing of Kazakh national dresses. Therefore, similar living conditions of ethnic Kazakhs in Mongolia and China with Kazakhs of the XIX century, and in many ways almost identical lifestyle helped to conserve the traditional culture, and to preserve the cultural identification signs. Among the youth of Kazakh repatriates traditional culture is not very popular, on contrary they seek to integrate into the fast-moving "fashionable" life of modern Kazakhstan as soon as possible. Therefore, the source of "traditional culture" is finite, because of the media; each year will deplete the potency of the source until the oralmans assimilate culture-wise with "modern" Kazakhs.

Speaking of the potential of the local culture in the manifestation of national identity, first you need to talk about a progress that already was made. Local culture absorbed new cultural impulses: "it was enriched with artistic and spiritual experience of other nationalities" in spite of all the circumstances with help of "innovation and experimentation" to become recognisable in the world of Art. On the way of historical unification of Kazakh people, harmonious connection between the two cultures was essential in the process of restoration of the national identity of modern Kazakhstan.

This partnership is especially relevant for young people, in fact it is always the youth that catalyses all social changes. However, V.I.Dobrenkov and A.I.Kravchenko noticed: "effective means of overcoming cultural trauma has not been invented yet". But still we will try to identify practical ways to overcome the traumatic experience that can fit into the concept of sustainable development adopted at the UN Conference on Sustainable Development "Rio + 20" (20-22 June 2012). One of the main factors of Kazakhstan's transition to sustainable development is development of human capital. Therefore, the "timeless importance of research of sustainable development, and education has to be treated as a decisive factor successful development of a nation. [30].

In the case of Kazakhstan regarding to human capital development, we can see a lot of effort put into education in order to rise a more skilful generation. New approaches to the design of national education should focus not only on the development of mainstream education but also the development of creative industries. Creative industries is a growing sector gains more influence on European and global

economies in terms of job creation, entrepreneurship, growth and innovation. Creative industries contribute to the creation of new means of communication, new ways of interacting new ways of entertainment, as well as new ways of learning and last but not the least - the new way of doing business [31]. In the development of the creative industries can seek help from more experienced countries like UK, Denmark and other Nordic countries, where government supports the development of the creative industries. After all the creative industries in the Nordic countries like Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden traditionally considered as leaders in the field of design and creativity demonstrates their commitment to the cultural, social and economic welfare of the country.

The first in the list of major organizations in the field of creative industries are universities in the Nordic countries. In Kazakhstan there are a lot of university of culture and art, on the basis of which could build our creative industries, which include a wide range of initiatives that have creative nature from traditional arts, crafts, music and theatre, design, fashion, video, audio and multimedia products. This sufficient starting materials and resources which will enable students to create creative products that can find successfully implementation in the market and can bring a positive change to our oil-oriented economy. Kazakhstan will start to produce the goods in which Kazakhstan traditionally has a comparative advantage. An example of this is the experience of Turkey 50-60-s of XX century, when ethnic Kazakhs "brought back to life" the craftsmanship of leather goods: today Turkish coats, jackets and various leather products are popular all over the world. This business is still called Kazakh business in Turkey.

The benefits of the creative industries can be reaped not only by the education sector, which receives additional sources of income, but also by business. Because "in world practice it is considered that small and medium entrepreneurship in the field of creative industries is a catalyst of success for the sector, and source for human resources". Macro-zones for repatriates that are described in the program "Nurly Kosh" might serve as a good base for creative industries, where the Institute of traditional craftsmanship in the form of small and medium-sized businesses could flourish. That is where because of their deep connection with old traditional world and traditional craftsmanship should be the main striking force. Formation of the creative industries through small and medium business of will provide employment and social adaptation of the population and especially the youth, and also the solution to the problems, such as stability of economic growth not only for certain categories of people, but for the country as a whole.

Conclusion

Now it is important to combine the forces of professionals in the artistic field, economists, psychologists and marketers who have studied the creative industries throughout. The youth already has the necessary knowledge to give in to their creative desires even in the walls of their high school, universities by attending art studios that are mandatory in modern educational institutions in Kazakhstan. These small cells will continue to develop into creative clusters and finally into full-fledged creative industries, forming Kazakhstan's "bank" of creative and intellectual potential. Now everyone speaks of "self-determination", "national component of culture", "globalisation" and "search for identity". Creative industries are able to transform

aspirations into reality based on intangible resources: tradition, history, cultural heritage and creative abilities. Only then the brand "Made in Kazakhstan» will be really recognised and valued in the world.

The twentieth century for Kazakhstan is a century of serious trials where the strength of the national spirit was tested and ethnic and cultural identity was lost and then found again. Since its beginning the Kazakhs had to endure a lot: colonisation, forced collectivisation, migration, famine, political repression, deportation, national differentiation taking place under the banner of the Soviet ideology and more. Each of these "episodes" has caused deep scars, mutilating and sometimes even distorting cultural memory. The consequences of which now largely determine different aspects of our lives, continuing to break our society. For almost hundred years one culture was divided into two, they finally met each other in independent Kazakhstan. Subtle cultural differences of repatriates and "locals" gave us the opportunity to discuss possible ways to overcome the traumatic experience of the Kazakh culture and reasonable method of forming the new Kazakh identity, better use of the enormous potential of both cultures: native traditional and new "westernized" Kazakh.



References

Baipakov, K. Srednevekovie goroda Kazahstana na Velikom Shelkovom pyti. Almati: Filim, 1998.

Kyndakbaeva J. V poiskah istoricheskogo narrativa Kazahstana: «Dialog pamyatei» ili «nacionalnaya pamyat» // Nacionalnie istorii na postsovetskom prostranstve. – M.: Fond Fridriha Naymanna, AIRO-HHI, 2009. – S.265-296

Tashtemhanova R.M. Pereselencheskaya derevnya i ee vzaimosvyazi s kazahskim aylom vo vtoroi polovine HIIH – nachale HH veka (na materialah Semirechenskoi oblasti): avtoref. dis. kand. ist. nayk: 07.00.02. – Almati: AGY im. Abaya, 1994. – 28 s.

Mladshii jyz - gryppa kazahskih rodov i plemyon, sostoyashaya iz treh plemennih souzov: alimyli, baiyli i jetiry

Gorbynova S.V. Kreshennie kazahi Rossiiskoi Imperii// Centralnaya Aziya i Sibir. - Barnayl: Azbyka, 2003. - S. 247.

Gorbynova S.V. Kreshennie kazahi Rossiiskoi Imperii// Centralnaya Aziya i Sibir. - Barnayl: Azbyka, 2003. - S. 248.

Kyndakbaeva J. V poiskah istoricheskogo narrativa Kazahstana: «Dialog pamyatei» ili «nacionalnaya pamyat» //Nacionalnie istorii na postsovetskom prostranstve. – M.: Fond Fridriha Naymanna, AIRO-HHI, 2009. – S.265-296

Masanov N.E. Istoriya Kazahstana: narodi i kyltyri / Ycheb. posobie. - Almati: Daik-Press, 2001. - S. 376.

Hazanov A.M. Kochevniki i vneshnii mir. Izd. 3-e, dop. - Almati: Daik-Press, 2002. - 61 s.

Ogaion I. Sedentarizaciya kazahov SSSR pri Staline. Kollektivizaciya i socialnie izmeneniya (1928-1945g.g.) /Per. S franc. A.Rakisheva. - Almati,2009. - 368 s. («Istoriya Kazahstana v zapadnih istochnikah IX-XX v.v.»)

Hazanov A.M. Kochevniki i vneshnii mir. Izd. 3-e, dop. - Almati: Daik-Press, 2002. - 60 s.

Kyndakbaeva J. V poiskah istoricheskogo narrativa Kazahstana: «Dialog pamyatei» ili «nacionalnaya pamyat» // Nacionalnie istorii na postsovetskom prostranstve. – M.: Fond Fridriha Naymanna, AIRO-HHI, 2009. – S.265-296

Assman Ya. Kyltyrnaya pamyat. Pismo, pamyat o proshlom i politicheskaya identichnost v visokih kyltyrah drevnosti.- M.: Yaziki slavyanskoi kyltyri, 2004.- 368 s.

Naymova O.B. Kazahskaya diaspora v Rossii: etnicheskoe soznanie i migracionnoe povedenie//EO, №3, 2000. – S. 60-73.

Irredentizm - politika nekotorogo gosydarstva, napravlennaya na anneksiu territorii inogo gosydarstva, libo oficialnie trebovaniya etnicheskikh menshinstv odelit naselyaemyu imi territoriu s celu ee vklucheniya v sostav sosednego gosydarstva

Siroejkin K.M. Kazahi v KNR: ocherki socialno-ekonomicheskogo i kyltyrnogo razvitiya. - Almati: Instityt razvitiya Kazahstana, 1994. - 118 s.

Koncepciya repatriacii etnicheskikh kazahov na istoricheskyu rodiny (ytverjdena Postanovleniem Pravitelstva RK ot 16 sentyabrya 1998 g.)// Informacionno-pravovaya sistema normativnih pravovih aktov Respybliki Kazahstan, <http://adilet.zan.kz>

Zakon Respybliki Kazahstan «O migracii naseleniya» ot 22 iulya 2011 goda № 477-IV// Informacionno-pravovaya sistema normativnih pravovih aktov Respybliki Kazahstan, <http://adilet.zan.kz>

Koncepciya repatriacii etnicheskikh kazahov na istoricheskyu rodiny (ytverjdena Postanovleniem Pravitelstva RK ot 16 sentyabrya 1998 g.)// 22 Informacionno-pravovaya sistema normativnih pravovih aktov Respybliki Kazahstan, <http://adilet.zan.kz>

Mendikylova G.M. Istoricheskie sydbi kazahskoi diaspori. Proishojdenie i razvitie. - Almati: Gilim. 1997. – 261 s.

Dannie Agentstva Respybliki Kazahstan po statistike. Oficialnii sait: www.stat.gov.kz

Benjamin Disraeli. Sybil or The Two Nations OUP General, Oxford University Press, 2011

Hydojestvennoe obrazovanie v Respyblike Kazahstan: osmislenie nacionalnih tradicii i sblijenie kyltyr//Naychno-analiticheskii doklad podgotovlen v ramkah pilotnogo proekta UNESCO i MFGS «Hydojestvennoe obrazovanie v stranah SNG: razvitie tvorcheskih vozmojnostei v XXI veke», Almati, 2010. – 8 s.

Ajjigali S.E. Obshie itogi etnokyltyrnihi issledovaniia kazahskoi diaspori Centralnoi Azii (Mongoliya, Kitai, Rossiya)//<http://www.qazaq-alemi.kz>

Azina M. Polojenie kazahskoi obshini v SYAR KNR» // Kazahstan v globalnih processah. Instityt mirovoi ekonomiki i politiki pri Fonde Pervogo Prezidenta Respybliki Kazahstan. - TPO TOO «Jibek joli», 2008.- №2. – 132 s.

Jymaseitova, G. Dyhovnii opit kazahov Kitaya: [gryppa ychenih In-ta lit. i iskysstva im.Ayezova vernylas iz ekspedicii po Kitau] // Respyblikanskaya gazeta: Liter.- 2013.-11 sentyabrya.-S.4.

Doklad o chelovecheskom razvitiu v Rossiiskoi Federacii za 2013 g. / Pod obshei redakciei S.N. Bobileva / Dizain-maket, dopechatnaya podgotovka, pechat: OOO «RA ILF», 2013. – 202 s.

Tvorcheskie indystryi v sovremennom gorode: kak razvivat talant i predprinimatelstvo
v Sankt-Peterbyrge//<http://www.creative.leontief.net>

Contact email: aktolkyn777@mail.ru



A Right to Quietude

Alexandre Avdulov, Saint Mary's University, Canada

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Japanese contemplative arts are repositories of spiritual and cultural quiet. They survive and flourish right in the great cities, where employers take pains to train their workers in the appreciation of beauty and the meditative precepts of mental repose by providing masters to teach the traditional arts at the work place.

“Silencing” the storms of one’s mind while focusing on simple “things in front”, by repeating the formulated procedure of making tea can result in an opening to panoramic awareness, to the world within and without. *Chanoyu* sets the stage for nature, people and objects to coalesce in order to create a happening in a special setting where an unrepeatable cathartic experience can be achieved. A Tea space can be considered a form of quietude. Its importance for the 21st century is undeniable. As the world becomes increasingly technologically developed, spaces both psychological and physical that provide and inspire quietude and mindfulness are increasingly important to protect our humanity.

Chanoyu, commonly known as the Japanese tea ceremony, is an interdisciplinary complex which is a synthesis of arts, crafts and multiple cultural elements brought together in a creative ritual of preparing, making and sharing a bowl of tea. It is a contemplative practice, which nurtures unified awareness through the refinement of all six senses in harmony and tranquility. It can be called “meditation in motion” but unlike many other meditative practices Tea happens without detachment from but in the real world with its colours, tastes, sounds, fragrances and textures.

Chanoyu combines calligraphy, architecture, garden design, flowers, incense and fine cuisine with ceramic, wood, lacquer, paper, metal and fabric design and craft and provides a framework for all of these different arts and crafts to coexist in a complete self-enclosed system. It epitomizes the Japanese penchant to elevate ordinary activities and objects to the level of art. While tea procedures are highly efficient and systematized, once mastered, their efficiency is fully re-applicable to daily life. Interestingly, following the rigid form actually results in the development of one's creativity and freedom.

Let’s look at the characters used in Japanese language to make up a word for “human being”, *ningen*. First character, *nin*, is for a person and the second one, *gen*, is for space or interval between. This combination suggests that one becomes truly human through the interaction with the other. *Chanoyu* offers this very opportunity of a delicate communication. “*Ma*” (another reading for the second character) is a Japanese word for “space between”, “meaningful pause”, sometimes translated as a “negative space”. In tea it refers to both space and time and fosters simultaneous awareness of form and non-form. It derives from the intensification of visual and aural attention. *Ma* takes place in the imagination of a human being experiencing tea. Spatial and aural silence in *Chanoyu* brings its participants closer to Emptiness, or Nothingness, which in tea turns into “Everythingness”.

Tanaka (2010) calls tea experience “*Shichu-no Sankyo*” - while being in the city one should feel like they are in a hut deep in the mountains. Tea offers ways of creating a different reality by providing a mindful corner where one can take a short rest before continuing one’s busy life. Tea offers a perfect escape from cityscapes by stopping one’s mind and creating an opportunity to discover mindful corners within. It is as if it has offered a different lens through which the same world looks more sensible and “I” can become one with the world and cultivate attentive awareness of the reality of

things. Attention is paid to every detail and while more imperfections are noticed as well, details and slightest changes in nature are comforting and reassuring.

A teahouse is traditionally built in the quietest corner of one's property, far away from the realities of the busy world. Guests enter the gate and follow a stone pathway, leading to the waiting room. Stepping-stones are carefully selected and placed so one has to pay attention to each step. The tea garden, *roji*, "dewy path" is not really a typical garden but consists of multiple layers of various greens - moss, shrubs, evergreens with not a single flower in sight. The garden is cleaned, the moss is swept and the rocks are washed before the whole garden is lightly sprinkled with fresh water creating the feeling of purity, safety and anticipation. With each step guests remove themselves from the world of "ten thousand things". They arrive at a waiting room where a scroll is hung in the alcove, usually a simple seasonal painting – a waterfall in summer, a pine under the snow in winter, buds of a plum tree in spring or red maple leaves in the fall. Here the guests have their first taste of water. It is heated and served in previously warmed cups so when the guest picks it up, it is pleasant to the touch and the water is just the right temperature. This water is truly delicious and one rediscovers its pure taste. Then guests proceed to the arbor bench in the garden where a tray holding a warmed ceramic container and carefully arranged ash around a small lit bright red charcoal inside and a green bamboo tube with a few drops of water are placed along with woven seat cushions. Still enveloped in the green of trees and shrubs the guests hear birds and smell the breeze and these details become more important than conversation among themselves.

The host purifies the stone washing basin. After hearing the sound of water pouring into the basin, the guests stand and when the host opens the low inner gate, all bow in silence. Now the guests enter the inner garden, purify their hands and mouth and enter the tearoom. The door has been left open just a little so they can insert a hand to slide it open. The entrance is often low, about half a meter high, so one has to sit down and lower one's head to get in and "dive" into the vastness of a practically empty room about ten feet square. In older days, the samurai had to leave their swords outside on a sword rack. These days our symbolic swords are supposed to be left outside. Everyone in the tearoom is equal in his or her human nature. The first guest opens the door and finds a calligraphic scroll lit with natural light, catches a vague smell of incense, walks to the alcove and facing the wall by oneself contemplates calligraphy that sets the mood for the gathering and is in fact the most important presence in the room. Being ideographic, the characters have both visual and verbal components. Always hand written, they retain both the energy and wisdom of the calligrapher that lie far and beyond the meaning of actual words. In less than twenty minutes a transition from the cacophony of the outer world to a few minutes in front of celestial wisdom takes place. Entering the room is like entering one's inner world. The guests face the scroll one by one but they are also facing their inner selves. The last guest locks the door from the inside, committing to voluntary confinement. For several hours the room will become a stage for the shapes, colours, textures, smells, sounds and tastes thoughtfully and gently orchestrated by the host and accompanied by the everlasting "wind in the pines" – the sound of water in the kettle, blanketed by the swirling steam.

If asked the nature of Chanoyu,
Say, it's the sound of windblown pines
In a painting.

Sen Sotan, third generation direct descendant of Sen Rikyu. (Hamamoto, 1981)

After a greeting, the host offers a simple but complex *kaiseki* meal just enough to “satisfy hunger”, gracefully arranged on mostly black lacquered dishes with some ceramic and porcelain pieces, accompanied by a few sips of sake. This is when the guest realizes that there is nothing more delicious and the host realizes that there is nothing more complex than an elongated shape of perfectly cooked white rice steaming in a warmed up black lacquer lidded bowl, with just a sprinkle of “dew” on top, served just in time along with miso soup in a similar bowl and the freshest possible raw fish on a porcelain plate. A number of courses are served, all seasonal, simple and regional. Next carefully cut to size and previously washed charcoal is brought into the room in a basket and laid in the brazier to heat the water to the perfect temperature. Then sweets, freshly made by the host, are served and the guests return to the arbor in the garden for a break until they hear a gong, inviting them back in the room. They half-kneel while listening, then again purify their hands and mouth and enter the room once again. This time right in the centre of the alcove wall there are flowers placed in a vase. They are simple, unpretentious and pure. A bowl of thick tea is prepared by the host and shared by all the guests. Usually, a black *raku* teabowl, hand built, individually fired and named, is considered to be the most suitable. Though utterly delicious, a bowl of fresh tea, which has been hand picked, steamed, dried and ground, is not only appreciated for its taste. It is tasted with the eyes seeing a gleaming green kneaded glaze against the sculptural black shores of the bowl, with hands feeling perfectly warm against the hand- pinched sides of the bowl, practically “holding” the potter’s hands. One’s senses diffuse and join in one continuum of experience.

A bowl of tea is appreciated on a number of different levels. The first taste of tea is for the eyes. Second taste is for the tongue. It is sharp, bitter, full-bodied. The third taste is the climax of the meeting of host and guest, who taste with the spirit and heart. Objects are not just used but also viewed closely so more is noticed about them. Light in the room changes as the reed blinds are rolled up to allow more light in the room. The fire is replenished and more sweets are offered before a bowl of thin tea is whisked individually for each guest. Greetings are exchanged once again and the guests ask the host not to see them off. Nevertheless the host opens the door of the guest entrance from inside and everyone bows in silence. The guests turn and leave as the host watches them until they disappear.

Chanoyu is said to be “meditation in motion”. Inner silence or tranquility is not just a separate quality but the state of mind that is the ultimate goal, which is gradually built during daily practice over a lifetime. It is a result of rigorous training and could be characterized as a dynamic, active silence. This silence encourages listening and mindful being. Silence in Tea is not an absence of sound but rather as a presence of mindfulness. After the *chaji* it is suggested that the host returns back to the tearoom and contemplates in silence, reflecting on the built up energy.

The creations of a “*toriwase*”, an assemblage of myriad objects for one tea, lies at the heart of *chanoyu* practice. The word is a combination of two verbs: to pick and to put together. It is a profound skill critical to the accomplishment of the tea person.

No objects are selected solely for their beauty; they are chosen as much for their functional suitability as their beauty. Their function is two fold; firstly to serve perfectly as a utensil and secondly to act as a part of an assemblage which creates the best environment to welcome the guests. Individual and personal, *toriwase* is also a strict and profound practice whereby one’s personal attachments and ambitions are set

aside for the sake of others. It is a perfect reflection of what we would call the design process. Concern for others takes central place in the design process of "*toriawase*". Objects are not just perfectly placed in space next to each other. They are selected according to the form of the human body in terms of shape and placement while acknowledging the occasion and the particular guests.

The perfection of symmetry is intentionally avoided to open a possibility of combining different materials and forms to make the assemblage more human or more "*wabi*". In the record of *Choando*, *wabi* is linked to the world of human beings -all different and yet all co-existing at the same time. (*Genshoku Chado Daijiten*, 1975) One may find comfort and ease in the company of seemingly imperfect and asymmetrical objects. Moreover, this quality allows the objects to further evolve over the hours of a formal tea gathering. They become "living art".

Kent Bloomer and Charles Moore in their preface to *Body, Memory and Architecture* comment that in the course of their research they found that "reference was seldom made to the unique perceptual and emotional capacities of the human beings" whereas design in *Chanoyu* is a response to human awareness and sensory capacity through the purposeful simulations of the senses. We can call this sensorial design.

A single tatami mat, 1metre by 2 metres, used as flooring in traditional Japanese structures, can be considered a base, essential element of all Japanese design. Kimura Soshin connects tatami to the structure of a human body likening the rectangular mat to Leonardo da Vinci's Vitruvian Man's circle and square. In tea, creation starts with a single tatami mat for displaying objects placed according to the human anatomy. (Kimura, 2009) Then other mats are placed and lastly the walls are built around. Tea houses are designed from the inside out rather than from the outside in like most western buildings, which start by creating a shell then dividing it inside and then placing people in it. Most tea houses don't look very interesting from the outside. One has to actually be inside, seated on the tatami, to appreciate the space and enjoy their beauty. Moreover, one actually has to linger for hours having tea therein to realize fully their unexpectedly perfect design. The four principles of tea practice are harmony, respect, purity and tranquility. Harmony is revealed in the relationship between people, nature and objects. Respect is shown towards people, objects and space. Purity, both physical and spiritual, is achieved through cleansing and purification. Tranquility, the integrated awareness of body and mind, is attained through this practice.

Dr. David Smith cites German philosopher Max Sheller who characterized the history of western civilization "as an endless journey "outwards", with consequent evacuation of the inner life, and the loss of concern for human life as it is lived in its detail." (Smith, 1999) The practice of Chanoyu compensates for this evacuation by accentuating concern for human life as it is lived by focusing attention to its detail both within and without the teahouse.

Bibliography and References:

Ackerman, D., 1995. *Natural History of Senses*. New York: Vintage Books.

Genshoku Chado Daijiten. 1975. Japan: Tankosha

Hamamoto S., 1984. A Tea Master's Vision of the Ten Oxherding Pictures, translated and adapted by Dennis Hirota, *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 37- 40, pp.34-48

Kimura, S., 2009. *Chanoyu Design*, Tokyo: Hankyu Communications Co., Ltd.

Malnar, M., Vodvarka F., 2004. *Sensory Design*. University of Minnesota Press.

Odin, S., 1980. Intersensory Awareness in Chanoyu and Japanese Aesthetics. *Chanoyu Quarterly*, 53, pp.35-44

Smith, D., 1999. Globalization and Education, *Interchange*, 30/1, Kluwer Academic Publishers

Tanaka, S., 2010. *Chado-no Bigaku*. Tokyo: Kodansha

Tanikawa, T., 1984. *Cha-no Bigaku*. Kyoto: Tankosha

Yanagi, S., 1972. *The Unknown Craftsman*. Tokyo: Kodansha

Yanagi, S., 2010. *Cha to Bi*. Tokyo: Kodansha

Archivists to Activists: The Changing Role of Museums as Guardians of Culture and Empowerment

Barry Natusch, Nihon University, Japan
Beryl Hawkins, Temple University Japan, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Traditionally, museums have displayed their collections with a tendency towards a single, authoritative interpretation. Many contemporary museums, however, now design their exhibitions to be approached as a dialogue between artifact and audience so that the visitor can “complete the meanings of the object-technology interface through their own emotional and experience-based responses” (Andermann and Arnold de-Simine 2012). Such dialogue can be deconstructive and indicative of a postmodern approach to analyzing culture. As a result of this shift in the museum’s mission, many have become “collaborative, hybrid institutions that are also part community center, part contemporary art space, part digital information hub, and part city plaza” (Tisdale, 2013). This has resulted in a radical reinterpreting of history, culture, and the arts, questioning mainstream acceptance of cultural concepts and giving a voice to alternative views and minority interpretations. Museums thus need to adapt to change through architecture, layout, curatorship, display methods, technology and educational policy. In this study, we report on a survey comparing two United States museums with two Japanese museums (in the historical, arts and design, and cultural museum genres). The survey was designed to address a question concerning what the changing educational roles and responsibilities of contemporary museum educators are, incorporating such ideas as those of Gardner on multiple intelligences, Housen and Yenawine on visual thinking strategies, Dewey on experience and education, and Piaget on cognitive development. A model for identifying external causative factors precipitating changes in museum curatorship and education is presented.

Keywords: museums, museum educators, museum literacy, learning theories, cultural studies, postmodernism

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Morphing of Museums from Passive to Participatory Places

Quite radical changes, which amount to almost a “big bang” in the museum world, have dramatically altered how museums have positioned themselves in their educational role. Partly, this has been initiated by visitors who arrive expecting to be entertained as much as educated. But it has also been motivated by curators, many of whom come from a postmodern background, see themselves not so much as guardians of artifacts but rather as choreographers of exhibitions. This has resulted in changes in museum identity, architecture, curatorship, artifact collection, and exhibitions. And education has begun to play a more prominent role in the mission of museums, returning again to the classical idea that a museum is a place for learning. Behind all these developments are movements such as postmodernism and intermediality driven by technical and digital developments. This article considers a number of disparate factors affecting change in museums and shows through a model which draws on literature reviewed, visits to museums, and a pilot study, how these factors are driving new museum educational initiatives.

Museums Past and Present: Redefined and Remodeled

The traditional function of museums has been to store, preserve and present cultural artifacts, to serve as centers of academic research, and educational institutions. The artifacts that museums do preserve, and how they present them, has been changing over the past thirty years. Levin (2002) points out that by “the 1990s, museums were using focus groups to ascertain how they might compete with other attractions” and even goes on to say that museums are “essentially a neutral medium that can be used by anybody for anything” (Levin, 2002).

Museum Visitor Expectations and Evolving Museum Identity

So what began with a gradual broadening of the functions of traditional museums has recently exploded into a variety of functions. “In addition to exhibiting art or natural history, museums now provide places for shopping, eating, performance, and community activities; they have also become an important urban-renewal opportunity for cities” (Newhouse, 1999). Museums have thus become places of social interaction and innovation where visitors can become more involved with exhibitions and other visitors.

Even more recently, Earle (2013) argues that this has almost become a predicament noting that “...cultural education, with ‘cultural inclusion’ as its main objective, has evolved in the context of an existential crisis in the museum sector over the past 30 years, appearing to offer a means through which they can redefine their role and value in the society as anti-elitist organizations supporting social change.”

Together with this identity issue, especially in an era which places emphasis on accountability, goes the question of how successful the emerging identity is in its development. A contemporary answer to Getty’s famous question, “How does one measure the success of a museum?” is Filler’s (2014) suggestion that “The most basic task of any museum must be the protection of works of cultural significance entrusted to its care for the edification and pleasure of future generations.” However, some such as

Ellis (1995) and Message (2014) extend this in recognizing that museums should include elements of surprise and even disjunction, of seeking to enhance the quality of the visitor's life, of blurring disciplinary boundaries, promoting multiple interpretations of exhibitions, and involving visitors in social interactions with artifacts and other people.

An Activist Curatorial Approach

Since museum visitors are expecting a more interactive, collaborative postmodern experience, the curator's role has been expanding exponentially (Shea, 2015; Maciejunes, 2014; Roos-Brown, 2013). Visitors want to be engaged on a variety of levels; educational, entertainment, emotional and participatory. Satisfying all of these can prove to be a monumental task for curators. The pressure to mount a successful exhibition or the specter of failure looms constantly. For these reasons the curator's actual job has evolved from archivists to activists who "must be at once aestheticians, diplomats, economists, critics, historians, politicians, audience developers, and promoters" (Brenson, 1998). Just as Lau Tzu observed, that life is a series of natural (and spontaneous) changes, curators in the contemporary museum world are being also being constantly challenged by natural change. The curator's mission is thus no longer predicated on how well architectural reconstruction projects have impressed the museum stakeholders and visitors. Instead, the curator's new challenge is "to diagnose need in their communities, seek out new and unusual settings for their work, forge partnerships with a wide array of disparate stakeholders, and, in some cases, cede a certain amount of artistic control in order to gain broader impact (Brown, 2013).

How do we define this shift to a postmodern paradigm among curators? On the more critical end of the spectrum, some scholars have expressed dissatisfaction with the notion that "anything goes" in art (Baudrillard, 2005; Smith, 2010). Baudrillard argued that: "The idea of art has become rarefied and minimal, leading ultimately to conceptual art, where it ends in the non-exhibition of non-works in non-galleries -- the apotheosis of art as a non-event." Other scholars, on the opposite end of the spectrum, appreciate the worthiness of artistic freedom associated with postmodernism (Lyotard, 1984; Jameson, 1991; Lee, 2012). Lyotard, for instance, describes the freestyle experimentation of postmodernism, by characterizing it as "a shattering of belief" of conventional notions.

As a result of this postmodern shift, we have seen a proliferation of multicultural events incorporating music and dance performances, interactive art installations, technology-based gadgets and interactive tools, performativity or live performance art installations, all of which have become standard offerings throughout local, national and world renowned cultural museums. As museum curators continue to cast themselves as "caretakers of our cultural past and present", curatorial practices will continue to evolve as curators become concert maestros, conducting and orchestrating change in our "larger cultural ecosystem" (Weil, 2012).

Financing the Evolving Participatory Approach

Curators also play the role of a modern day Robin Hood by taking art from wealthy art collectors and positioning them in their galleries. If individual gifts to museums are an indication of a brighter economic future for museums, in this regard the recent \$1.1 billion gift to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2013 from cosmetics executive Leonard Lauder is a notable example. But despite these gains, art museum administrators remain cautious. Principally due to the nature of funding sources, a steady stream of income is never assured (Alexander 1996; Skinner, 2009). In 2012, for example, a majority of the museums surveyed in a study by the American Alliance of Museums complained of "economic stress", (almost 70% out of a total of 347 U.S museums).

Conversely, it can be said that spending too much time focusing on the fiscal blueprint can also be counterproductive, especially in the case of some museums, where it impedes the overall purpose and mission of the museum itself (Weil, 2000; McCarthy, 2005). Historically, museums in the 1950's were not called upon to adopt anything like a business model so it appears that we have reversed gears, moving slightly backwards (Hudson 1998). As Smithsonian scholar, Stephen Weil, aptly put it, "museums matter only to the extent that they are perceived to provide the communities they serve with something of value beyond their mere existence" (Weil, 2012).

While money is, of course, an essential means of survival for museums, in the long run, communities are enhanced and museums themselves have the opportunity to enrich the quality of individual lives (Weil, 2000; McCarthy, 2005). Yet funding has a crucial role to play in artifacts collected, exhibitions opened, remodeling and commissioning of buildings, equipment purchased and education programs initiated.

Experiential Education in Museums for Visitors

Museums are not primarily schools, and offer education as an informal adjunct in addition to collecting and presenting artifacts. Nevertheless, there has been an increasing emphasis on the role of education in museums, e.g., "UK Government announced an investment of £15 million (over 3 years) in 'Cultural Education' in England" (Earle 2013). Yet the notion that museums are schools dates as far back as the classical world. Solinger (1990) reminds us that, "when the ancient Greeks referred to a museum (Greek: *mouseion*), the word primarily defined a center of learning." Garcia (2012) notes that museum learning is "unique, multi-faceted and inspires higher-order affective and cognitive development." Merritt (2012) details "core skills of critical thinking, synthesizing information, ability to innovate and think creatively, and collaboration" as being at the forefront of museum learning.

Associated with this concern for visitor education is the distinction between formal, non-formal and informal education. Differentiation between these types of learning has been highlighted by researchers such as Eraut (2000), Livingston (2001), and Colley, Hodkinson and Malcolm, (2003). Formal learning is that which is administered by

teachers in a school in a systematic way. Nonformal learning is semi-structured such as classes leading to the acquisition of a skill, seminars, or community college type, while informal learning takes place at the volition of the individual in a less structured environment than a school or class. Museum education thus falls between non-formal and informal learning, depending on the level of formality of the visit, and ties in with Dewey's (1938) philosophy that educators should understand the connection between education and personal experience, and that experience develops from empiricism and experiment.

To present artifacts in ways which will provide stimulating and educative experiences, so that visitors can construct their own understandings, Hein (1988) adds that experiences must be not only "hands-on" but also "minds-on." He further emphasizes that these experiences must also be organized to be educative.

Hence the need for learning models, to provide a framework for structuring the learning experiences. Ebitz (2008) conducted a survey of learning theories used by museums and found that, out of a list of twenty approaches, those at the top of the rankings were: "Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences, Csikszentmihalyi's flow or psychology of optimal experience, stage theories of development beginning with Piaget, and constructivist theories of learning and meaning making beginning with Dewey, Vygotsky, and Falk and Dierking's contextual model of free choice." There are learning theories associated particularly with museum learning such as Housen and Yenawine's (2001) approach based on Piagetian theory which posits that "through extensive experience looking at art there will be a development from storytelling to considering new kinds of information such as art history."

Merritt (2012) sees a future for museum education as "one characterized by self-directed, passion-based learning. Some envision a knowledge economy in which schools are supplanted by personal learning communities, where the teachers' role as facilitators is as important as their status as experts, and students and faculty engage in self-directed research and accomplish real work. In this future, museums can play a crucial role in helping learners discover their passion, providing resources and opportunities to pursue this passion and training educators in the skills of experiential learning."

Architecture of Museums: From Classical to Postmodernism



Classical: The British Museum, London



Postmodern: The Hoki Museum, Chiba

In some cases the building itself becomes the reason for people to visit as Pogrebin (2015) notes: “The Guggenheim building, of course, is a draw in itself because of Frank Lloyd Wright’s spiraling architecture.” As the museum buildings need to be understood by the visitor, some commentators draw a parallel with the understanding needed on the part of the visitor viewing the exhibitions; “understanding principles of place is crucial, so that we can make sense of the world” (Leach, 2007). The effect of architecture on the activities that take place within the buildings has never been disputed by architects although lay people may not always be conscious of this. As a result, many museums have become “collaborative, hybrid institutions that are also part community center, part contemporary art space, part digital information hub, and part city plaza” (Tisdale, 2013). Some new museum architecture often surprises, startles, and astounds. We might note that city libraries are also becoming increasingly hybridized places.

Participatory Engagement and Museum Technology

Naturally, as changes in the exterior of museums occur, so too does their interior design, as well as the adoption of new technology, which in turn drives changes in exhibitions. There have recently been many articles in popular media highlighting the deployment of technology such as using iPads, mobile phones, pens with memories and 3-D technology in museum exhibitions (Lohr, 2014). To investigate specific technologies being used in museums, in a recent study we explored innovations in 30 New York and Washington D.C. museums and found that technology serves to broadcast, augment and project information through screens and tablet devices, and engage visitors and encourage them to self-reflect and even create new identities through stimulatory quizzes, simulation machines and performances (Natusch, 2015).

More detailed analysis suggests that museums “cannot simply rely on the aura of the authentic object as a window onto the past, but must deploy multimedial technologies and performance as narrative strategies associated with art forms such as literature or film” (Andermann and Arnold-de Simine, 2013). An example of this is Google’s initiative to allow ultra-close up views of paintings, an example of technology which takes virtual museums in a different direction to actual museum visits.

What is the effect of this incorporation of technology into museums? At a curatorial level, technology has become a stimulus for curators to design exhibitions to draw different kinds of visitors and to “think further about participatory, interactive features and question prompts” (Helal, et al., 2013). Pogrebin (2015) cites an example: “...teenagers have been particularly attracted to the Immersion Room, which allows visitors to design their own wallpaper and project it on the walls.”

Technology is also helping museum educators “to create, and deliver a broad array of teaching resources, from online interactive media” and help teachers in schools to “use tools to create their own resources” (Wetterlund, 2009). These resources are not only available to museum teachers and visitors but museums going online are becoming e-learning centres, as Paquin and Barfurth (2007) put it, “virtual museums provide supplemental learning resources.”

The adoption of technology is not without its problems though. Helal et al. (2013) note that “wayfinding, increased interactivity, social media, and uploads of new content” continue to be challenges. Even while the New York Met is pushing ahead with digital exhibitions, the Brooklyn Museum has decided to invest less in its virtual identity (Lohr, 2014). Thus museum websites should be navigable following criteria of usability such as layout, hierarchy, consistency, clarity, breadcrumbs, maps, menus, and anchors (Bezerra, 2014 and Doss, 2014), particularly as these relate to the design of museum websites (Sylaiou, et al. 2014). The end result of technology should be to involve the viewer in engaging in a dialogue with the exhibition, or as Andermann and Arnold de-Simine (2012) put it, to invite museum visitors to “complete the meanings of the object-technology interface through their own emotional and experience-based responses.”

Museum Education Questionnaire Results: A Pilot Study

In addition to site visits of more than 30 museums in the U.S. and Japan visited during 2014 and 2015, a pilot study with a questionnaire for museum curators and education officers was carried out. Data was collected from two major U.S. museums (Natural History Museum in Washington D.C. and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art) and two major Japanese museums (National Museum of Western Art 国立西洋美術館 *Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan* and National Art Center Tokyo 国立新美術館 *Kokuritsu Shin-Bijutsukan*) who responded to requests to participate in the study. Some questions gathered quantitative data using a five-point scale, others gathered qualitative data using open-ended questions. Data gathered from questions asked of staff at the four museums is summarized in Table 1. Questions focused on both curatorial and educational issues.

In terms of broad commonalities, the four museums were representative examples of larger museums in both the U.S. and in Japan. The characteristics they shared were those of scale, presentation, organization and innovation. However, the U.S. museums were overall larger and had more items in storage (the Natural History Museum has 99% of its total of 149 million artifacts in storage). Websites of all museums are professionally executed and maintained, although the Natural History Museum offers through its Dashboard website the most extensive access to its statistical data and graph-generating tools offering in-depth analysis of Smithsonian museums data.

Some notable differences were also apparent between the museums. U.S. museums were in general more accepting and even welcoming of photography than Japanese museums, even to the point of encouraging selfies. But the most noteworthy difference lay in education resourcing. The two U.S. museums reported 25 to 30 permanently assigned education officers and several hundred part-time and volunteer education staff. This compares with the Japanese museums reporting only one or two full time education staff and 6 to 10 part-timers. U.S. museums thus seem to have a policy to be well resourced and have active educational and outreach initiatives in place. The Natural History Museum reported a deepening and broadening of relations between museums, schools and communities. NHM also reported that since D.C. is an international community, multilingual resources for 30 languages are offered. It addresses untraditional issues and gives a voice to discriminated minorities such as girls in science fields and African-Americans. Internationally, consciousness of culturally sensitive issues such as race and religion is important in the U.S. LACMA has many initiatives within the community, including a gallery at Charles White Elementary School. The reasons for these differences between U.S. and Japanese museums lie in space available, attitudes to education, backgrounded by cultural orientation.

Table 1 Results from Museum Education Questionnaire

	Natural History Museum	Los Angeles County Museum	National Museum of Western Art	National Art Center Tokyo
1. No. of Full-time Educational Officers	22	21	2	1
2. No. of Part-time Educational Officers	900 (including information desk)	5 staff, 80 teaching artists, 200 docents	2	2
3. Dedicated Floor space to Learning Activities	1%* (10,000 sq. ft.)	16%	2%	1%
4. Multipurpose Areas	99%	11%	5%	0.5%
5. Incorporation of Learning Theories into Exhibitions Always, Frequently, Sometimes, Rarely, Never	Always Frequently	Always	Sometimes	Rarely
6. Partnerships with Schools for Educational Sharing	Yes George Washington U. DC public schools MAO	Yes Gallery at Charles White Elementary School	Yes	na
7. Change Anticipated in Museum due to Websites and Virtual Exhibitions in 5 years Markedly, Considerably, Somewhat, A little, Hardly at all	Markedly Considerably	Somewhat	Hardly at all	Somewhat
8. Can	Yes*	Yes*	na	Yes*

Education Program be Expanded Yes, Maybe, No				
--	--	--	--	--

Table 1 summarises data from 8 of the 20 item questionnaire relating to curatorial and educational matters.

Museum officials were invited to suggest one of their most successful projects to date. The Natural History Museum regarded their Ocean Exhibition as successful within the museum itself because it derived energy from other departments throughout the entire museum. Natural History also cited their Q?RIUS project which encouraged experience of science using museum resources and theaters.

LACMA has developed initiatives that incorporate technology as a tool for art-making. The impetus for inventing these new programs was the proliferation of technology in everyday life that has bred tech-savvy audiences who desire alternative, hi- and low-tech ways of learning and engaging with the creative process. The LACMA Education department increasingly felt a need to respond to this growing phenomenon and responded by creating animation and documentary workshops for middle school students, professional development programs that help teachers incorporate technology into their classroom, as well as filmmaking and multimedia classes for adults.

The National Arts Center Tokyo reported on a digital project they had initiated: The Electronic Resource Portal called “Sou-IMAGINE” which links paintings to data about the work.

A Model Linking Social, Educational and Business Trends and Museums

Arising from the pilot study, we propose a three-component model for contemporary museums, which notes how trends in the community, the arts, interactive learning, business, and economics are forming a combustible mix to ignite a big bang in the museum universe.

The first component (Figure 1) relates to involvement on both visitor and institutional levels. Visitors may participate personally (such as engaging in a game) or in a public context (such as playing the role of a TV news reporter) as the Washington D.C. Newseum offers opportunities for. Resistance to photography is breaking down as it becomes more acceptable and even selfies (though without the selfie sticks) are actually encouraged at places such as Museum of Art and Design in New York and Newseum. And just as companies enter into joint ventures to leverage their resources, so too are museums and schools entering into agreements to support each other in educational roles.

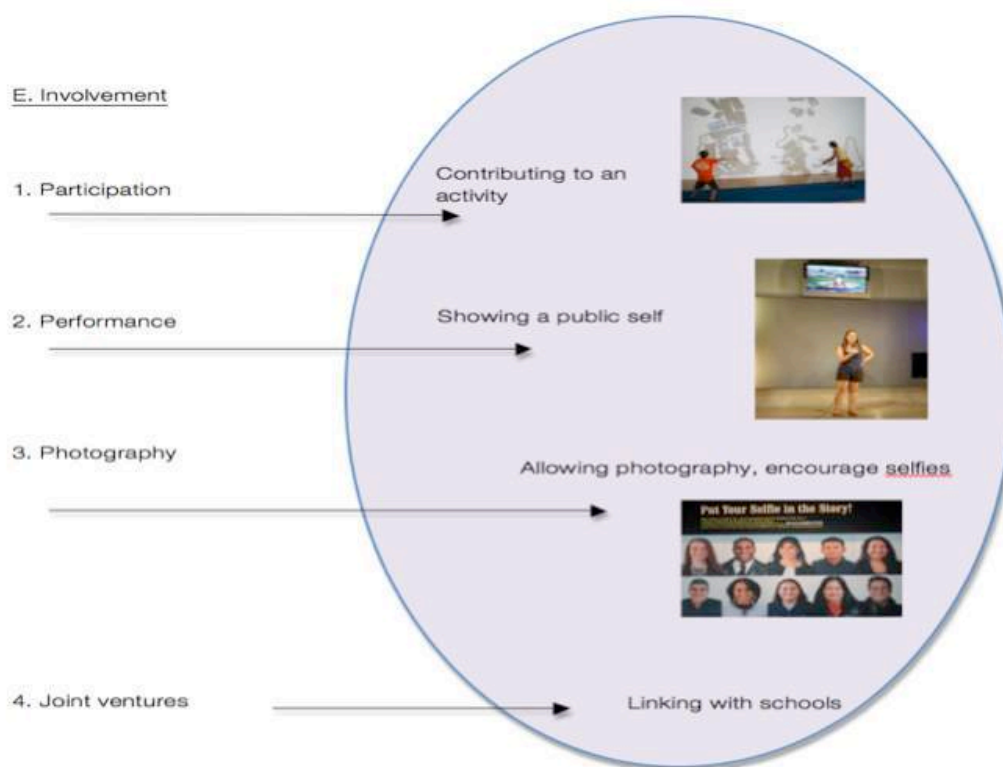


Figure 1 Involvement influences on museums

A second component of the model (Figure 2) relates to accessing the museum whether by physically walking around the exhibitions, or using a virtual museum tour. Tablets are appearing as ubiquitous devices used by museum staff such as guides to highlight exhibition features, and these, as well as cellphones, are also used by visitors themselves to navigate. Picking up, storing and forwarding information along the way is achieved through devices such as Cooper Hewitt's "The Pen" which guests can use to tap on an artifact label and have extra information sent to their email. And there is software such as purpose-designed apps downloadable to cellphones to help a visitor chart their pathway through an exhibition.

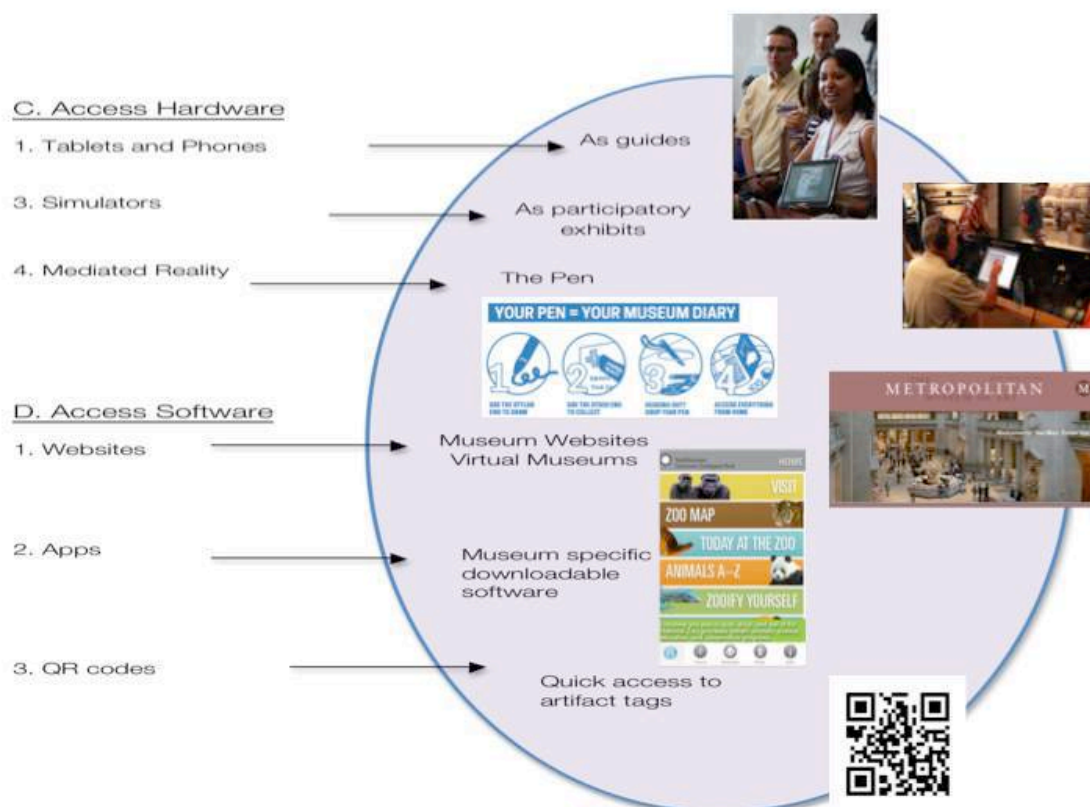


Figure 2 Access hardware and software being adopted by museums

The third component of the model (Figure 3) shows how business enterprises (both free internet services and commercial media enterprises) are impacting on museums. Examples of the adoption of free internet models are hyperlinks which can be clicked on when nearby a museum artifact which generates augmented reality tags; or the way that museum visitors can now rate their impressions and leave detailed comments on their visit in a similar way that travel sites such as Tripadvisor do. Movies on DVD often offer background interviews with the director and actors about the production, something which museums are increasingly including. Digital games are another medium being adopted in museum participatory activities.

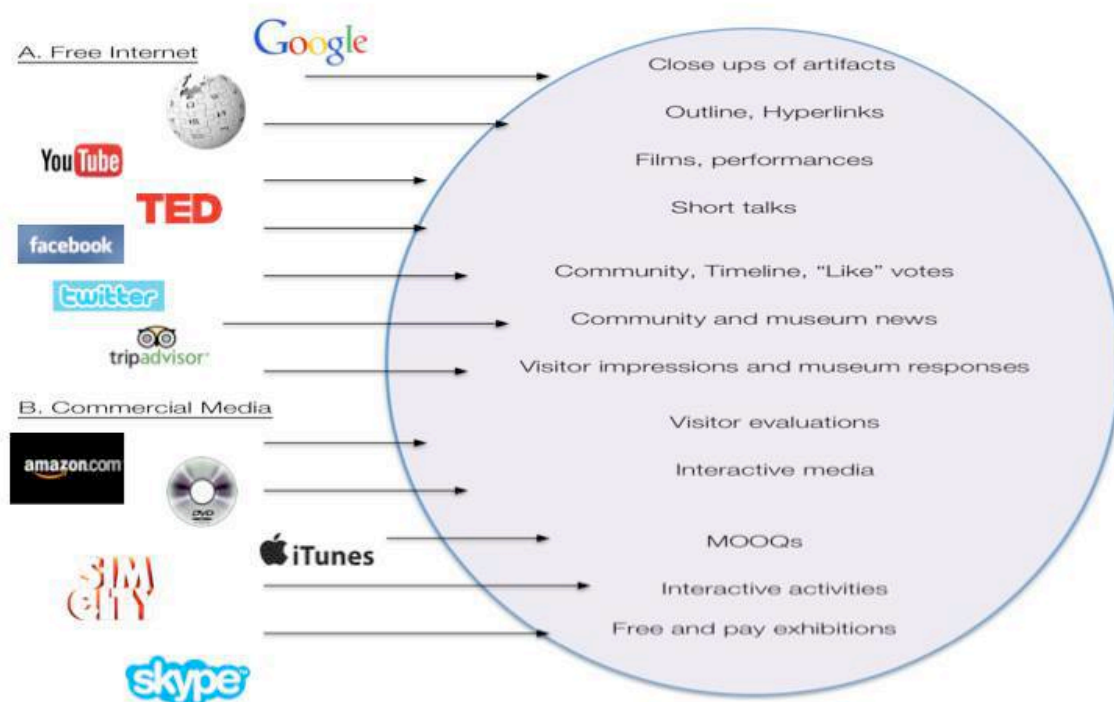


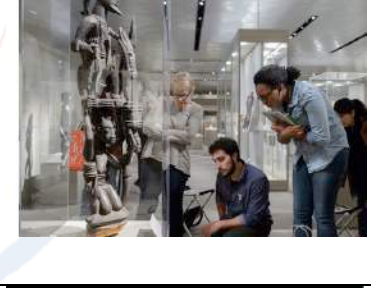



Figure 3 Free internet and commercial media influences on museums

Examples of the Model Linking Social, Educational and Business Trends and Museums

Models provide a theoretical base but the practical bottom-line question is what actual examples of this newly-born progeny of the big bang business-museum union are we witnessing? Table 2 below lists some examples. To highlight four: the 3D interactive art adventure (1) is a device adopted from the video game industry, while the online video chat (3) is an approach owing its origins to TED talks. The Twitterchats (5) derives from social media exchanges and the video competition (8) draws on the democratization of film and video-making.

Table 2 A Glimpse into the Future of Museum Education: Linking with Universities and Schools

Education Activity	Museum	Activity Goals	
<p>1. 3D Interactive Art Adventure Mini Game Series</p> <p>KEYS TO THE COLLECTION</p>	<p>The Barnes Foundation Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</p> <p>Has other Collaborations with Lincoln University and University of Pennsylvania</p>	<p>Game-based learning Avatar art collector searches for clues Goal: Find the Gold key Youth-oriented</p>	
<p>2. Interdisciplinary Digital Learning</p> <p>Art & Environment/ Youth</p>	<p>Wexner Center for the Arts Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio</p> <p>Also Collaboration with Central Ohio</p>	<p>Contemporary artists and environmental issues</p>	
<p>3. Online Video Chat</p> <p>Ask Big Questions— Conversation with Thought Leaders</p>	<p>The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York city</p>	<p>“Flipped approach”: lectures and demonstrations online</p> <p>Also events onsite</p>	
<p>4. Writing Competition</p> <p>"Words on Canvas"</p>	<p>Harn Museum of Art University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida</p> <p>Also Collaboration with Santa Fe College</p>	<p>Writing poetry or prose about a work of art</p>	

<p>5. Twitter Chats #BREAKFORART</p>	<p>Phillips Collection, Washington D.C.</p>	<p>Virtual discussion about one artwork Mon.: 1pmEST</p>	
<p>6. Online Collection Linked Open Data service</p>	<p>Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn.</p>	<p>University-wide open access to collection online including paintings, sculpture, rare books, prints</p>	
<p>7. Artists and Hip Hop Artists Joint Events Project 15 Inter-Sessions talk series</p>	<p>High Museum of Art Atlanta, Georgia</p>	<p>Collaborative live performance and dialogue event featuring artists, art scholars and hip hop artists</p>	
<p>8. Worldwide Online Video Competition YouTube Play</p>	<p>Guggenheim Museum You Tube</p>	<p>The best 25 you tube videos (selected from 25,000 entries) were livestreamed and celebrated at a museum event</p>	

References for Table 2 are listed in Appendix 1

The Contemporary Art World: Crossing Borders into Intermediality

Another implication arising from the changes in museums can be explained as a proliferation of intermediality within contemporary art as evidenced in the actual museum programs described in Table 2. Blurring the lines between art and media is a commonly accepted definition of intermediality, or as Rajewsky (2005) puts it, in a broader sense, intermedial can be explained as the “configurations which have to do with a crossing of borders between media.”

Initially, intermediality first became the focus of research inquiry among German art and media scholars in the 1980's (e.g. Joachim Paech 2010). Chief among them was Jürgen Müller's influential perspective that “any single medium harbours within itself the structures and operations of another or several other media”, which attempted during this earlier period (the 1980's) to recognize the emerging complex relationships between technology, media and “Western visual arts” (Müller, 2010).

Among the recent wave of intermediality sub-theories which have emerged in scholarly discourses, the concept that is most relevant for this study focuses on its practical application as a tool of analysis. The kind of art analysis necessary in museum education is more closely akin to Rajewsky's focus on intermediality as a “critical category for the concrete analysis of specific individual media products or configurations. In practice, this concept means that we not only analyze each medium used in a multimedia art piece, but also the relationship between the various media. In this regard, intermediality then offers museum educators, visitors and scholars a means to delve more deeply and acquire a better understanding of multimedia installations, computer and digital art, sound art and other types of intermedial phenomena.

More recently, art critic Terry Smith (2010) espouses this same view and goes one step further by adopting a new paradigm, “contemporaneity” or the “contemporary condition” to explain the current state of the art world. “Contemporaneity” exists on two levels – (1) the predominance of intermediality in artwork and (2) the escalating growth of art from diverse non-Western cultures.

Conclusion

This article has looked at a variety of factors influencing changes occurring in forward-looking museums, particularly how it impacts on education. This transformation from preserving the past through static displays to designing exhibitions based on surprise and interaction was precipitated in part by museum visitors who have prodded museums to become participatory, postmodern, intermedial and entertaining.

We have shown that museums still play a central role in storing and preserving cultural artifacts. The way that curators present artifacts in exhibitions deeply influences the narratives attached to the artifacts. Previously, the trend was to present single viewpoint descriptions of artifacts; now many museums are trying to encourage multiple interpretations. The museum educators' role is crucial in working together with curators. As museums seek to increase the number of visitors, they need to become less elitist and appeal to a greater diversity of visitors' backgrounds.

At a less profound level, some visitors will see the museum as an alternative to visiting a movie theater or a theme park. Museums cater to these visitors by dressing up educational exhibitions with the costume of entertainment. Some visitors will be expecting their own ethnic affiliations and beliefs to be represented, and not just those of the dominant culture in a community. Some visitors will be looking for non-traditional views of history, and multiple interpretations of an event to reassure themselves that they are being presented with an objective viewpoint. Given the prominent position museums occupy in communities, in terms of history, education, architecture, their education programs need to be as grounded as school curricula and syllabi. Museum curators may well be expected to be creative directors as well as businessmen but within the museum hierarchy, archivists will find their role extended to include elements of activism.

The museum visits and pilot study also revealed that at least in the United States, museums are increasingly developing their educational role by (a) partnering with schools, (b) offering resources to schools and (c) in the case of the larger museums competing with schools in formal learning leading to academic qualifications. Several researchers describe necessary steps in collaboration between schools and museums and conditions for successful collaborations” (Bobick and Hornby, 2013; Somerville, 2013; Egan and Baulier, 2015) such as preparing students for museum visits, use of professional teachers in museums, improving logistics such as crowd control, use of third-party organizations, developing formal qualifications and strengthening relations with key administrators.

Not all museums have full-time educators on their staff. Taking on the role of educator is something often taken on by curators or other museum employees, even docents (Somerville, 2013). Making the leap from museum expert to actually teaching a group of visitors is not something that comes as naturally as walking as Bartlett (2003) notes. As we have seen from data presented, the role of a museum educator becomes more clearly defined when they know their visitors, when they are informed by learning theory, and when they have competence in deploying appropriate technology.

Well-endowed museums, for example the Met, MoMA and Smithsonian museums are actively deploying extensive educational programs. These initiatives may be characterized as (a) informal learning, (b) non-formal learning such as in-museum workshops, or (c) formal learning such as online course offerings leading to a qualification in museum research, librarianship, curatorship, or art appraisal or technique.

In considering the educational role that museums are taking on, it must be borne in mind that educational programs require funding and resourcing. Although it is obvious that money is essential for survival, museums nevertheless have the capacity to enhance communities and simultaneously, “enrich the quality of individual lives” (McCarthy 2005; Weil, 2000). In the past, school parties were the focus of educational programs but now this has extended to a broader demographic of visitors.

Smaller museums lack the resources of the larger museums and follow a different approach but nevertheless shadow the larger museums’ educational developments. They increasingly offer resources to assist with individual and school visits and are attempting

to improve their websites to complement their collections. Pamela Lee (2012), comments that the speed of change in the art world “is both escalating and accelerating, appearing to turn so fast — always on the brink of its next obsolescence — that its maps can no longer be read as fixed or stable, its borders blurred at best.” This applies to all museums facing the future and racing to keep up.



References

Alexander, V. (1996). Pictures at an Exhibition: Conflicting Pressures in Museums and the Display of Art Source. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 101 (4), 797-839.

The American Alliance of Museums. (2012). *America's Museums Reflect Slow Economic Recovery in 2012*. Retrieved from <http://www.aam-us.org/docs/research/acme-2013-final.pdf?sfvrsn=2>

Andermann, J. & Arnold-de Simine, S. (2012). Museums and the Educational Turn: History, Memory, Inclusivity. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, Vol. 4 (2), 1-7.

Baudrillard, J. (2005). *The Conspiracy of Art*. Los Angeles: Semiotext.

Baur, J. (2009). *Die Musealisierung der Migration. Einwanderungsmuseen und die Inszenierung der multikulturellen Nation*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Bennett, T. (1995). *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge.

Bezerra, E.C. (2014). *Design and Navigation*. [PDF document]. Retrieved from University of Texas, EDC385G Interactive Multimedia Design & Production. [http://www.edb.utexas.edu/minliu/multimedia/Design and Navigation.pdf](http://www.edb.utexas.edu/minliu/multimedia/Design%20and%20Navigation.pdf)

Bobick, B. & Hornby, J. (2013) Practical Partnerships: Strengthening the Museum-School Relationship. *Journal of Museum Education* 38 (1), 81-89.

Brenson, M. (1998). The Curator's Moment. *Art Journal*, Vol. 57 (4), 16-27.

Brown, A. (2013). *Engaging Next Generation Audiences: A Study of College Student Preferences towards Music and the Performing Arts*. [PDF document]. Retrieved from

WolfBrown: http://media.dartmouth.edu/~hop/Overview_of_Findings.pdf

Canclini, N.G. (2001). *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Colacello, B. (2015). The Met Vs. MoMA: Bob Colacello Uncovers The Battle For Art, Prestige, And Young Trustee Blood. *Vanity Fair*, January, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/02/met-moma-museum-war>

Colley, H., Hodkinson, P., & Malcolm, J. (2003). *Non-formal learning: mapping the conceptual terrain: a consultation report*. Retrieved from Infed.org archives: http://infed.org/archives/e-texts/colley_informal_learning.htm

- Csikszentmihályi, M. (1996). *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*, New York: Harper Perennial.
- Doss, Glen. (2014). *Designing Effective Web Navigation*. [PDF document]. Retrieved from Towns University, Center for Applied Information Technology: http://gdoss.com/web_info/web_navigation.pdf
- Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and Education*. Indiana: Kappa Delta Pi.
- Earle, W. (2013). Cultural Education: Redefining the Role of Museums in the 21st Century. *Sociology Compass*. Vol. 7, Issue 7, 533–546.
- Egan, S. & Baulier, M. (2015). Purposeful Praxis: Reflections on a School Partnership. Retrieved from Art Museum Teaching Forum: <http://artmuseumteaching.com/category/teaching-tools/>
- Eisner, E., Waller, B. & Dobbs, S. (1986). *The Uncertain Profession: Observations on the State of Museum Education in Twenty American Art Museums*. Studies in Art Education. Los Angeles: Getty Center for Education in the Arts.
- Ellis, R. (1995). Museums as change agents. *Journal of Museum Education*, Spring Summer, 14-17.
- Eraut, M. (2000). Non-formal learning, implicit learning and tacit knowledge. In F. Coffield (Ed.), *The Necessity of Informal Learning*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Falk, J. and Dierking L. (2000). *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Filler, M. (2014). MoMA loses face. [Weblog comment] Retrieved from: <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/jan/14/moma-loses-face/>
- Garcia, B. (2012). What We Do Best: Making the Case for the Museum Learning in its Own Right. *Journal of Museum Education*, Volume 37, (2), 47-56.
- Gardner, H. (1993). *Frames of mind: The theory of multiple intelligences*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giridharadas, A. (2014, August 7). Museums See Different Virtues in Virtual Worlds. *The New York Times*, p. C19.
- Hall, S. (1996). Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies. In D. Morley, & K.H. Chen, K.H. *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies* (261-274). London: Routledge.

- Hein, G. 1998. *Learning in the Museum*. London: Routledge.
- Helal, D., J. Ancelet, and H. Maxson. (2013). Lessons Learned: Evaluating the Whitney's Multimedia Guide. Museums and the Web 2013: Retrieved from Portland, OR: Archives and Museum Informatics: <http://mw2013.museumsandtheweb.com/paper/lessons-learned-evaluating-the-whitneys-multimedia-guide/>
- Housen, A. and Yenawine, P. (2001). *Guide to Museum Visits*. Retrieved from <http://www.vtshome.org/research/articles-other-readings>
- Hudson, Kenneth, (1998). The museum refuses to stand still. *Museum International: Fiftieth anniversary issue*, Vol L, (1). [PDF document]. Retrieved from unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001105/110513e.pdf
- Huysen, A. (1995). *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. London: Routledge.
- Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Leach, D.B. (2007). Dynamic Museum Place: Exploring the Multi-Dimensional Museum Environment. *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 32, (3),199-209.
- Lee, P. (2012). *Forgetting the Art World*. MIT Press.
- Levin, M. (2002). Museums and the Democratic Order. *Wilson Quarterly*, 2: 52-65.
- Livingstone, D.W. (2001). Adults' Informal Learning: Definitions, Findings, Gaps and Future Research. Retrieved from Toronto: OISE/UT (NALL Working Paper No.21): <http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/depts/sese/csew/nall/res/21adultsifnormallearning.htm>
- Lohr, S. (2014, October 23). Museums Morph Digitally: Met and Other Museums Adapt to the Digital Age. *The New York Times*, p. F1.
- Lyotard, J-F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Maciejunes, N. (2014). Director's Perspective: A Changing Paradigm. Retrieved from Museum Education Roundtable: <http://museumeducation.info/jme/summer-2014>
- Maleuvre, D. (1999). *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Marstine, J. (2006). *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Mayer, M. 2005. A Postmodern Puzzle: Rewriting the Place of the Visitor in Art Museum Education. *Studies in Art Education*, Vol. 46, (4), 356-368.
- McCarthy, K. F., Ondaatje, E. H., Brooks, A., & Szántó, A. *A Portrait of the Visual Arts: Meeting the Challenges of a New Era*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg290pct> .
- Melby, Caleb. (2013). *Leonard Lauder's \$1.1 Billion Cubist Art Gift To Met Is One Of Largest Donations In History*. Forbes. April 9, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/calebmelby/2013/04/09/leonard-lauders-1-1-billion-cubist-art-gift-to-met-is-one-of-largest-donations-in-history/>
- Merritt, E. (2012). Museums and the Future of Learning [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bCtZCQo6CFQ>
- Message, K. (2014). *Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*. London: Routledge.
- Müller, Jürgen E. (2010). Intermediality and Media Historiography in the Digital Era. *Sapientae, Film and Media Studies*, 2, 15–38.
- Munley, M. and Roberts, R. (2006). Are Museums Still Necessary? *Journal of Museum Education*, 31:1:29-39.
- Natusch, B. (2015). The Role of Technology in Participatory Museum Experiences. *Nihon University Research Bulletin*, 77, 79-99.
- Newhouse, V. 1999. Towards a New Museum. *Curator: The Museum Journal*. Vol. 42, (1), 58–62.
- O'Neill, P. and Wilson, M. (2010). (Eds) *Curating and the Educational Turn*. New York: Artbook.
- Parry, R. (2007). *Recoding the Museum: Digital Technology and the Technologies of Change*. New York: Routledge.
- Paech, J. (2010). *Why intermediality?* Retrieved from Joachim-aech.com [PDF document]. http://www.joachim-paech.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Warum-Intermedialität_Druckversion-März-2012-Copy1.pdf
- Piaget, J. (1973). *Main Trends in Psychology*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Pogrebin, R. (2015). Museums Seek to Lure, Then Lock In, Teenage Connoisseurs. *The New York Times*, March 16, 2015, F6.
Retrieved from http://mobile.nytimes.com/2015/03/19/arts/artsspecial/museums-seek-to-lure-then-lock-in-teenage-connoisseurs.html?referrer=&_r=0

Proust, M. (1913-27). *À la recherche du temps perdu*. Paris: Soleil.

Rajewsky, Irina O. (2005). Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality. *Intermédialités : histoire et théorie des arts, des lettres et des techniques / Intermediality: History and Theory of the Arts, Literature and Technologies*, n° 6, 43-64.

Roos-Brown, E. (2013). Academic to Entertainer: The Changing Role of the Curator. *ArtCore Journal*, Vol 2, (1). Retrieved from <http://artcorejournal.net/2013/07/21/academic-to-entertainer-the-changing-role-of-the-curator-by-erinn-roos-brown/>

Skinner, S. J., Ekelund, R. B., & Jackson, J. D. (2009). Art Museum Attendance, Public Funding, and the Business Cycle. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 68, (2) 491-516

Smith, T. (2010). The State of Art History: Contemporary Art. *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 92, (4), 366-383.

Solinger, J.W. (1990). *Museums and Universities: New Paths for Continuing Education*. New York: Collier Macmillan.

Somerville, Katherine (2013). *Museum and P-12 School Collaborations and the Role of a Third-Party Facilitator*. Retrieved from Museum Studies Theses: http://digitalcommons.buffalostate.edu/museumstudies_theses/1/

Sylaiou, S., Killintzis, V., Paliokas, I. & Mani, K. (2014). Usability Evaluation of Virtual Museums' Interfaces Visualization Technologies. In *Virtual, Augmented and Mixed Reality. Applications of Virtual and Augmented Reality. Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, Vol. 8526, 124-133.

Tisdale, R. (2013). City Museums and Urban Learning. *Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 38, (1), 3-8.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1962). *Thought and language*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Weil, S. (2000). Beyond Management: Making Museums Matter. [PDF document]. Retrieved from www.intercom.museum/conferences/2000/weil.pdf

Weil, S. (2012). *Making Museums Matter*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Books.

Wetterlund, K. (2009). Keep your friends close: The history of a museum partnership and its community of teacher learners. *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 34 (1), 69-78.

Appendix 1 References for Table 2

1. <http://www.barnesfoundation.org>
2. <https://wexartenvironment.wordpress.com>
3. <http://www.metmuseum.org/events/programs/k12-educator-programs/educator-workshop-series-ask-big-questions-learning-lab>
4. <http://www.harn.ufl.edu/wordsoncanvas>
5. <http://blog.phillipscollection.org/2013/08/19/breakforart-phillips/>
6. <http://britishart.yale.edu/collections/using-collections/technology/linked-open-data>
7. <http://museum.stanford.edu/index.html>
8. <http://www.guggenheim.org/new-york/online/participate/youtube-play>

Email: bnatusch@gmail.com, berylh496@gmail.com



Multiple Identities of Media Labourers and Experiences of Creative Autonomy: An Empirical Investigation from a TV Programme Producer's Perspective

Chairin An, The University of Warwick, UK

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This paper seeks to fill a gap between existing theories of cultural work and the lived experience of creative labourers. After identifying certain limitations in mainstream theories of cultural work that are implicitly based on the image of traditional artistic labour, the paper suggests that there is a need to consider the various desires of creative workers in current creative industries. Arguing that the multiple wishes of creative workers are based on their multiple identities, the paper examines the idea of multiple identities and its relationship with creative autonomy by analysing the case of Korean television Producer-Directors (PD) in the light-entertainment genre. Finally, a new definitional framework of creative autonomy that elucidates the paradoxical and complex nature of creative production process and creative labour is suggested.

Keywords: Creative Work, Creative Autonomy, Multiple Identities, Television Industry, Creative Production process

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

It is widely believed that creative and media organisations should loosely control employees during the creative production process by offering them a certain level of creative autonomy, but these organisations should tightly monitor and manage the distribution and reproduction process of creative products (Hesmondhalgh, 2009). Recently, academic interest in cultural work and creative labour has increased, but the concept of creative autonomy remains largely dependent on the images of traditional artistic labour. In reality however, the creative industries are now typically a commercialised market environment and many believe it seems very unlikely that contemporary creative labourers will have true creative autonomy. Due to the tendency to use traditional approaches when considering the creative industry and its creative work, the ability for creative labourers to maintain a good level of creative freedom has largely been denied in previous literature. As a result, there has been little space within which to discuss the importance of autonomous creative labour in the constant development and innovation of the industry. This paper seeks to fill this gap by conducting empirical research with creative labourers in the Korean television industry.

I will begin by pointing out the limitations of mainstream theories of cultural work: due to the fact that these theories often deny the possibility of creative autonomy, this in turn leads to an inability to consider the value of creative autonomy within the creative production process. I will then suggest that there is a need to look beyond the artistic desire of creative workers and will argue that we need to acknowledge the multiple wishes of such workers based on their multiple identities. To understand the concept of identity, organisational identity, social identity, and multiple identities, I will then briefly summarise the relevant theories. In the last section, I will analyse the concept of multiple identities and creative autonomy with the case of Korean television Producer-Director (PD) in the light-entertainment genre. Finally, I will suggest a new definitional framework of creative autonomy based on my findings.

Structuralism and Denial of Creative Autonomy

To date, there has been a tendency in the discussion of the creative autonomy of cultural workers for studies to largely be based on the idea of structuralism. Indeed, most traditional views on cultural production understand creative labourers as a kind of 'artistic' worker. Naturally, within the context of highly commercialised cultural/creative industries, the possibility of having 'true' creative autonomy during the production process has been largely denied. Adorno and Horkheimer's (1992) culture industry critique has laid the foundation for criticism of the standardisation of the cultural industry. It argues that the commercialisation of the cultural industry forces creative labourers to follow industrial demands, rather than pursuing their own creative endeavours. In this sense, writers then assume it is inevitable that creative workers must compromise their level of artistic autonomy due to commercial relations.

Neo-Foucauldian views on cultural production also established negative approaches to the concept of creative autonomy with the idea of 'governmentality'. In other words, Foucault believed that the identity of individuals naturally reflects the power relationships and social dynamics within society, as identity is constructed through primary discourse within the given society. Based on such approaches, many have

understood creative workers to be a vulnerable work force consisting of labourers who are self-motivated toward the creative process. Neo-Focaudians suggested that although creative companies are believed to allow a good degree of creative autonomy to workers within the creative industries, the firms in fact have the goals of growth in productivity and efficiency, and as a result, self-motivated labourers become exploited. In this vein, many scholars pointed out that such a tendency has been linked to job instability, long working hours, and relatively low wages (Banks, 2007; Ross, 2003; Stahl, 2005).

Meanwhile, Bourdieu framed the concept of creative autonomy and the nature of the cultural industry somewhat differently. For Bourdieu, creative workers well recognise the fact that they are not fully autonomous but by maintaining the superficial image of autonomous artistic labour they understand that this in turn brings financial rewards (Bourdieu & Nice, 1980). From this perspective, a good level of creative autonomy (whether or not it is superficial) is believed to be beneficial to both the industry and cultural workers themselves, as it produces a 'belief' in art, which conceals the bare face of commercialism.

To date, these three approaches to cultural work have been primary foundation upon which the possibility of true creative freedom within the cultural industry has been denied. From such structural perspectives, it is believed that workers are implicitly guided to work more effectively and productively as their identities are constructed by reflecting the given social orders and values (Du Gay, 2007; Prichard, 2002). Furthermore, it seems that such negative views are very closely related to the traditional images of artistic workers.

Beyond Artistic Desires

Although the concepts of creativity and commerce are not necessarily polarised, in many cases, cultural work-related studies still primarily centre on the traditional views of artistic work in which cultural workers are understood to be people who produce 'art for art's sake'. Even after "the myth of genius" has been shunned (Bilton, 2010; Sawyer, 2006; Weisberg, 1986), many still believe that the creative autonomy of creative labourers is needed for individuals to express their own innate artistic creativity.

However, when it comes to the cultural production process of contemporary creative workers, the underlying thought that creative autonomy is needed almost exclusively for the aesthetic independence of creative workers does not seem appropriate. Above all, such an interpretation is unable to reflect the complex nature of the creative production process in current creative industries. Contemporary creative labourers are not a group of people who are quietly waiting for their own muse to appear; rather, creative workers produce cultural products by aiming to bring about 'communication of experience' with others through the product (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). To such creative workers, having active communication and sufficient interactions with multiple stakeholders is surely crucial. For instance, receiving feedback or praise from co-workers and audiences becomes an important motivator for creative labourers. At the same time, creative workers desire to have a good life with a good level of work-life balance and a living wage.

That is not to say that creative labourers today do not wish to have artistic independence during the creative production process; rather, after recognising the given structural conditions, creative labourers actively search for a way to maintain their artistic independence as a creative self by actualising their own self-expression through their work. Within the current commercial cultural industry, their goal may be to become successful both creatively and commercially. In this sense, the traditional concept of the aesthetic or artistic drive of creative workers is somewhat inadequate. Instead, we need to redefine the concept of creative autonomy in a way that allows consideration of the multiple wishes expressed by creative labourers through their work based on their multiple identities. In turn, this allows us to explore the continuing creative development of the industry under a highly commercialised market environment. I also believe that such an approach might enable us to find an answer that could lead to the growth of not only the industry and organisations but also individuals. It is on this basis that the present research is founded.

Understanding Multiple Identities of Creative Labourers and Their Multiple Wishes

Overcoming Dichotomies of Identity

Recently, many have understood the concept of identity at work within a postmodern frame, which considers the fragmentation and dislocation of the identity of individual workers. In general, it has been believed that a largely fragmented contemporary society will lead individuals to have a weak and corroded identity in their working process, which in turn causes employees to have a lack of stability and a meaningless working experience (Beck, 2000; Sennett, 1999).

Several new frames of identity, which consider the inter-relationships between individuals and social structures, have been constructed to overcome this dichotomy of essentialism-structuralism. As widely quoted, Pierre Bourdieu (1990) framed the inter-relationship between individuals and social structures with the concept of 'habitus'. For Bourdieu, individuals inevitably reproduce the social and cultural norms of the privileged class through inclinations that create habitus (Mowbray, 2014). It is true that Bourdieu admitted the possibility of autonomy in individual choice, but he was pessimistic about the likelihood that autonomous individuals could overturn the dominant social order. Bourdieu believed that it is hard to deny a given structure as individuals will inevitably willingly advocate the habitus having experienced the benefits of following social values and norms.

Meanwhile, other more optimistic views have also emerged, which claim that market opportunities allow individuals to have more autonomous self-expression, and the capacity of an individual to enhance a given situation will be linked to more assertive career planning and the self-growth of individual workers (Giddens, 1991). Giddens believed that autonomous and knowledgeable individuals could bring about the change and development of social structures. For Giddens, individuals are able to behave based on their own intentions and autonomy and are thus able to effect change, even though they may not be able to anticipate and manage all unknown eventualities (Ha, 2006). He did not believe that individuals could have complete autonomy, but he also resisted the idea that a given social structure automatically determines an individual's identity. From this perspective, individuals have the capacity to

subjectively construct their 'essential' identity, and in the process, they are believed to have a certain degree of autonomy to behave based on their own preferences and intentions.

Social Identity, Organisational Identity, and Multiple Identities

It seems many have agreed with the view that the identity of a person is inherently fluid (Lacan, 1987 cited in Du Gay, 1996; van Zoonen, 1998; Cornelissen, Haslam, and Balmer, 2007). Different from essentialism, in reality, the identity of an individual is not automatically constructed but formulated within various structural and individual dynamics. Thus, it can be seen that a person's identity can be changed by a given external environment, but such change is not a complete alteration of identity. Rather, it is likely to be much closer to the blending of various identities within oneself.

The idea of multiplicity can be traced back to Plato's Republic and Phaedrus. Plato observed that individuals tend to have a certain inner conflict because sometimes they desire different things at the same time. The struggles between multiple identities were also observed by Freud, and he suggested that psychological health could be achieved by achieving balance between different identities (Engler, 2013). While Plato and Freud were primarily concerned about inner psychological conflicts, Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory and subsequent studies have focused more on the interrelations between the external environment and an individual's identification process. According to social identity theory, people come to formulate multiple identities by reflecting their association with a specific group (Cornelissen et al., 2007; Haslam & Ellemers, 2006). After establishing a new social identity within a group, individuals begin to reflect intergroup behaviour and establish a sense of self-esteem when their in-group performance is superior to that of their out-group performance. Social identity theory argues that such changes in individual behaviour should not be interpreted as 'dehumanisation' or 'deindividuation', but as 'depersonalisation' (Hogg, 1996). The experience of social identity is not a loss of 'essential' identity but is a change of context within the multiple levels of one's identity.

The concept of organisational identity in Business and Management studies is also very similar to the above idea of group behaviour and multiple identities. Such views have been applied to explore how employees can be encouraged to have an organisational identity, which is often a core driving force of organisational development (Haslam & Ellemers, 2006). It is believed that once individual employees come to have an organisational identity, their desires for self-development will be linked to the development of the organisation.

However, we need to consider the fact that great differences remain between individual employees under the same organisational environment. Van Zoonen's (1998) view on organisational identity shows individual differences during the identification process and reflects the importance of subjectivity within the socialisation process. Van Zoonen's idea of organisational identity is a negotiating process between structures and subjectivity (see Figure 1). While an organisational identity reflects structural imperatives, it also reflects individual tastes and subjective factors. From this perspective, an organisational identity cannot simply be built under restrictive organisational power. Van Zoonen's flexible organisational identity model

allows us to identify the high level of subjectivity in the identification process within an organisation.

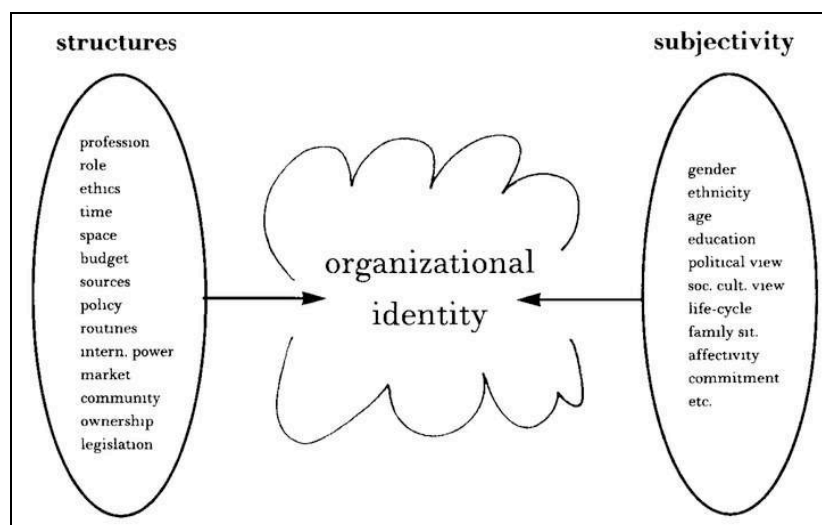


Figure 1: Organisational Identity in Journalism (van Zoonen, 1998, p. 137)

This process by which an organisational identity is established can be also applied to other types of social identities, such as professional identity. By continuously negotiating and balancing between newly emerged social identities, individuals aim to have a better quality of life.

Experiences of Multiple Identities by Korean Television PDs

The primary subjects of the current study are television PDs (Producer-Director) of the light-entertainment genre in South Korea. Due to the cooperative nature of the broadcasting system, PDs establish their career more or less by working as an employee in an organisation (either full-time, part-time or freelance). Regardless of a specific organizational type (terrestrial broadcaster, cable television company, or independent production company), it is fair to say that most PDs in the same genre experience analogous career stages to become a Main PD (see Figure 2). From the Main PD stage, they are believed to have specialised skills and knowledge, and are able to produce their own programme with a relatively high level of autonomy from idea incubation through to post-production.



Figure 2: Typical Process of being a Main PD

Based on my in-depth interviews with Main PDs, I will observe how a PD comes to formulate his or her multiplicity throughout the career development process. After entering into the labour market, the multiple selves of a PD are not automatically formulated; rather, their multiplicity is constructed through the career development process itself as PDs experience dynamic socialisation processes both within and

outside of their organisations. As a result, PDs typically have multiple desires based on their multiple identities. My aim here is not to generalise a concept of PD identity, but to create an analytical framework of multiplicity, which has the capacity to consider both the specificity of creative labour and the paradoxical nature of creative autonomy. From May 2012 to July 2013, 23 interviews were conducted with 16 Main PDs working in the light-entertainment genre in South Korea. To reflect the diverse nature of the Korean television industry, interviewees from all four types of employment were recruited: terrestrial broadcasters, cable broadcasting companies, independent production companies, and freelancer PDs. All interviewees have debuted as a Main PD with their own programmes and the average length of career was 14.4 years.

Individual Idealism about the PD Job (Before Entering the Role)

The majority of my interviewees shared that they had an interest in the PD position from a very early age. Some interviewees became interested in broadcasting through their experiences as an ordinary viewer, but a few PDs were able to observe the television production process directly via others in their family and social circle. For instance, the father of Interviewee SP (Main PD at a cable broadcasting company, 24 years) worked as a senior make-up artist, allowing Interviewee SP access to one of the most privileged terrestrial broadcasters from his childhood.

Also, there were many interviewees whose interest in a broadcasting job had arisen through the practical experience of producing an amateur programme in further education, including not only universities and colleges but also private institutions (so called 'Broadcasting Academies'). Interviewee OJ (Freelancer Main PD, 15 years) graduated from a media college where he had opportunity to experience the attractiveness of the audience reaction towards a programme.

It was an amazing experience to express my thoughts and social endeavour through video content. I made a documentary film about a disabled professor in my school. The professor was unpopular and students hated him. But surprisingly, after the screening of my film, I heard that many student audiences burst into tears. You know what, then everything has changed. The professor became such a star. It was literally a thrilling experience. And I realised that I wanted PD to become my life-long job.

Interviewee OJ

The majority of interviewees stated that they had a certain idealism about the PD role before entering the labour market. In particular, many identified the fact that it is possible to have a huge impact on both audiences and the world as one of the most valued elements of the PD role. Interviewee JP (Main PD at a cable television company, 13 years) expressed his subjective idealism in describing the ultimate goal of a PD.

I know this sounds silly, but my everlasting goal is to make a programme that has a good impact on global audiences. It would be enough even for just a few seconds; if everybody in the world could see my programme...it is my final goal.

Interviewee JP

In the later career stage, this kind of idealism is very likely to be linked to pressures on viewership ratings. Also, since PDs have such an idealistic notion of delivering

their own creative ideas through a programme, they have a tendency to seek individual satisfaction in their work. With these ideals, PD candidates willingly invest considerable amounts of both time and money in preparing to become a PD. However, at the same time, they also have a different sense of idealism concerning the prospect of a stable job with a good wage that is able to bring them a good quality of life. Indeed, many have contended that the attractiveness of creative work lures people into the cultural/creative industries (Ursell, 2006). However, from my interviews, I found that most PDs had a very practical approach to pursuing a career that is able to fulfil all their ideals.

Emergence of an Organisational Identity (AD to Ordinary PD stage)

Any occupation requires great perseverance to become an autonomous professional. It is fair to say that almost all PDs in the same genre experience a similar process of long-term on-the-job training as an AD (Assistant Director) after entering a broadcasting organisation. Regardless of organisational types, PDs in their early career stages start to learn the skills and knowledge of a PD through an apprenticeship-like training system (so-called Doje) during the AD period. Typically, in Doje training, a new recruit is assigned to an immediate superior (usually a senior PD) and the superior takes responsibility for the training. At this stage, since many ADs are in a strictly controlled working environment, new recruits learn not only the basic skills of programme making but also reflect the implicit knowledge and culture of the given organisation.

The majority of my interviewees agreed that they were disillusioned when they realised they would not be able to create a great television programme immediately. Many of them stated that they were very disappointed with their marginal roles during the initial career stages. In most cases, an AD's life is expected to be very busy and challenging due to huge workloads and poor working conditions. However, many interviewees emphasised that their disappointment at the early career stage was not about the heavy workload but their inability to make something 'real'. Indeed, for many respondents, their first moment of receiving feedback about their first opportunity to edit something 'real', which is typically a 30 second trailer for a programme, was a vivid memory. Interviewee JL (Main PD at a cable television company, 14 years) explained her experience of such a moment:

At first, I was swamped with a workload that was too heavy. But one day, they offered me a chance to make a short trailer. After editing it, their feedback was much greater than my expectation. That thrilling moment, like ecstasy...it was my main driving force. I can't forget the moment.

Interviewee JL

Interviewees also explained that they were truly happy when their first video was shown on air (even though it was very short). Interviewee EK shared her experience as:

The most memorable moment...it may be the very first moment that I saw the trailer I made was actually on TV. It was truly amazing. Although it was a really short trailer, it was just a wonderful feeling that audiences would have watched the trailer that I filmed and edited on my own!

Interviewee EK

Through such experiences, PDs start to have a tendency to describe a video clip they edited as ‘mine’, which means they begin to identify themselves with their work. During the editing process, PDs naturally express their own styles and preferences: however, this does not mean that PDs want to show their own ‘essential’ identity through editing; rather, they desire to have confirmation from colleagues and seniors that their style of making a video is acceptable at a professional level.

Having received such feedback, PDs become very sensitive to reactions to, and feedback on, their work. With the desire to receive positive feedback, PDs start to learn the shared aesthetic criteria of producing a programme within a given organisation. After identifying the ‘right’ way to edit a video clip, they begin to internalise certain organisational standards. However, from my interviews, I found that such phenomena should not be understood as the disappearance of individual idealism; rather, the tendency to conform could be identified as a temporary postponement of individual tastes and preferences in order to achieve an opportunity to do a ‘real’ thing at a later date (producing their own programme).

By using the model of organisational identity created by van Zoonen (1998, p. 137), the emerging organisational identity of a PD can be illustrated as in Figure 3. PDs come to have a certain perception of ‘us’ as they are trained through the Doje system and thus internalise the rules of the system. Despite some early disillusionment, their initial idealistic notions of the PD job do not completely disappear and this is maintained within the individual. As seen in Figure 3, the fluid nature of their organisational identity is always subject to negotiations between structures and subjectivity; consequently, their organisational identity shifts in accordance with both environmental factors and personal matters.



Figure 3: The construction process of the Organisational Identity of a PD

Emergence of a Professional Identity (Main PD stage)

In the Korean PD labour market, the debut as a Main PD is known as ‘Ip-bong’ (입봉). The length of time it takes to become a Main PD varies (from three to ten years) according to different genres and organisations. Interviewee HJ shared that it takes much longer for PDs in a bigger company to debut as a Main PD due to congestion of personnel.

Once debuted as a Main PD, individuals come to have relatively high levels of professional authority with full responsibility for a programme production. Although most PDs are working as employees within an organisation, as trusted professionals Main PDs are typically expected to be freed from direct supervision, which means that they are believed to have sufficient knowledge and skills to make a programme.

As a Main PD, PDs begin to perceive their colleagues as competitors and the gaps between individual PDs become larger. Thus, PDs must build a positive reputation within their field for excellence and uniqueness by creating a successful programme. Interviewee SL (Main PD at a cable television company, 8 years) explained his first experience as a Main PD:

After moving to a new organisation, I needed to demonstrate my ability to make a programme efficiently and well. There are certain moments that we need to build trust within the organisation. At times like that, we do not try uncertain or unique ideas or experimental things. We should demonstrate the reliability of our performance first.

Interviewee SL

It could be argued that such an experience reflects the subordinated nature of contemporary creative labourers who find themselves forced to conform to a given structure; however, many of my interviewees viewed it as another rite of passage through which they could achieve the desired level of creative autonomy as a professional PD. To attain creative freedom once a certain degree of trust had been constructed between themselves and the organisation (and the industry as a whole), it seems that they were willing to set aside their own preferences. Such behaviour also occurred in the later stage of their career, when PDs sought to build such trust again by enhancing their reputation through achievement of high viewership ratings and so on, which in turn allowed them to expand the opportunities for higher levels of creative autonomy. Interviewee BM (Main PD at a cable television company, 10 years) called this kind of mindset ‘dualistic’:

It’s a dualistic attitude. If I make a programme that leads to a higher viewership rating, I can produce what I want for at least one programme. I’d like to keep this kind of balance throughout the rest of my career. This is an attempt to raise the possibility of making a programme that I like.

Interviewee BM

In addition, the majority of interviewees had a dream proposal for programme production, which they hoped to make if external conditions became propitious. For PDs, having a great level of creative autonomy was perceived as one of the greatest rewards. To achieve this, many interviewees said that there were times when they

should make a programme for an organisation that did not fit with their own style. Although the organisational identity becomes most salient at such moments, it should not be assumed that individual and professional identities have been subsumed. Many interviewees stressed that it was important to maintain their idealism even in such environment as such idealism is the driving force for maintaining and developing their creative capacity.

In this sense, the three simultaneous identities of a Main PD can be identified: a creative producer who continually seeks individual enjoyment through the creative process; an employed labourer who attempts to successfully negotiate between their idealism and reality; and a professional who tries to defend his/her discretionary rights and to raise the level of creative freedom over the production process by maintaining high ratings. Again, the interrelationships between these different identities are subject to change according to structural and personal factors. From this perspective, a PD's multiple identities are also inherently fluid. PDs learn to balance various factors across their multiple selves to achieve a good level of creative autonomy (see Figure 4).

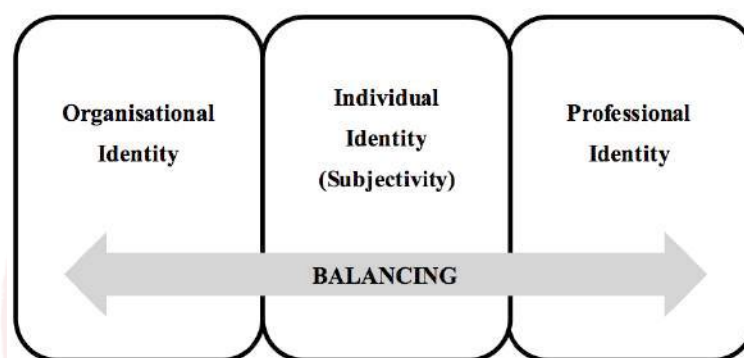


Figure 4: The Three Identities of a PD

Concluding Remarks

Proposing a New Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy

Based on the idea of the multiple identities of creative workers, an ideal-typical model of creative autonomy can be suggested. As seen above with the case of television PDs in South Korea, the multiple identities of creative labourers are not formulated automatically but constructed throughout the career development process. Given the degree of variety in the creative industries, it may not be easy to generalise the path of a creative career, but Jones' (1996) articulation of the four stages of a project-based career appears to provide a model of the typical career path of creative work. Jones identified the career stages as: *beginning*, *crafting*, *navigating*, and *maintaining*. After entering into the job market (*beginning*), creative workers acquire necessary skills and knowledge through long-term on-the-job training (*crafting*). By the *navigating* stage, creative labourers continue the development of specialised skills to establish a positive reputation within their field. At the *maintaining* stage, creative labourers should not only act as a trusted professional but also maintain a good balance between

their professional, organisational, and personal lives. With the case of a PD's career trajectory, each career development stage and its relationship to each type of autonomy can be mapped as in Figure 5.

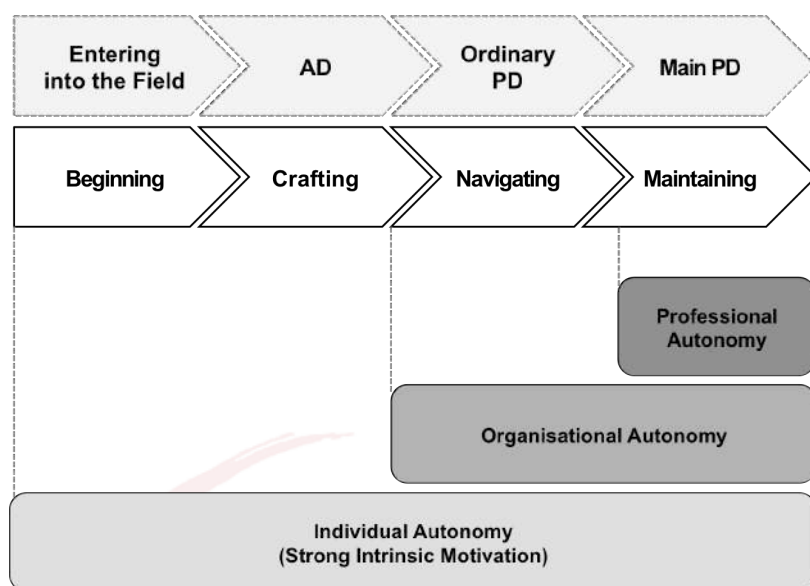


Figure 5: A New Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy

Through this new concept of creative autonomy, we may be able to understand continuous innovation and creative development within today's highly commercialised creative industries. Although many have argued that individual creative workers subsume the value of their work to the given industrial structure, the core value of the creative industry still relies on individual creativity and intrinsically motivated creative labourers. If we are able to expand our view beyond the fixed image of creative work as artistic labour, and to recognise the various desires that creative labourers have in their work, we will be able to understand the industry and the nature of the creative production process through a more realistic and practical lens. As such, I believe we may then be able to identify the possibility of co-development of individuals, organisations, and the whole industry.

References

- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1992). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. London: Verso.
- Banks, M. (2007). *The politics of cultural work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Beck, U. (2000). *The brave new world of work*. Cambridge; Malden, Mass.: Polity Press.
- Bilton, C. (2010). Manageable creativity. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(3), 255-269. doi: 10.1080/10286630903128518
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Nice, R. (1980). The production of belief: contribution to an economy of symbolic goods. *Media, Culture & Society*, 2(3), 261-293. doi: 10.1177/016344378000200305
- Cornelissen, J. P., Haslam, S. A., & Balmer, J. M. T. (2007). Social Identity, Organizational Identity and Corporate Identity: Towards an Integrated Understanding of Processes, Patternings and Products. *British Journal of Management*, 18, S1-S16. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8551.2007.00522.x
- Du Gay, P. (2007). Organizing identity persons and organizations 'after theory'.
- Engler, B. (2013). *Personality Theories*: Wadsworth Pub Co.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity : self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Ha, S. (2006). *Two Faces of Globalisation: Bourdieu and Giddens (in Korean)*. Seoul, Korea: Kimyoungsa.
- Haslam, S. A., & Ellemers, N. (2006). Social Identity in Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Concepts, Controversies and Contributions *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology 2005* (pp. 39-118): John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2009). *The cultural industries*. Los Angeles [u.a.]: Sage.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., & Baker, S. (2010). *Creative labour : media work in three cultural industries*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hogg, M. A. (1996). Intragroup Processes, Group Structure and Social Identity. In W. P. Robinson & H. Tajfel (Eds.), *Social groups and identities : developing the legacy of Henri Tajfel*. Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Jones, C. (1996). Careers in Project Networks: The Case of the Film Industry. In M. B. R. D. M. Arthur (Ed.), *The boundaryless career : a new employment principle for a new organizational era* (pp. 58-75). New York: Oxford University Press.

Mowbray, J. F. (2014). Autonomy, Identity and Self-knowledge: A New 'Solution' to the Liberal-Communitarian 'Problem'? In D. Kinley, W. Sadurski & K. Walton (Eds.), *Human rights : old problems, new possibilities*.

Prichard, C. (2002). Creative Selves? Critically Reading 'Creativity' in Management Discourse. *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 11(4), 265-276. doi: 10.1111/1467-8691.00258

Ross, A. (2003). *No-collar : the humane workplace and its hidden costs*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Sawyer, R. K. (2006). *Explaining creativity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sennett, R. (1999). *The corrosion of character : the personal consequences of work in the new capitalism*. New York; London: W.W. Norton.

Stahl, M. (2005). Non-Proprietary Authorship and the Uses of Autonomy: Artistic Labor in American Film Animation, 1900–2004. *Labor*, 2(4), 87-105.

Ursell, G. (2006). Working in the Media. In D. Hesmondhalgh (Ed.), *Media Production* (pp. 134-171). Maidenhead, England ; New York: Open University Press.

van Zoonen, L. (1998). A professional, unreliable, heroic marionette (M/F: Structure, agency and subjectivity in contemporary journalisms. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1(1), 123-143. doi: 10.1177/136754949800100108

Weisberg, R. W. (1986). The Myth of divergent thinking. In R. W. Weisberg (Ed.), *Creativity : genius and other myths*. New York: W.H. Freeman.

Examining Identity Formation of Third Culture Kids Through Transnationalism Experience

George Amurao, Mahidol University International College, Thailand

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Globalization has resulted in the significant migration of workers and their families, either parents bringing along their children, or reuniting with them in their host countries, or workers settling down in their host countries and raising their families (Ittel, 2012). These children, called Third Culture Kids (TCK) or “Global Nomads” (Sheard, 2008) comprise a group of individuals who are considered culturally unique. One of their characteristics is travelling with their expatriate parents in several countries and growing up in cultures other than their so-called “passport culture.” Bonebright described them as combining “portions of both their home culture and the host culture, building a new cultural identity that reflects all their experiences without developing a sense of belonging to any single culture.” (2010, 52)

As a result, they develop a third culture, or as Sheard further amplified, a “culture within a culture” (2008, 31).

These children, added Bonebright (2010) are usually children of military personnel, diplomats, businessmen with business interests abroad, and missionaries. In recent years, media representatives and technical aid workers were added in the list of TCK parents.

Some general characteristics of TCKs based on surveys include:

- 90% feel "out of sync" with their peers.
- 90% report feeling as if they understand other cultures/peoples better than the average American.
- Linguistically adept
- More welcoming of others into their community.
- Lack a sense of "where home is" but often nationalistic.
- Some studies show a desire to "settle down" others a "restlessness to move." (“What is a Third Culture Kid”)

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Regional Migration Trends

A good backdrop for this study would be a glimpse into regional migration trends. In a general sense, migration usually denotes migrant workers seeking greener pastures. There are migrants, however, who settle in another country and raise a family either with a spouse from the host country or someone from the passport country.

Indonesia is a major sending country in Asia (ranked at no. 9) with Saudi Arabia and Malaysia being the leading destinations for its migrant workers. Total number of migrant workers reached a peak in 2008 with 748, 825 according to government statistics. Vis-à-vis these migration figures are the numbers of Indonesians who settle permanently in other countries, notably its two immediate neighbors, Malaysia and Singapore. Studies showed that the population of Indonesians who become either citizens or permanent residents in Singapore was pegged at 54,404 in 2010, almost double of the 29,314 accounted for in 2000. On the other hand, Indonesians account for the more than half of 1.38 million Malaysians born in foreign countries. Studies have also shown that a significant number of Indonesians are marrying people from other countries. One study showed that many Indonesian-Taiwanese and Indonesian-Vietnamese couples are getting married (Aris & Nurvidya Arifin, 2014).

With these trends, it is clear that there would be a growing population of Indonesian TCKs born out of cross-cultural parents and growing up in a host country.

Another example worth noting is that of Filipinos. The Philippines stands as among the top migrant-sending countries in the world. It is reported that 10% of the Philippine population, translated to 10.5 million Filipinos, are migrant workers (Casco, 2013).

For purposes of this study, it has been noted that majority of Filipinos who raise families abroad can be categorized as either engaging in “family reunification” or in “international marriages.”

Majority of these family reunification takes place in the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries considered as traditional immigration countries.

On the other hand, in recent years, it has been found that of 333,672 Filipinas who have foreign spouses, 30% are married to Japanese nationals while 41% have American spouses. The rest have South Korean, Taiwanese, and Chinese husbands and have settled in their respective husband’s countries (Zosa & Orbeta, 2009).

Identity Formation

Any discussion of migration and migrants would inevitably be incomplete without a review of national identity. What is national identity? What factors comprise it? Poole (1999) asserted that national identity is constituted by language and culture. All aspects of culture like rituals, customs, myths and others find expression and propagation through language. “The basic framework is provided by the language and cultural symbols in terms of which we become aware of ourselves and of others.” A shared language and culture then proceeds to form a platform for a shared sense of belonging, or in other words, a nation.

Migrants, once they arrive in their host country, is placed in a limbo, neither belonging here nor there, his host country or his passport country. “He is alienated from his origins but does not fit with his new environment either. His belonging to a place is either disturbed or lost altogether and he is not sure of his identity anymore as a result of this.” (Lehmann, 2012)

On the other hand, TCKs, who are brought by their parents to their host countries, attain their identity by combining aspects of both their passport and host countries/culture.

In this paper, I contend that TCK identity formation is influenced in large part by their own transnational activities involving their passport culture and, at the same time, ongoing negotiation with the culture of their host country.

Transnationalism, according to Vertovec (2009), describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all kinds of relationships and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common—however virtual—arena of activity.

Lima (2010) amplified this by writing that transnationalism “refers to the regular engagement in activities that span national borders by foreign-born residents as part of their daily routines.”

Analysis

For this study, I decided to interview two of my own children. They came to Thailand in 2006 when my wife and I decided to relocate for better employment opportunities. Paulo was 7 years old back then, and Isabelle was 6 years old.

Paulo is now at the time of writing (December 2014) a 15-year-old student in Year 10 at International Pioneers School in Bangkok, Thailand. His sister, Isabelle is 14 years old, and is enrolled in Year 9 at the same school.

It is quite interesting to note that the two respondents diverge in the development of their Third Culture. It was noted that Isabelle expressed more ease and comfort in negotiating with the local culture (Thai) while Paulo is still facing a struggle in the said area.

Isabelle says she is fluent in English and can speak fluent Filipino though she finds it hard to read and write using it. On the other hand, her Thai language skills are fair.

I can speak, read, and write basic Thai, and I find it easy to understand my friends when they converse in Thai. (I. Amurao, personal communication, 10 December 2014)

On the other hand, Paulo claims he is fluent in both English and Filipino but his skills in the Thai language is quite limited to functional purposes only, for instance ordering food.

Isabelle exhibited one of the basic signs of being a TCK, namely, feeling more associated with her fellow TCKs and having many friends from other nationalities. She had been studying at International Pioneers School since 2009, or five years now as of this writing. Aside from Thai students, she has also made friends with Indian

students whose parents have recently migrated to Thailand, Thai-Indian students, and Filipino students who, like her, have grown up in Thailand.

I find it easier and more comfortable to be around the friends that I've made here in Thailand than those that I've made in the Philippines. I think it's due to the fact that I grew up and spent more time with my friends here. (I. Amurao, personal communication, 10 December 2014)

Paulo showed the opposite sentiments, however, when he said that he is still adjusting to making friends in Thailand, at the same time still feeling close to friends he had left behind in the Philippines.

It was awkward and was quite difficult for me to interact with Thais in a normal conversation due to language barriers... my friends in the Philippines are easier to interact with as I did not face a language barrier and they are much easier to understand and socialized with. (P. Amurao, personal communication, 9 December 2014)

At the same time, it is significant to note that Isabelle feels "alienated" every time she goes home to the Philippines, her passport country.

It does feel different whenever I go back to the Philippines. I'm used to the friendliness here in Thailand. There are times when I feel more welcome in Thailand than in the Philippines. (I. Amurao, personal communication, 10 December 2014)

Paulo also reported feeling the same sensation of alienation every time he visits his passport country.

Yes, for example, whenever I go to a mall in the Philippines I would feel different compared to when I go to a mall in Thailand. (P. Amurao, personal communication, 9 December 2014)

Even though she is still in her teenage years, Isabelle now engages in transnational activities (from below). For one thing, she always asks her mother to buy for her Philippine snack food and canned goods that are sold in Philippine stores in Bangkok or in groceries in the Philippines whenever her mother or father visits their passport country.

She also said that she likes attending gatherings of Filipinos in Thailand like birthday parties or Christmas parties. At the same time, she said she feels awkward most of the time especially if she only knows a few of the people she meets in the party.

Like his sister, Paulo also likes eating snacks and other food from his passport country. He also enjoys the company of other Filipinos during social gatherings.

Yes (I attend parties of Filipinos), if possible, because it is one of the few that could remind me about my home country and its culture. (P. Amurao, personal communication, 9 December 2014)

Asked about their self-perception, the response of both Isabelle and Paulo can be surprising. They do not display yet the characteristics of a full TCK and show the development of their own identity:

Isabelle, for one, situates herself in the middle:

I feel more Filipino than Thai because of my preferences in things such as food. In addition to this, I speak Tagalog more than Thai. However, because I

grew up with several Thai friends, there is a part of me which feels Thai. (I. Amurao, personal communication, 10 December 2014)

And in a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the highest, how do they measure their being a Filipino? This is what Isabelle said:

I would say 7 because even though I've spent more years here in Thailand than in the Philippines, I still feel a sense of home whenever I visit the Philippines. (I. Amurao, personal communication, 10 December 2014)

For Paulo, he is at a stage when his cultural identity is in the midst of development.

[In a scale of 1-10] around 5-6 as I can speak Tagalog but it is rudimentary. Also, my knowledge about Philippine culture keeps me out of the loop. Thus, it makes it hard for me to make myself believe that I am a full-fledged Filipino.

I have a much stronger sense belonging in the Philippines seeing myself more of a Filipino. However, I'm beginning to lose my sense of belonging recently probably because I am not sufficiently exposed to my country's culture. (P. Amurao, personal communication, 9 December 2014)

Conclusion

Third Culture Kids (TCKs), also known as “Global Nomads” or “Second Generation,” are increasingly becoming a significant part of the tapestry of the phenomenon of migration. With the rising trends in migration not only in the region but in the world, in large part owing to economic reasons, migrants are either bringing their families to their host countries, or else settling down in a host country and raising a family there with a foreign or local-born spouse. TCKs are said to imbibe a “third culture” (hence the name) that is an amalgamation of both their parents' and host countries' culture and developing their own unique identity.

This paper explored this phenomenon and bears the contention that part of the development of said culture and identity is deeply influenced by the children's transnational experience—interactions they conduct with their friends in both countries and also activities that involve events, services, experiences and people from their passport countries.

The author interviewed as informants his two children who are themselves growing up in a host country. The interview, however brief and general in scope, shows that the two informants, despite their professed recognition of and preference for their own passport country's culture, are squarely in the middle of the typical migrant's dilemma of feeling “neither here nor there.” As they continue to grow up in a second country, with having more contacts with their classmates and friends, and with interactions with their fellow Filipinos only getting more limited to “transactions from below” and occasional visits to their passport country, it can only be presumed that should this practice continue, they would eventually develop a TCK identity.

References

- Ananta, A., & Nurvidya Arifin, E. (2014). Emerging Patterns of Indonesia's International Migration. *Malaysian Journal of Economic Studies*, 51(1), 29-41.
- Bonebright, D. (2010). Adult Third Culture Kids: HRD Challenges and Opportunities." Human Resources Development International. *Human Resource Development International*, 13(3), 351-359.
- Casco, R. (2013, July 2). Philippines Report Tracks Rise of Migration. Retrieved November 28, 2014, from <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/news-and-views/press-briefing-notes/pbn-2013/pbn-listing/philippines-report-tracks-rise-o.html>
- Internations.org,. (2015). *The Difficulty of Life as a Third-Culture Kid*. Retrieved 7 July 2015, from <http://www.internations.org/magazine/the-difficulty-of-life-as-a-third-culture-kid-15288>
- Ittel, A., & Sisler, A. (2012). Third Culture Kids: Adjusting to a Changing World. *Diskurs Kindheits- Und Jugendforschung Heft*, 7(4), 487-492.
- Lehmann, S. (2012). Transnational Identities in Michael Ondaatje's Fiction. In *Strangers, Migrants, Exiles: Negotiating Identity in Literature*. New York: New York: Routledge.
- Lima, A. (2010). Transnationalism: A New Mode of Immigrant Integration.
- Poole, R. (1999). *Nation and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Sheard, W. (2008). Lessons From Our Kissing Cousins: Third Culture Kids and Gifted Children. *Roeper Review*, 30(1), 31-38. doi:10.1080/02783190701836437
- What is a Third Culture Kid? (n.d.). Retrieved November 28, 2014, from <http://tckid.com/what-is-a-tck.html#origin>.
- Vertovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Zosa, V., & Orbeta, A. (2009). The Social and Economic Impact of Philippine International Labor Migration and Remittances. *Discussion Paper Series No. 2009-32*, 9-10.

The Empirical Analysis of Tea Price Under the Influence of Wage Earner in China

HE Chen-lei, Nanjing Agriculture University, China

LI Xing-hui, Nanjing Agriculture University, China

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

The paper reports on the variations of remuneration of tea-picking workers from 2006 to 2015. In addition, weather changes and hot social issues are combined to further explain the causes of such variations. Tea comes in a great many varieties, according to which standards of picking fresh tea leaves vary considerably, and the tea of a high quality usually enjoys an accordingly high picking standard. Since it is impossible to mechanise the production of tea leaves due to lack of standardised tea plantations, workers need to pick tea leaves manually. With the increase of labour costs and the ageing population, there appear big problems with regard to manual-picking. The income of tea-picking workers has increased from 38 RMB to 120 RMB per day in the last decade. A manpower shortage is another big issue, in which case even though employers promise a favourable pay offer, they still fail to employ adequate workers. Granger Causality Test is applied to analyse and conclude the relation between pay offers and tea prices, and at the end of this paper, some suggestions are put forward based on the conclusions which have been drawn previously.

Keywords: labor force; wages; tea price; Granger Causality Test

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

Statistical summary of 2013 tea planting and production situation made by China's ministry of agriculture has come out. China tea production enthusiasm continued to heat up, planting area and yield are both increased in 2013. Tea output value exceeds 100 billion RMB for the first time. Planting area and yield of tea sustain the growth over 11 years in China.

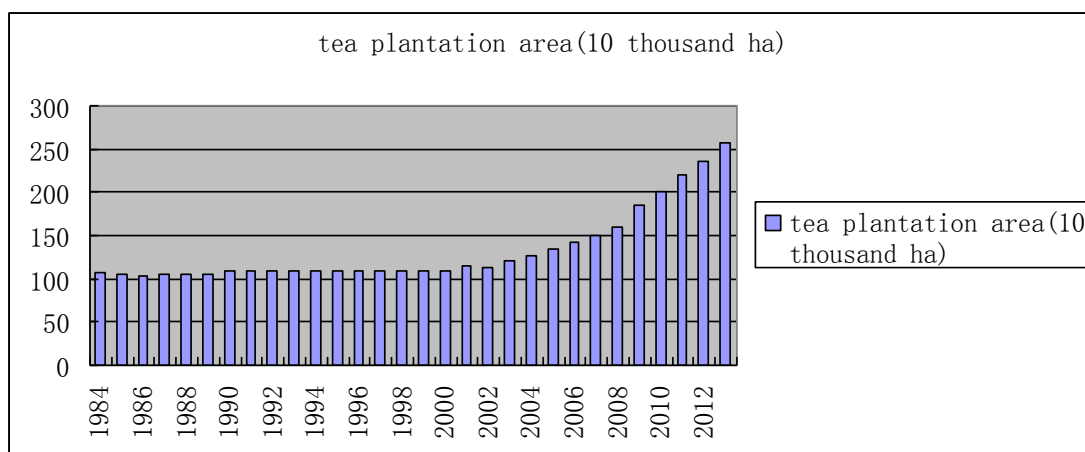


Figure 1: China tea plantation area

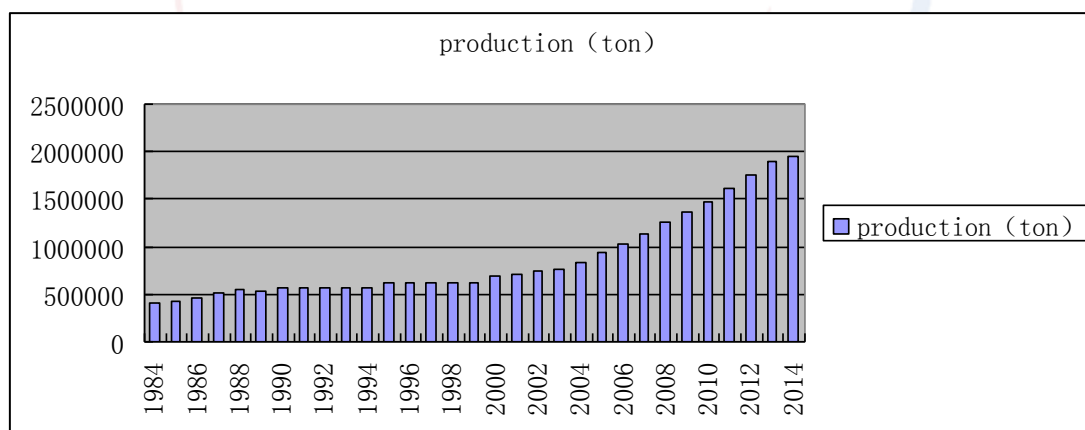


Figure 2: China tea and production

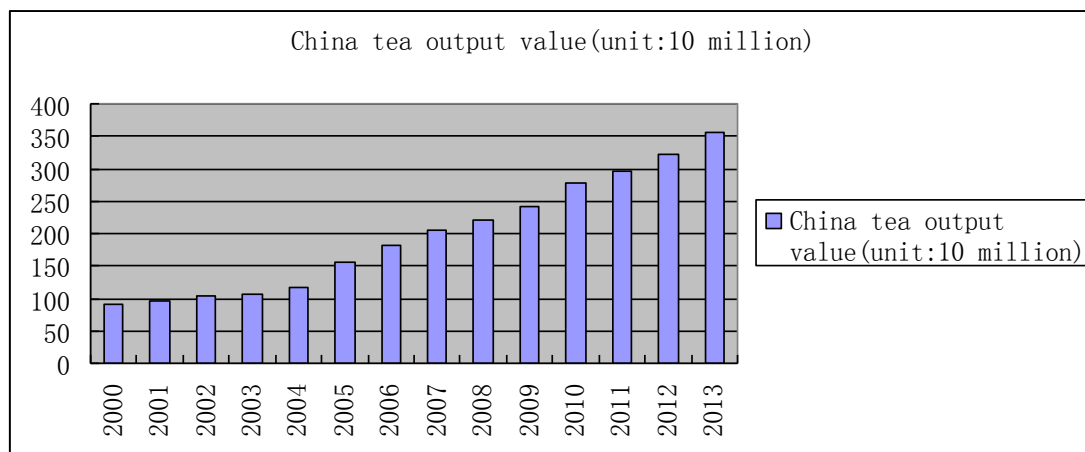


Figure 3: China tea output value

2013, tea garden area of Zhejiang province is 2.77 million mu, tea production is 156,000 tons, the output value is 13.14 billion RMB. Longjing tea production is 23,000 tons among the total production, the output value of Longjing tea is 3.68 billion RMB. In 2014, tea garden area of Zhejiang province is 2.87 million acres, tea production is 169000 tons, year-on-year growth is 4% and 8.2% respectively. Tea garden area and tea yield of Zhejiang province increase with varying degrees every year, more and more local tea farmers go out to Guizhou or Yunnan for teaplanting. 2014 Guizhou tea plantation area is up to 6.11 million mu, takes up 15.8% of the total area of the national tea garden, tea garden area in Guizhou first exceeds Yunnan province and takes the biscuit.

No doubt the continuous growth of production and plantation area, but some hidden trouble in this phenomenon has come out. Take Songyang county of Zhejiang province as an example, Songyang county has 68,962 farmers, tea plantation area is 7,822 ha, that means every farmer owns 1134 km² tea garden, 15 tea pickers per hm² is suitable. So it is impossible to finish the farm work, the labor shortage problem is more serious compared with ordinary tea. In some cases, even though employers promise a favourable pay offer, they still fail to employ adequate workers. What is the reason of the labor shortage? Is the labor shortage caused by unreasonable wage? This paper sets forth author's position on labor shortage. The labor shortage problem is more and more serious than before. If price has Granger causality to wage, price

changes first, wage changes behind. Wage has a reasonable fluctuation with tea price. But the labor shortage problem has no progress. Whereas, if wage has Granger causality to price, wage changes first, price changes behind.

Concerning to tea price, after president Xi Jinping came into power, the past tea industry relied on the government procurement extremely decrease, 90% of high-price tea commodity drop by 16.3% on price year on year, tea industry will suffer a cold winter with the deepening reform. There is still green tea of last year storing in the villagers' houses when the new tea season is coming. On December 8, 2013, General Office of The CPC Central Committee and General Office of The State Council announced the new revision of The Regulation for Domestic Official Reception of The Party And Government Organs, special local product are strictly prohibited on the list of the new revision, naturally, tea products are strictly prohibited. Indeed, the previous public funds consumption has given rise to "corruption economy", many high-end goods and high-end enterprises take full advantage of social corruption to obtain windfall. For a long time China's tea companies spend much effort on high-end products positioning their products as "business etiquette tea" in the hope of corruption. Although these enterprises are rich, but there is no denying that these companies also encourage corruption. Nowadays the days of these enterprises are hard, however this depression of "corrupt economy" is a blessing. How to adjust business model to adapt to the new market pattern allows of no delay.

Policy reasons are the appearance, the structural contradiction of supply and demand is the source of the problem. Since GDP develop alone is unsustainable, it is inevitable for China economy to deepen reform and adjust structure, also including the tea production. China turns to a population aging society, the labor cost rising year by year prompted us to go the new way like mechanization and intelligentize.

Methods and results

The data used in this paper are from China Tea Circulation Association and Songyang government reports (2010-2014 monthly average price data of SongYang southern tea

market). The wage data are collected from field research of author in July 2012 and January 2015. The original data is tea picker's wage of per kilogram tea leaves, then combined with the workers' sum of labour, transfer to monthly wage. Because the logarithmics has no effect on cointegration relationship between variables and can eliminate the heteroscedasticity, the logarithmics of the data is applied. The prefix "LN" is added to variables to express logarithmics, "DLN" means the first difference of the logarithmics variables. All the calculation are operated by software gretl. This paper is based on VAR model, the steps in detail are as follow, ADF test, Cointegration tests and Granger causality test.

Our estimation strategy is as below. First, if wage and price do not have unit roots, that means both wage and price are stationary, then we can do Granger causality test on original data. However when both wage and price are non-stationary, the cointegration between wage and price is tested. And if they are cointegrated, Vector Error Correction Model is used to test causality. But if wage and price are not cointegrated in, Granger causality test is used on differenced series.

In statistics, a unit root test tests whether a time series variable is non-stationary using an autoregressive model, if unit root exists, the time series are non-stationary. This paper uses ADF(Augment Dickey-Fuller) test, the main model related are as follows:

$$\text{Model 1} \quad \Delta x_t = (\rho - 1)x_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^p \theta_i \Delta x_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

$$\text{Model 2} \quad \Delta x_t = \alpha + (\rho - 1)x_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^p \theta_i \Delta x_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \quad (2)$$

$$\text{Model 3} \quad \Delta x_t = \alpha + \beta t + (\rho - 1)x_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^p \theta_i \Delta x_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \quad (3)$$

The null hypothesis is $H_0 : \rho = 1$. The test will start from Model 3. The result lists on table 1.

Table 1
Augmented Dickey-Fuller Test Result

Variables	Constan t	trend	Lag order	τ -stat	τ -critical value (1%)	τ -critical value (5%)	conclusion
LNPRICE	Yes	Yes	4	-1.47	-4.04	-3.45	Non-stationar y
DLNPRIC E	Yes	No	4	-6.99	-3.51	-2.89	Stationary*
LNWAGE	Yes	Yes	4	-1.41	-4.04	-3.45	Non-stationar y
DLNWAG E	Yes	No	4	-7.48	-3.51	-2.89	Stationary*

Note: include seasonal dummies,* means stationary under 1% τ -critical value.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the original time series are non-stationary, however the first differences time series are stationary. So the original time series are integrated of order 1, there maybe be a cointegration relation between them.

If there is a linear combination of integrated variables that is stationary, such variables are said to be cointegrated. For our model we suppose the linear combination as $LNWAGE_t \sim I(1)$ and $LNPRICE_t \sim I(1)$, and $LNWAGE_t$ is regressed on $LNPRICE_t$ as

$$LNWAGE_t = \beta_0 + \beta LNPRICE_t + u_t \quad (4)$$

When residual u_t is stationary, LNWAGE and LNPRICE are cointegrated. This paper chooses Engle–Granger two-step method, that is, we estimate equation (4) by ordinary least squares, and test stationary on the estimated residuals by ADF test.

In order to test cointegration we estimate equation (5) as below,

$$\log wage = -0.26 + 0.90 \log price \quad (5)$$

τ -stat for unit root test for residual of equation (5) is -0.33. Then we cannot find the cointegration between wage and price.

As we confirm price and wage are non-stationary but their first difference are stationary. In order to test causality, we construct Vector Auto Regression model for difference log as below,

$$DLNWAGE = \beta_0^w + \sum_{i=1}^k \gamma_{t-i}^{ww} DLNWAGE_{t-i} + \sum_{i=1}^k \gamma_{t-i}^{wp} DLNPRICE_{t-i} \quad (6)$$

$$DLNPRICE = \beta_0^p + \sum_{i=1}^k \gamma_{t-i}^{pw} DLNPRICE_{t-i} + \sum_{i=1}^k \gamma_{t-i}^{pp} DLNWAGE_{t-i} \quad (7)$$

The relationship between price and wage is present in a long term and not cointegration. Here we mention about Granger causality test. The Granger causality test is conducted between first-order differenced wage and price. The Granger causality test is a statistical hypothesis test for determining whether one time serie is useful in forecasting another, first proposed in 1969. The direction of the causality is sensitive to lag value. This paper use AIC to choose lag value, the optimal lag order is 4.

Null hypothesis are as below:

$$\gamma_{t-1}^{wp} = \gamma_{t-2}^{wp} = \dots = \gamma_{t-k}^{wp} = 0 \quad (8)$$

$$\gamma_{t-1}^{pw} = \gamma_{t-2}^{pw} = \dots = \gamma_{t-k}^{pw} = 0 \quad (9)$$

Equation (8) is for causality of price to wage, equation (9) is for causality of wage to price.

Table 2

Granger Causality Test Result

Variables	Null hypothesis	F-stat	p-value	conclusion
DLNPRIC E	Wage has no granger causality to price	1.65	0.0332	Wage has granger causality to price
DLNWAG E	Price has no granger causality to wage	1.68	0.0328	Price has granger causality to wage

Table 2 shows the causality test result, the p-value of F test for “wage has no granger

causality to price” is 0.033, so the null hypothesis, wage has no granger causality to price, is rejected. That is, wage has granger causality to price. Similarly, the p-value of F test for “price has no granger causality to wage” is 0.033, so the null hypothesis, price has no granger causality to wage, is rejected. That is, price has granger causality to wage.

Discussion and conclusions

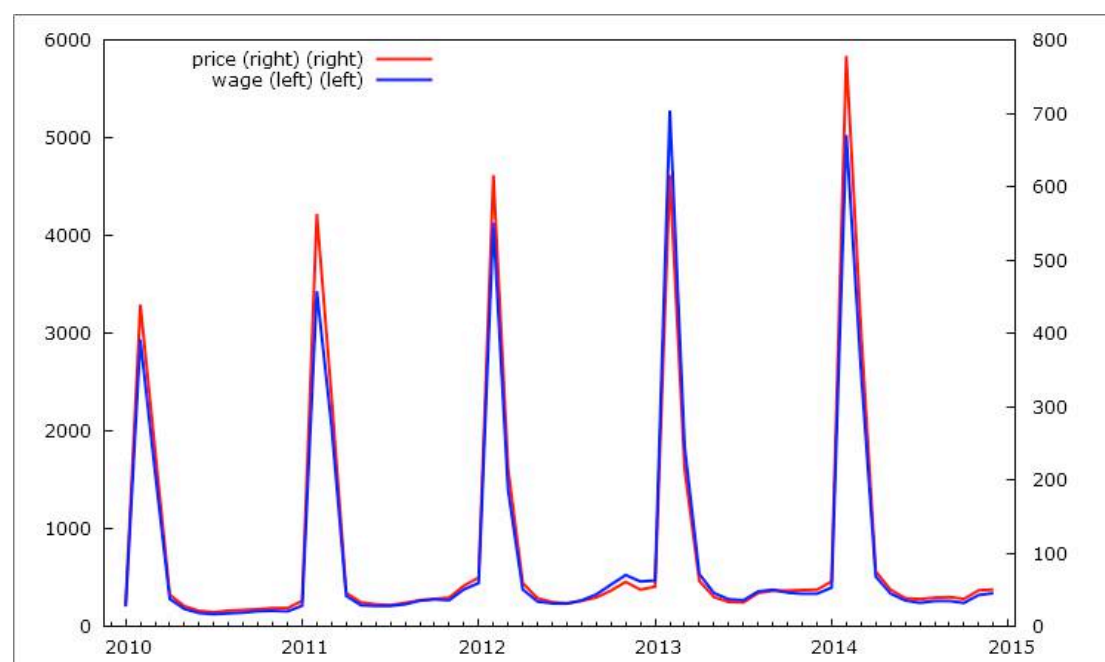


Figure 4: Graph of monthly price and wage (¥)

Price is the granger reason for wage, wage is the granger reason for price. It is uncertainty about labor shortage caused by wage. Wage has a reasonable fluctuation with tea price. But the labor shortage problem has no progress. Actually labor shortage problem exists across China. The possible reasons for labor shortage of tea industry maybe aging of population, urbanization, Lewis turning point, demographic dividend, instability, labor intensity, welfare or others.

It must be admitted that China's "demographic dividend" is indispensable to rapid economic development over the past 30 years. However, with the change of China's

population structure, "demographic dividend" is diminishing marginal benefit, the structure of the Chinese economy is faced with pressing problems.

The working-age population stipulations in China is regarded as men for 16 ~ 60 years old, women for 16 ~ 55 years old. The latest figures released from the national bureau of statistics show that China's working-age population in 2014 is less than last year by 3.71 million people, the labor population is falling off for the third consecutive year. In 2012, China's working-age population declined for the first time.

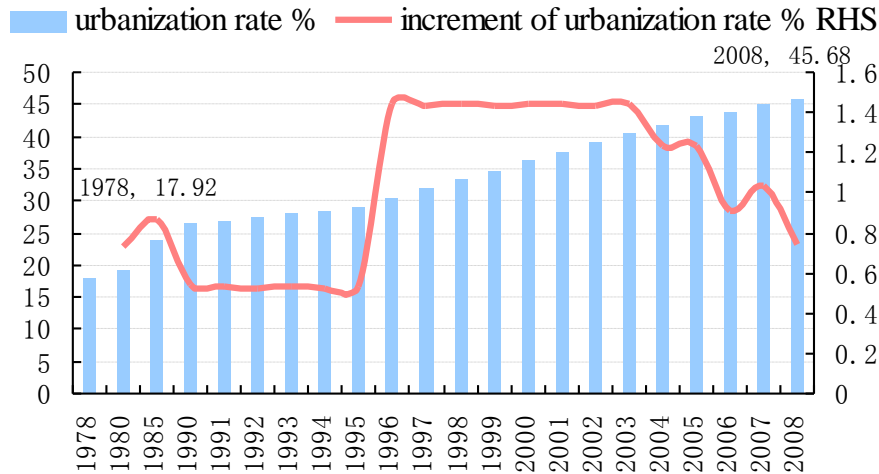
Table 3
Working-age population in China

year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Working-age population	9419	9506	9583	9668	9748	9993	10028	9372	9195	9158
	7	8	3	0	4	8	3	7	4	3

Data source: Statistical Communiqué of the People's Republic of China on the National Economic and Social Development from 2005 to 2014

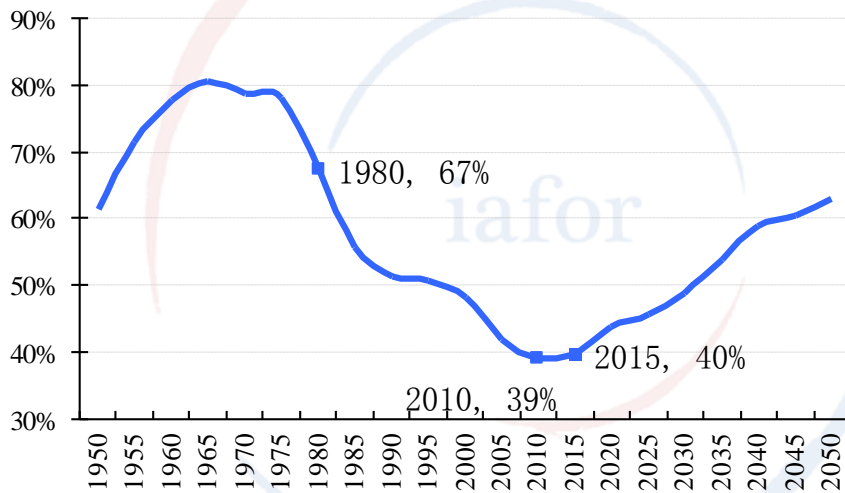
The peak of the population came in the 1960s. More than 20 million people was born per year on average from 1962 to 1974, China had accumulated 300 million labor forces during the ten years. These baby boomers become the main force to the economy development after China's reform and opening.

In 2013, the national bureau of statistics adjusted the working-age population statistics scope of 16 ~ 60 years old. The results showed that the 16 ~ 60 years old working-age population is 919.54 million people decreasing by 2.44 million people than last year. , China's working-age population has absolute decline for three consecutive years since 2012. The decline will not change in the short term.



Data Source: China NBS

Figure 5: China urbanization rate



Data Source: UN Population Prospects, 2008 Revision

Figure 6: Dependency Ratio

Urbanization rate increased from 17.9% in 1978 to 45.7% in 2008, dependency ratio has reached its lowest point in 2010 and will now increase. Urbanization attracts more rural residents to work in cities. As far as the global development, many countries are stuck in bottleneck problem of economic growth after reaching middle-income level, China has entered into upper -middle income countries by the world bank's 2011 standard. Although China is changing population policy now, it will not get effect instantly.

Instability is another fatal reason for the labor shortage problem in tea industry. It can be seen from figure 4 that the fluctuation of tea farmers' income is giant. The evaluation of the characteristics of the tea is rated in the condition of the normal production process, spring tea, a bud with a leaf and a bud with two leaves, owns good quality after winter. Therefore the price of spring tea is high and tea farmers work whole day in the spring, they just sleep a little hours everyday. Of course their income is high. However their income is not optimistic in other seasons, especially in winter. So most of the tea farmers look for other work chance in other seasons to support their family.

Suggestions

The labor shortage situation will last for a long time. China must find a way to solve this big problem in tea production of agriculture. Agricultural mechanization uses advanced and applicable agricultural machinery and equipment, improves the conditions of agricultural production and operation, constantly improves the level of agricultural production and the process of economic and ecological benefits. There is no doubt that Agricultural mechanization is a fundamental reform to solve this big problem in tea production of agriculture. However is it the right time to put mechanization out?

The types of tea are rich, and different tea has different quality standard of fresh leaves picking, especially the famous high-quality tea, which has very high quality standard of fresh leaves picking. Because of non-compliance of tea plantation cultivation, mechanization of agriculture has limitation, thus picking by hand is significant. Though the efficient of handcraft is low, the handwork is easy to learn than machine operation. Moreover, the quality of picking is better than machine without a doubt. Therefore most of China tea plantations adopt handwork picking.

Some scholars started with slogan of agricultural mechanization as early as the 1950s. Half a century has passed, agricultural mechanization has not completely accomplished in China, agricultural mechanization development in China is still stumbled by regional imbalanced.

Women tea-picking workers are in the majority. For the educated rural people choose other works, most tea-picking workers receive less education. The majority of them have an education level of only primary school, or even below. Women need to take care of children and do other housework, so they do not have enough time to meet the demand of labor.

Government should establish credit guarantee mechanism, support leading enterprises to attract social capital, encourage small plants to set up joint-stock enterprises and upgrade. Government provides the tea enterprises with subsidy and offer the tea farmers skill training. Government should safeguard that workers are given fair treatment in employment and salary and establish a sound social security system for workers. Help the workers organize themselves into supportive networks. Set up special offices or agencies at the destinations to provide services for workers. Government works as a good guider, guiding the migrant tea pickers refer to phenology from south to north.

Employers should pay more attention on workers' humanistic concern. The tea pickers often come from other provinces, they uproot themselves and move to the tea area in search of a better life. They worried about their children and hometown. Better accommodations ensure the workers to be relieved. Other subsidies are necessary to attract nonlocal workers like traffic and high temperature subsidy.

References

- Christine D. Lasco, Robert J. Myers, Richard H. Bernsten. (2008). Dynamics of rice prices and agricultural wages in the Philippines. *Agricultural Economics* 38(2008), 339-348.
- F. Cai. (2010). Demographic Transition, Demographic Dividend, and Lewis Turning Point in China. *Economic Study* 4, 4-15.
- C.W.J. Granger. (1969). Investigating Causal Relations by Econometric Models and Cross-spectral Methods. *Econometrica* 37(3), 424-438.
- J.H. Qi, L. Ju. (2007). Regulation and FDI Location- co-integration and Granger Test Based on China's Data of 1985~2004. *Finance and Trade Research* 3, 10-31.
- X.L. Zhu. (2007). The Initial Pursuing of China Agricultural Mechanization in 1950's. Hefei: University of Science and Technology of China.
- J.X. Song, W.J. Yin, D.X. Li. (2013). The Influence of Commodity Prices Caused by Rising Labor Costs. *The World of Survey and Research* 4, 3-6.
- J.C. Xia, H. Qu. (2013). On Relationship Between Domestic Tourism Consumption and Income of Rural Residents in China- An Analysis Based on Cointegration Test and Granger Causality Test Using Data From 1994 to 2010. *Journal Beijing International Studies University* 213(1), 10-17.
- G.M. Xu, J.H. Qi, L. Ju. (2007). Labor Immigration, International Trade and Adjustment of Industrial Structure: Cointegration Analysis and Granger Test Based on the China's Data from 1984 to 2004. *China Industrial Economy* 232(7), 22-28.
- Contact email:** hechenlei1992@foxmail.com



Who Makes the Garden? (The Comparison Between <Sakuteiki> And Ancient Chinese Documents)

Wang Xin, Southeast University, China

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Tachibana Toshitsuna(橘俊纲), the author of <Sakuteiki>(Records of Garden Making), lived in the middle and later period of Japanese Heian Age. A further understanding of ancient Chinese and Japanese gardens may be acquired through the study of writer and his time, as well as of the comparison between other garden monographs such as <yuan ye>(The Craft of Gardens), or of the historical background of other Garden Makeing activities. Whoever dominate the Garden Makeing will decide its outer form and inner theory foundation, the construction of the garden will reflect its relationship with the society.

Keywords: <Sakuteiki(作庭记)>(Records of Garden Making); <Yuan Ye(园冶)>(The Craft of Gardens);Fixed Mode(成法); Taboos; Zhu Qiqian(朱启钤); Yangshi Lei(样式雷)

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

This essay makes a textual study on <Sakuteiki>, which is taken from <The Study on Translation and annotation of Sakuteiki>, authored by Pro. Zhang Shiqing. At the very first of this book, it quotes "many of the ancient books and records were reserved because of Xu Fu's eastward voyage" from <Japanese Sword Poem(日本刀歌)>, authored by Ouyang Xiu, so as to emphasize on the significance of international exchange to academic research. In modern China, the establishment of architecture research also stands on the shoulder of relevant theoretical research in western countries. Mr. Zhu Qiqian, founder of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, has made a wonderful summary on it: "Thanks to our friendly neighbour on the east side, our cultural relics are preserved.....owing to our friendly neighbour on the west side, we are passed on the knowledge of scientific methods"[1]. Thanks to the whole human achievement at that time, the discipline of architecture was able to be established in Modern China, and has made brilliant achievements.

As a matter of fact, how could we deny that our Chinese Civilization maintains its vitality by absorbing the essence of external cultures? Our Chinese Nation is forged through continuous cultural fusion. From the beginning, Chinese Culture is centered on self-improvement and self-renewal: "If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day and let there be daily renovation(苟日新，日日新)", "Although Zhou was an ancient country, its mission was to reform.(周虽旧邦，其命维新)" Interiorly, words like "eastern countries, far or near, were deprived of silk-like cloth by Zhou(小东大东，杼轴其空)" have made a record of how Chinese Civilization thrived from intermittent pain of cultural integration. In foreign relations, from the legendary tale of Xi Wangmu and Fairy Mountains to actual transactions such as the silk road, etc.--constant communication has brought in new blood so as to provide for the well-being and vigor of our culture. All of these have facilitated the robust and splendid Chinese Civilization. Apparently, the core of Chinese Culture is tolerance to diversity. In this way, <Sakuteiki>, a record of Garden Making activities at Japanese Heian Age, has entertained a research value beyond the text itself concerning its close relation with traditional Chinese Culture.

1 . Does the "Fixed Mode" Exist?

Tachibana Toshitsuna (1028-1094), the author of <Sakuteiki>, was the son of Fujiwara Yorimichi, who ruled Japan by taking over the position of Fujiwara Michinaga. <Sakuteiki> was produced in such a time when Japan attempted to develop its own culture by absorbing and digesting Chinese Culture. Consequently, it can be found out in this book the outlook of gardens at Japanese Heian Age, techniques in Garden Making as well as its architectural skills, which mirrored parts of the earlier Chinese gardens. It also reflected how different social patterns casted influence on Garden Making. A further study on this book would help us to explore the social factors affecting the Chinese ancient gardens, and make a further analysis on their final forms under the influences.

[1] See page 20 in bibliography 4.

As the most magnificent book on garden making in ancient Japan, <Sakuteiki> was frequently compared with <Yuan Ye>, a prominent one in ancient China. The most eye-catching difference between these two writings was that <Sakuteiki> concentrated on techniques while <Yuan Ye> was opposite.[2] Early in the Ming Dynasty, Zheng Yuanxun briefly summarized: "there is no fixed modes in Garden Makeing." [3] when making inscription for <Yuan Ye>. He points out the essence of Garden making: deviates itself from the rigid stereotype in order to satisfy people's daily requirements of being leisurely comfortable and close to nature. In <Yuan Ye>, the author stressed on the appreciation and usage of gardens and inner architectures; he sort out the basic points that would influence the natural beauty of garden for analysis, and emphasized on "hill making" and the application of borrowed scenery. The book also relates to some specific circumstances, and architectural details schema. As for the part of garden designing and the implementation of technical details, the writer put it down to "no fixed modes". If we make a comparative study on these two writings from whether "fixed modes" exists or not, we might as well draw into the conclusion that the core of <Yuan Ye> lay in unifying readers' understanding of gardens so that they may be consistent in their tastes and interests. As a result, it provided a platform for a further discussion within garden lovers or we say readers from upper class expected by the writer. As for the issue of construction, it was for the case designers to think about. In consideration of the political demands of Ruan Dacheng, who was the initial infuser of <Yuan Ye>, we would not exclude the possibility that the intention in creating <Yuan Ye> had something in common with Ruan writing <The Swallow Note (燕子笺)>. Namely, the aim of <Yuan Ye> was to seek the cultural identity in target readers so as to further achieve the social objectives. And it is very differently from the target of <Sakuteiki>, which was to give guidance in practice. If a reader draw into the undoubted conclusion that "there is no fixed mode in Garden Makeing", just out of a book without considering practicality, then the rationality of this thing is worth suspicious.

Then is there a "fixed mode" in garden makeing? <Sakuteiki> is a case that challenges the saying of <Yuan Ye> because it is exactly focused on "fixed modes". The garden described in <Sakuteiki> has a fixed formula. It is a significant component of the noble mansion featured by "shinden-zukuri". It is described in this book the layout of south court, the designing of the water level and landscape on the court, the arrangement and skilled handling of stones, as well as the formation and designing of water and islands, all of which are highly applicable. It is no wonder that <Sakuteiki> is taken as being more like a technical monograph than <Yuan Ye> by most of the readers. The most impressing part is the waterscape designing, which is made possible by the proper handling of the landforms, such as rock banks on which the water bodies depend. For example, landscapes with a variety of styles will be made out by organizing the final shape of a waterfall with the application of water and stones, summarizing the features of waters and islands with various-typed water bodies and making simulations. Generally, the essence lies in using stones to restrict water flows. Namely, stones, being tangible, can served as edges so that water, being intangible, can be held within control. It can be found in <Sakuteiki> the theoretical

[2] See Wang Jin-tao <The Comparative Study of Yuan Ye and Treatise on Garden Design>: "<Yuan Ye> is for literary appreciation while <Sakuteiki> is for practical technology." Issued on <Chinese Garden>, the third session of 2010.

[3] Zheng Yuanxun's inscription .see page 37 in bibliography 2.

conclusion: "water is shaped by its surroundings". [4] In China, it is the skill that spreads among craftsmen, while the <Yuan Ye>'s target readers, scholar-officials, would not involve any of this. In Japan, Karesansui, devoid of water, naturally comes into being with the maturing of this theory. Since the waterscape can be made by the outlining in the confinement of water, it doesn't matter whether there is water or not. Generally speaking, <Yuan Ye> stresses on "no fixed modes". It focuses on grasping the garden essence, points that help the viewer to appreciate the beauty of the garden. While <Sakuteiki> concentrates on "fixed modes". It is a summary book based on plenty of experience in Garden making. Under the guidance of detailed procedures and practical skills, constructors may get to know how to make a garden. In fact, gardens, architectures, as well as paintings, they are all final products that provide service for a specific group of people. In order to achieve the ideal effect, they will be more or less stylized tendency, refines the theory or inspection techniques, which is determined by the fact that people accumulate experience in similar production activities. In this way, the value of "fixed mode" is highlighted. By the simple and plain records of Garden Making activities, <Sakuteiki> displays the "fixed mode" is possible to exist under certain background conditions. The "fixed mode" is the practice skills summary and guidance, is also a significant part which contributes to the forming of a garden under craftsmanship. While it is deliberately avoided in <Yuan Ye> because of the writers' thinking that it may diminish the sense of mystery in gardens.

2. Taboos & Symbolic

Concerning the techniques by making use of stones to confine the flow of water, we can find its unique meaning in <Sakuteiki>: "let the soil being the emperor, the water being its subject, the soil may give way to the incoming of water and also stop the running of it." It is a vivid expression embodied with specific culture connotations. It is more of a realistic record of the political situations in Japan where the relationship between emperor and ministers is distinctive in nature, than an analysis on the process through which Japanese culture absorbs the humanism values in traditional Confucian Culture. We may find out that the garden art in its latter period has developed into Karesansui, which is of no actual use. Just like in the political field, the monarchy did not have real power. This association appears to be quite interesting. [5]

Whoever makes a comparative study on <Sakuteiki> and <Yuan Ye> would point out that taboos in <Sakuteiki> are large in number while in <Yuan Ye> they are barely found. [6] The formation of this difference is hard to know. The taboos in the narration and records of <Sakuteiki> have a complex and large system within which a plenty of detailed rules are mentioned. It attaches theory-based different meanings to each element included in Garden Making activities. [7] This difference is seemingly worth further analyzing from the perspective of the cross-culture communication between China and Japan.

[4] See page 112 in bibliography 1.

[5] See P12 in bibliography 1, quote <the Senzai Hisshō>. The original text was written in the times of Tokugawa Shogunate.

[6] See page 96 in bibliography 3.

[7] See page 35 in bibliography 1.

The attitude of Chinese people towards taboos is not unchangable. Taboos and auspicious signs are two sides of one piece of leaf. According to the research of some scholars on folklores, auspicious signs were paid special attention to and given invented explanations in Ming and Qing Dynasties. It was manifested in the history in prior to Qing Dynasty that ancient Chinese people were inclined to treating taboos and auspicious signs in a rational way when they were in a pursuit of high level of philosophy and without specific requirements. As a matter of fact, this kind of theme is hardly found in a formal literature writing. Hence it is well understood the reason why in <Yuan Ye> the writer avoids any mention of taboos when we make associations with the inditement intention.

The society written in <Sakuteiki> is quite different from that in ancient China,Taboos are frequently touched about which may leave on readers a deep impression. They are usually connected with symbols which serve as substitutions. For example, the ancient Japanese refer to Tsing Lung white tiger as 9 willows and 7 Chinese catalpas, and ruse fixed stone combinations as symbols of 3 statues of Buddha. Furthermore, it connects tree-worship which is inherent in Japanese Culture and also embodied in introduced Buddhism, with the historical record that first Emperor of Qin didn't burn books about tree planting.[8] All these phenomenon have reflected itself as being simple and straightforward while they are still easy to operate. These unique features of being readable and practical can still be seen in modern Japan.

Being practical is also manifested in the chapter of "spring water" in <Sakuteiki>:Here first stresses that spring water is able to dispels summer heat, rather than the tranquil moodwhich the Chinese ancient poetry often concern.[9] It is very likely that when Japan was just beginning to introduce Chinese civilization, the most important thing should be to establish their own civilization system.For instance, The poems and essays authored by Bai Juyi were well received and had great significance in Japan for the reasons that on one hand, the language is simply clear and easily translatable, on the other hand, most of his poems reflected lives of that time so that they may serve as materials for research and study.

In this way, we may have a clear understanding of the association between taboo systems in <Sakuteiki>and Chinese culture. It is for these is not necessarily the correct symbol translation, Japanese have absorbed Chinese culture at a fast pace.And the next,they also made further movements to develop their own garden culture. While in China, the garden art has no requirements hence no restrictions in this area.

3 .The decision maker in Garden Makeing

As was mentioned in <Yuan Ye>, the final form of a garden was not held in the hand of its owner or the craftsman, but in the hand of the "decision maker"[10], which was quite persuasive. Then who was on earth the decision maker of a garden, or we say the biggest saying in garden construction? The craftsmen or scholar-officials as social elites?In order to explain this problem, Let's take a look at the <Sakuteiki>, it records that Fujiwara Yorimichi who stayed in political power at that time of Japan had once

[8] See page 118 in bibliography 1.

[9] See page 120 in bibliography 1: "spring water"(泉事).

[10] See page 47 in bibliography 2.

made design and plans for the construction of his own house all by himself.[11] Hence we can draw into conclusion that:

First of all, as the saying goes: "when girls in the city began to make updos, girls from other areas will follow the trend." [12] Fujiwara Yorimichi, being a man in great power, will have a positive effect on the society as a whole by making designs for his own house. So much so that it will alter the rejecting mood towards the craftsmen work prevailing among intelligentsia. In the later ages of Japan, there appeared a group of "ishitateso(石立僧)", who were identified as monks instead of craftsmen, which served as strong evidence to demonstrate that there formed no gap between garden designer and literacy class in Japan.

Secondly, the garden construction in Japan flourished under the nourishment of Chinese culture. However, the fact that the ruling class makes plan and design for their own houses revealed the social reality that it was highly civilized in the upper class while there was a lack of technicians among lower class. As a comparison, we also can see, in Qing Dynasty, it was the Lei family with craftsman background that took command of the official designing agency named as YangFang(样房). It exactly reflected the fact that the upper class made scarce contribution to the architecture designing while the lower class was supported by a sound base of craftsmanship. The two circumstances were entirely different.

Respective situation in China and Japan contributes to the difference lying in <Yuan Ye> and <Sakuteiki>, though both being classical gardening books. Tachibana Toshitsuna resembled Li Jie, the author of <Yingzao Fashi> in the way that they were both from upper class and lead their architecture construction for themselves or for the same class. However, Ji Cheng was serve for members of the upper class relying on his own talents. Consequently, <Sakuteiki> was more technically-inclined to help readers to participate in the construction of their Garden, while <Yuan Ye> was more theoretically-inclined so as to meet the needs of its own target readers, namely the scholar-officials who refrained from doing humble works. Ji Cheng praise highly the "decision makers" as the communication between garden's owners and craftsmen. They played the same role with the European architects, which appeared from middle class in medieval times when the owner of the house found themselves not effectively understood by craftsmen due to their limited professional knowledge, and thrived in renaissance Europe. [13]

Furthermore, Tachibana Toshitsuna and his father successively engaged in Garden Makeing activities in ancient Japan. This fact was well recorded in a history in which the upper class eagerly learned from Chinese culture before forming its own culture for the purpose of social development and the consolidation of its ruling power. Garden makeing was the significant part of the pioneering enterprise. The influence of gardens was given into full replay in the promotion of a new civilized mode, as the role played by Buddhist temples and statues in the dissemination of the doctrine.

[11] See page 114 in bibliography 1.

[12] See <Collection of Poems of Music Bureau : the Ballad in Capital City>(<□府□集·城中□>).

[13] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, the writer, Xu Bo, the translator: The Magnificent Cathedral, Chapter2, "Architects". Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2007.

Conclusion

Garden Makeing, or construction work, is changes with its time. Whoever takes control of it will decide the appearance of the final product and the research product. For instance, <Yuan Ye>, written in the late Ming Dynasty, which does not cover much of the technical content. The writer seems to leave this part to professionals. While at the end of Qing Dynasty, Zhu Qiqian, the founder of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, lamented on “the separation from theorist to artisan(道器分途)”and the lack of high quality technical monograph. He was committed to “develop the communication between scholar and craftsmen(沟通儒匠)”[14]. In his work titled as <The Textual Research on Yang-shi-lei Family>[15], we may find records of the reasons contributing to this phenomenon: Lei family was different from Tachibana Toshitsuna and Li Jie as they had a craftsman background so that they must try their utmost to sustain their business to provide for the living. In this way, they had every reason to treat the skills and materials as their unique possessions[16] which deter any sharing or communication. For this reason, it is possible for Tachibana Toshitsuna and Li Jie to compile the technical works. While in the time of Yangshi Lei, theories were usually separated from practical skills. By the end of Qing Dynasty, The new political figures usually devoted themselves to implementing new policies and saving the country with industry. Being the politician, Zhu Qiqian was responsible for the construction work so that he was also engaged in the communication between craftsmen, which made it possible for him to compile books and conduct research works. These are all the actual cases in which social factors and “decision makers” cast influence on architectual design and theory. Garden makeing are recorded in either tangible or untangible history, and now we are also the history makers.

[14] See page 6-7 in bibliography 4.: <Origins of the SRCA>.

[15] See page 79-84 in bibliography 4.

[16] See page 75 in bibliography 4.

References

Zhang Shiqing: <The Study on Translation and annotation of
<Sakuteiki>>[M].Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 2004.

Ji Cheng(Ming Dynasty), Chen zhi(making the annotation):<The Annotation of
<Yuan Ye>>[M].Beijing: China Building Industry Press, 2011.

Liu Tingfeng:<the Comparison between Chinese Ancient Garden and Japanese
Ancient Garden>[M].Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 2003.

Cui Yong, Yang Yongsheng:<Argumentation on Construction: Selected Papers in
Memory of Zhu Qiqian>[M].Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 2009.

Contact email: skuld7733@126.com



Diversifying Urbanity: The Japanese Commercial Community of Prewar Manila

Augusto Vicente de Viana, University of Santo Tomas, Philippines

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Starting from a small group of transient peddlers and workers early in the 20th century, Manila's Japanese commercial community became a diverse group of businessmen whose establishments contributed to the character to the city. Internal and external factors were responsible for the growth of the Japanese community in Manila that by the 1930s the commercial community numbered 250 establishments ranging from small shops to branches of big Japanese corporations such as Mitsui Bussan and Daido Boeki Kaisha (today's Marubeni Corporation). Though the Japanese commercial community in the 20th century was a recent arrival and it was small compared to the communities of other nationalities its businessmen showed exceptional acumen that by the 1930s many things that a Filipino bought or ate passed through a Japanese merchant. Sections of Manila became known as "Manila's Ginza" and "Little Tokyo" because of the presence of many Japanese establishments. As the decade of the thirties approached the 1940s the foreign community especially those of the Japanese faced the challenge of rising Filipino economic nationalism caused by the sentiment over the foreign domination of the Philippine economy. Instead of crumbling to the pressure the Japanese commercial community did not just survived but continued its expansion as it addressed the threats to its existence and it was prepared to defend its rights and gains through any means possible including force if necessary.

Keywords: Japanese commercial community, survival, growth

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

The Reentry of Japan to the Philippines

Japan's isolation ended in 1854 following the Treaty of Kanagawa opening Japan to American commerce. Official relations between colonial Philippines and Japan however did not resume until 1888 when the Japanese opened their consulate in Manila. The reentry of Japanese to the Philippines was very slow because of high tariffs imposed by the Spaniards and the unstable local currency. Other factors were the difficulty of the Japanese in communicating with the Filipinos and Spaniards and the influence of the Catholic Church (Yoshikawa, 1995, p. 167)

When the Japanese consulate began operating in Manila it listed 35 Japanese residents including four consular staff members. Among these residents were twelve entertainers and 15 sailors. In 1890 there were only two Japanese in Manila and both of them were consulate personnel. All the Japanese residents of Manila at that time were transients and because of the very few Japanese nationals in the islands the consulate closed down in October 1893. All diplomatic concerns of Japan in the Philippines were handled by the consulate in Hong Kong. In the same year there were 33 Japanese *obreros electricistas* (electricians) listed in the *Radicacion de Extranjeros* as residents of Manila. These electricians were sent by the Yokohama Trading Company to install electric wires in the city. Aside from the electricians there were also five *comerciantes* (businessmen) and five carpenters. According to the *Radicacion de Extranjeros* most of them lived in No. 16 Uli-Uli Street in San Miguel, Manila. The address according to Wada was probably a dormitory or an apartment which accommodated such a number of persons. There was also an ironsmith (*herrero*) and two cooks living in 54 Calle Nueva in Binondo and two plumbers (*fontaneros*). (Wada, 1996, pp. 3-4)

Aside from the Japanese workers, the first permanent Japanese commercial establishment, the Nippon Bazar opened at Plaza Moraga in Binondo district in 1893. The bazaar was originally a joint venture of Tsurujiro Kimura and Shintaro Fukuchi and later operated by Seitaro Kanegae in 1898. (Yoshikawa, p. 169) The bazaar became historically famous because members of the secret pro-independence secret society called the Katipunan and Japanese navy officers met here on March 1, 1895. During that meeting the Katipunan representatives led by Emilio Jacinto asked for help from Japan by supplying the Filipinos with arms which will be used to overthrow the Spaniards.

Another Japanese establishment which opened before the Philippine Revolution was the Osaka Bazar which was also located in Plaza Moraga. When the Philippine Revolution broke out in August 1896, there were other Japanese stores established in Manila. These were the Kaigai Boeki Kaisha, the Iijima Shoten, the Oi Bokushin and the Tagawa Shoten. However out of these establishments only the Nippon Bazar and the Tagawa Shoten stood out in terms of the items sold. The owner of the Tagawa Shoten, Jose Moritaro Tagawa formerly worked with the Nippon and Osaka Bazars before starting his own store. He carefully studied by buying habits and preferences of the Filipino customers which allowed his business to prosper.

Aside from the stores there the Japanese entered the brothel business. In 1898 one Japanese brothel was officially reported in Carriedo Street in Manila. It had a coffee shop as a front and had two women who arrived from Nagasaki who arrived in Manila via Singapore and Iloilo. The Japanese consul denied that there were Japanese brothels in Manila. (Wada, 1986, p. 296) Before the influx of Japanese women, foreign prostitutes such as those from Russia

and France came to Manila. In 1899 four Japanese women arrived from Hong Kong and were initially refused to land because they looked like prostitutes. Two were allowed to disembark when they showed proper travel documents and evidence that they could support themselves while they were in the Philippines. The other two were sent back to Hong Kong. In the same year Japanese prostitutes were reported plying their trade in the Sampaloc district and there was one incident involving an American corporal who was arrested because he struck a Japanese woman and dragged another by the hair because they refused to serve him beer “in a house of ill fame.” (Wada, p. 296)

As American rule became stable the Americans embarked on several public works projects which demanded skilled labor. Economic hardships in Japan caused by the devaluation of the Japanese yen following Japan’s involvement in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905 triggered an exodus of impoverished Japanese. The Japanese community of Manila grew from a few handfuls in 1899. One hundred seven individuals were reported in 1900; by 1903 there were 920 and in 1904 it grew to 2,770.

In 1903 Col. Lyman Kennon who was building the Benguet Road brought in 800 Japanese workers from Okinawa. Kennon needed the Japanese workers to replace the Filipino and Chinese workers who could not withstand the rigors of the mountain climate. The Japanese workers eventually increased to 1,500. According to Watanabe of the 800 Okinawans workers only 300 survived when the road was completed in 1907 (Watanabe, p. 323). Of the total number of Japanese workers 500 opted to stay in the Philippines. Around 250 to 300 former workers went to in Davao to work in the plantations there. The rest went to Manila to become artisans, cabinet makers and workers in trades that the Filipinos themselves could not supply. They were joined by other Japanese immigrants who opened laundry shops, bakeries, candy factories and dry goods stores. Others found employment as gardeners, carpenters and mechanics. According to Guerrero (1966, p. 33) Through sheer industry and hard work the Japanese community in Manila was able to build up a reputation among the Filipinos and the Americans.

At this point most of the Japanese who came to the Philippines were transients. After earning enough money they returned to Japan. Their common dream was “Save money, go back to Japan, marry a Japanese lass even though I have reached the age of forty.” According to Kiyoshi Osawa who came to the Philippines in 1925, many of his countrymen clung to such dreams. (Osawa, p. 3)

Other Japanese immigrants shifted from being laborers and carpenters to become merchants and shop owners. This was a significant aspect because the Japanese immigrants were almost always artisans and craftsmen. They became itinerant vendors who sold ice cream cones and *barquillos* or sugar wafers. One of the most successful of these immigrants was a street peddler named S. Awata who carefully studied the needs of Filipino consumers. Soon he became a store owner and sold all kinds of Japanese goods. Originally Japanese stores catered to the immigrant Japanese community. Soon they began appealing to Filipino consumers. They learned that Filipinos demanded goods that look good but were sold very low prices. In a random interview of a Filipino consumer by an American journalist in 1937 the Filipino said”

A Filipino worker cannot afford to pay one peso or two pesos for a shirt made in your country (the United States). He wants a Japanese-made shirt which he can get for only 30 or 40 centavos. (Quiason, 1958, p. 336)

The great difference between the labor and manufacturing costs allowed the Japanese to undersell their Chinese and Filipino competitors. They even had a system of delivering the goods to their buyers. Between 1902 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 Japanese stores grew from a small handful to around 20 in 1914. Though the Chinese continued to dominate the retail trade the share of Japanese stores continued to increase from 5% in 1930 to 20% in 1938. (Yoshikawa, p. 85)

With the influx of more Japanese immigrants the Japanese government upgraded its consulate in Manila to that of a consulate general in 1919. It moved from the sleepy section of Manila to the Wilson Building in Binondo which was the business center of Philippines. At that time there were 2,068 Japanese residents in Manila out of a total of 9,800 in the Philippines. The Japanese in the Philippines comprised 42% of all Japanese in Southeast Asia. To protect Japanese interests in the Philippines the Japanese government supported semi-government organizations. One of these was the Nanyo Kyokai or the Philippine Society of Japan which had its office at the Overseas Branch of the Taiwan Governor General's Office in Tokyo. The Philippine organization was the Firipin Kyokai and its first President was Consul General Ichiro Nuida. (Yoshikawa, p. 85)

Problems Encountered

Like any foreign community, the Japanese community of Manila had its own problems. The most prominent of these problems was prostitution. Generally Japanese men did not bring their families with them when they went to the Philippines and many of them patronized brothels. The economic hardship in Japan caused a proliferation of brothels in Manila.

Before 1909 the red light area of Manila was in Escolta Street which served as the rest and recreation area for US troops. The street was lined up with saloons which were later transferred by Governor Dwight Davis to Sampaloc district. The brothels were concentrated at Gardenia Street also in Sampaloc. In 1909 there were around 30 brothels and 300 prostitutes (Wada, p. 301) Residents in the area who were then children recalled that there were many Japanese women wearing kimonos at the verandas of the old Spanish-style houses. Soon the brothels sprouted to other areas like Calle Alix, Balic-Balic and Sulucan. There were also brothels in San Miguel, Quiapo and Santa Cruz districts.

The Japanese prostitutes were called *Karayuki-san* which is a 19th century term from "Kara" which referred to China and "yuki" which is a suffix which means "to go." (Wada, 1996, p. 34) At the time Japanese women who went to China were called *Karayuki*. Later the term referred to women who went abroad to become prostitutes. Most of the Japanese girls came from Kyushu and recruiters often deceived girls from poor Japanese families about non-existent jobs in the Philippines. The recruiters connived with ranking sailors to smuggle the girls in the Philippines and upon arriving in the islands the recruiters charged the girls exorbitant fees to cover hotel expenses, transportation costs and entrance fees. Once the girls earned enough money they sent part of their earnings to Japan. The village head would know about the good news and would lose no time to charge income tax. In this way prostitution helped increase the national coffers of Japan. (Wada, p. 1986, 296)

Whenever a brothel was established other businesses followed. The prostitution industry fuelled other businesses. These included bazaars which supplied Japanese dry goods and restaurants for Japanese food. The other businesses were photography shops, boarding houses and hotels. The brothel industry also supported trades such as kimono-making, tailors and

dressmakers of Western-style clothes. Seitaro Kanegae specifically mentioned that some of the bazaars depended on the brothel industry. He mentioned the Matsui, Fukuda, Noguchi, Mahui, Sonoda bazaars, the Ogawa Watch Shop, the Aoyama Photo Studio, the Fujimoto Barbershop and a number of hotels, restaurants and refreshment parlors. (Wada, p. 301)

There was a high incidence of crime in areas in the brothel areas. Japanese men lived a life of crime by swindling, gambling and heavy drinking. Stabbings were common as they organized themselves into gangs. Venereal diseases were common that even the US Army was concerned because it needed men who were physically fit as the United States had just entered the First World War. On October 16, 1918 the Mayor of Manila Justo Lukban took drastic measures by cordoning off the red light district at Gardenia Street and raided all prostitution dens. The Japanese men and women who were caught inside the prohibited zone were arrested and deported to Japan while the Filipino prostitutes were also rounded up and sent back to their home provinces. The round-ups and deportations lasted until 1925. (Wada, p. 296) Some Japanese women avoided being deported because they were married to Filipinos. The Japanese community called the former Japanese prostitutes who survived the crackdown and shifted to more a more decent livelihood as the *daigakude* or college graduate. Some of these *daigakude* became owners and operators of restaurants and hotels in Manila.

While Mayor Lukban was praised for his campaign of cleaning the city of brothels, he was chided by the Supreme Court for arbitrarily violating due process and the rights of the Filipino and Japanese women. Most of the Japanese prostitutes were gone after the First World War but the Japanese women who remained risked humiliation by Chinese and Filipinos who still called them *karayukis*. This situation forced Japanese men to confine their women at home for fear of being insulted. It reinforced the perception by the Filipinos that the Japanese were an aloof people and cannot be assimilated into Filipino society.

The Japanese diplomatic officials reacted to Mayor Lukban's crackdown by supporting him. Since many of the Japanese immigrants were undocumented aliens and were not registered with the Consulate General, diplomatic officials could not protect them whenever the Manila police took action against their illegal activities. As early as 1907 the Japanese consul even cooperated with the police in banishing his troublesome countrymen to Japan. (Yoshikawa, p. 178) Most of the early Japanese immigrants were poor and uneducated and many of their small businesses such as refreshment and massage parlors were often fronts for illegal activities especially prostitution. A number of Japanese men who were married to Filipino women were violent, cruel and miserly. Often they used their marriage to circumvent Philippine laws by using their wives' names to acquire land. The educated ones hired lawyers and formed friendly ties with Filipino politicians.

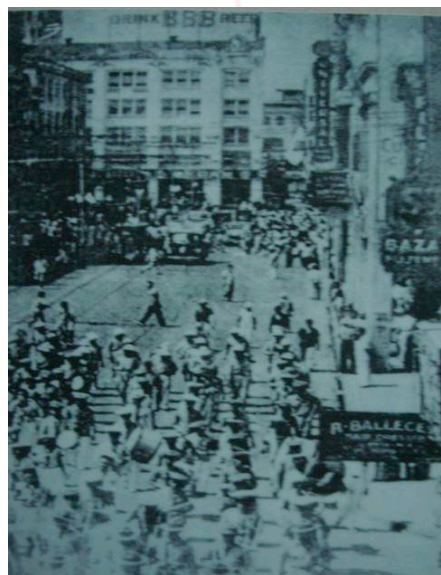
The Japanese government took steps to cultivate friendly relations with the Filipinos by minimizing irritants. It established a Bureau of Industries office in Manila to help Filipino firms doing business with Japanese companies, A Japan Information Bureau was created to manage a school that taught the Japanese language to Filipinos. The bureau also operated a library for Filipinos and sponsored educational trips to Japan for students, newspapermen and politicians.

Continued Growth and Increasing Diversity

With the end of World War I, the number of Japanese business establishments continued to grow as more Japanese immigrants came to the Philippines. From 8,000 immigrants in 1918 the number swelled to 20,262 in 1939. In Manila there were 1,612 Japanese in 1918, in 1930 the population reached 3,984. With the increase in the number of Japanese residents so did the business establishments. In 1914 there were 41 Japanese-owned bazaars, 21 trading firms and numerous small shops and refreshment parlors. There were also 73 registered businessmen, bank clerks and 104 store employees. By 1931 there were 243 Japanese businessmen and by 1936 there were a total of 303 establishments. (Wada, p. 23)

In studying these Japanese business establishments a wealth of anecdotal information can be found. One such story is about the Eigetsu Hotel in Santa Cruz which was owned by an elderly *daigakude* who could still be seen in her kimono. Another establishment was the Sakura or Cherry Restaurant owned by another *daigakude* named Mitsu Shimizu who was described by Osawa as the Amazon and female knight of the town because of her feistiness. Cherry or Sakura in Japanese was Mrs. Shimizu's professional name. She had a *maiko* or geisha apprentice named Osato-san working for her. Osato-san played the samisen before the customers and loved to tell the classics. According to Mr. Osawa Osato-san was the only woman among Manila's 5,200 residents who can be rightfully called a geisha. (Osawa, p. 51)

The Miyazaki Garden became famous for breeding its own orchids which were exported abroad. Other businesses that stood out were the Sun Studio owned by Mr. T. Yamamoto which produced excellent portraits. Another was the Sun Studio made photographic postcards some of which portrayed beauty pageant winners in the annual Manila Carnival. Another studio was the Triangulo Studio which was a pioneer in covering weddings and parties. (Watanabe, p. 1)



Rizal Avenue in Manila where many Japanese businesses once stood. In the top foreground, is the neon sign advertisement of the Balintawak Beer Brewery which was majority Japanese-owned. The Japanese residents of Manila also managed a number of massage parlors, many of which were managed by women. In the Rosenstock's Directory of Manila a number of massage shops carried information that the shops were owned and run by women. There were barbershops owned by Japanese and girls were employed as barbers. (Jose, 2015, p. D1)



Some of the prominent Japanese businessmen in Manila during the prewar period

Behind the Japanese bazaars and the retailers were the big trading firms. The oldest firm which did business in the Philippines was the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha which had its headquarters in Rosario Street in Binondo, Manila. It entered the Philippines in 1898 and it supplied coal from the Miike mines in Kyushu. At first the company did not even have a branch office in the Philippines and it was actually based in Hong Kong. Later it established a representative office at the second floor of the building that housed the Nippon Bazar. The Mitsui Bussan outlet was involved in the importation of coal, cotton, wax and cement from Japan. Its biggest venture was the coal business and its biggest customer was the US Navy. The company also exported Philippine abaca, cigars, sugar and copra to Japan. Later Mitsui diversified into dry goods distribution, steamship services, distribution of matches, fertilizer, cement, cigar, copra, coal and abaca, insurance and automobile dealership. In 1937 it became a part-owner of the Tagum Logging Company in Davao and the Balintawak Beer Brewery in Bulacan. (Watanabe, 1935, p. 364)

The second giant Japanese company was the Daido Boeki Kaisha which was based in Kobe. It was involved in the importation of hardware goods and specialty products which were sold in Japanese bazaars. The company had its offices at the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank at Juan Luna Street in Binondo and it had branch offices in Cebu, Iloilo and Davao. Daido Boeki imported iron and steel products for the construction industry. It operated a hardware store which sold Asano Portland Cement, Yamnar diesel engines and Bridgestone tires. Other items were farm equipment, celluloid goods, all kinds of metals, onions and wheat flour, automobiles, and musical instruments. On the other hand it exported scrap iron, maguey, fish and fish products, abaca, copra, kapok seeds, corn, fish products, trochus shells and mineral ores. (Watanabe, p. 267)

Another big trading company was the Osaka Boeki Kaisha which also operates the Osaka Bazar as its retail outlet. It popularized Kikkoman soy sauce, Pilot pens, Kurokami hair dye and Katol mosquito coils. The last item was so popular that all mosquito coils in the Philippines were called katol.

DBK

DAIDO BOEKI KAISHA, LTD.
Importers and Exporters
General Merchants

5th Floor, Insular Life Building
MANILA, P. I.
Tels. 24121-24

Branches in Cebu and Iloilo

DAIDO HARDWARE STORE
668 Rizal Ave. — Manila — Tels. 234-55 & 234-56

SAKURA BAZAR

M. Sugiyama, Prop.

Importers and Exporters
Wholesale and Retail Dealers

Main Store
1715-16 Herrera, Cebu
Tel. 5-45-64, Manila

Cebu Branch
291-296 Magallanes
Tel. 8-00—P. O. Box 2

Distributor

KOBE BAZAR

General Merchants & Direct Importers
Echegaray, Manila Tel. 2-11



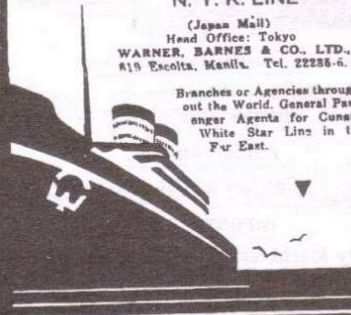
LINE

TRAVEL WITH N. Y. K.
IT OFFERS YOU PERFECT SERVICE
AND EXCELLENT CUISINE

PASSENGER SERVICES
TO
AUSTRALIA, EUROPE, NORTH AND SOUTH
AMERICA, INDIA, CHINA AND JAPAN
VIA HONGKONG
ROUND THE WORLD TOURS AND OTHER ECONOMICAL THROUGH FARES, ETC., QUOTED FROM ANY PART OF THE WORLD

N. Y. K. LINE
(Japan Mail)
Head Office: Tokyo
WARNER, BARNES & CO., LTD.,
419 Escolta, Manila. Tel. 2235-6.

Branches or Agencies throughout the World. General Passenger Agents for Cebu and White Star Line in the Far East.



Use **GLUB** Beauty Products

FACE POWDER, BEAUTY POWDER SOAP, PASTA
BEAUTY SOAP, DENTIFRICE, DAY CREAM

Shop at —
The HOLYWOOD — Everything in Sports...
Manila's Leading Gift Shop The **WINLEDON**
State Theatre Bldg., Basal Ave., Manila The Home of Quality
Sporting Goods

K. OSAWA

DAIDO BOEKI KAISHA, LTD.

IMPORTERS:
COTTON, RAYON, SILK, WOOLLEN, YARN, & FABRICS;
HOBBERY & FISHING GOODS; SMOKED SALMON, SARDINES, MACKEREL, POTATOES, ONIONS, BEANS, VEGETABLES;
GLASSWARE, CHINAWARE, ALUMINUM WARE, PORCELAIN WARE, ENAMEL WARE; FLOUR, MEAT, CANNED MILK, DAIRY PRODUCTS; SPORTING GOODS; TOILET ARTICLES, TOYS, KITCHEN UTENSILS

EXPORTERS:
MANILA BENT; COPRA; YAPOR; RAPOK PEED; MAHOUTY; COPE; CANTON FISH; TROCHUS SHELLS AND MINERAL OILS.

INSURANCE AGENTS; COMMERCIAL BROKERS; AND SHIP AGENTS

DAIDO HARDWARE STORE
600 MARMARAS, MANILA

EXCLUSIVE DEALERS OF:
MARIAN COILS; "BEDGOSTONE" TIRES; "JANMAR" DIESEL ENGINES; "AGARD" AIRSETTS; "NIPPON" PAINTS & OILS; "SUN" GALVANIZED IRON SHEETS; TILES; ELECTRIC APPLIANCES; GENERAL HARDWARE

P. O. BOX 888 MANILA

HEAD OFFICE: HONGKONG & SHANGHAI
BRANCHES: CANTON, SHANGHAI, HANKOW, TIENTSIN, PEKING, HAIKOW, YOKOHAMA, MANILA, CEBU, BANGALORE, CALCUTTA, MADRAS, COLOMBO, SINGAPORE, BATAVIA, SOERABAYA, SEMARANG, MAKASSAR, BENCHELE, BANGKOK, PHNOM PENH, HANOI, HAIPHONG, YOKOHAMA, MANILA, CEBU, BANGALORE, CALCUTTA, MADRAS, COLOMBO, SINGAPORE, BATAVIA, SOERABAYA, SEMARANG, MAKASSAR, BENCHELE, BANGKOK, PHNOM PENH, HANOI, HAIPHONG

O'RACCA CONFECTIONERY CO., INC.
O'RACCA BUILDING
CORNER BARRACA AND URIBEZONDO
MANILA, P. I.
P. O. Box 10 Tel. 49033 & 49056



MANUFACTURERS OF:
Caddies — Chocolates — Chewing Gums — Bubble Gums
Marshmallows — Biscuits — Pop-Rice — Wafers — Etc.

EXPORTERS OF:
Candies and Biscuits

IMPORTERS OF:
Candy Factory Machineries and Supplies — Cellophane — Wrapping Paper — Cigarette Paper — Toys — Etc.

CITY BRANCH: Divisoria, Manila
BUYING OFFICE: Osaka, Japan

ARATA TSUTSUMI
President
SHIGERU MURASE
Vice-President and Manager

S. NAKASHIMA
GENERAL MERCHANTS & DRUGGISTS

Pharmaceutical Products & Specimens
Fine Chemicals & Industrial Chemicals
Glass wares & Rubber goods
Dental Supplies & Drug Sundries
Medical & Surgical Instruments

"THE CORONA PHARMACEUTICAL LABORATORIES"
Manufacturers of Household Remedies

Sole Agents & Distributors in the Philippines for
Shimizu & Co., K. Taniuchi & Co., Fujitani & Co., Takemura Pharm. Works, Yamada Pharm. Co., Ch. Takada & Co., Takahito Optical Works, Y. Takahashi Shoten, Nishida Dental Mfg. Co.

Manila Office: 411 E. Divisoria, Manila, Tel. 495-53
Osaka Office: No. 1, Sakaba, Minami-ku, Minato-ku, Osaka, Japan, Tel. 5-81-81

Cable Address: "NAKASHIMA MANILA" "MABURAY OSAKA"

TABLE ADAPKAI, "TAIHEI" MANILA
COOKER (SUN) BAWILET'S FURASE COOK (SUN) KAWA
HEAD OFFICE: 802 E. DIVISORIA, MANILA, HONGKONG
BRANCHES: TORONTO & LONDON

EXPORT ALL KINDS OF OILS
IMPORT MINE MACHINERY
INSPECTION OF MINES

TAIHEI KOGYO KABUSHIKI KAISHA
(THE PACIFIC MINING CO., LTD.)
Managing Director
E. NAKIKAWA
802 EAST MARKET ROAD
MANILA
TEL. No. 1-48 15

ISHIHARA SANGYO KAIUN KAISHA, LTD.
HEAD OFFICE: KOBE, JAPAN

General Merchants and Importers
Special Lines of Machinery

Mining and Metallurgical Machinery
Machinery for the Rubber Industry

BRANCHES: SINGAPORE, MANILA, BATAVIA, SOERABAYA, SEMARANG, MAKASSAR, BENCHELE, BANGKOK, PHNOM PENH, HANOI, HAIPHONG

AGENTS: SINGAPORE, MANILA, BATAVIA, SOERABAYA, SEMARANG, MAKASSAR, BENCHELE, BANGKOK, PHNOM PENH, HANOI, HAIPHONG

OKA SHOTEN
C. Oka, Proprietor and Manager
General Merchants and Importers

411 E. Divisoria, Manila, Cable Address: "OKA"
Tel. 495-53

JAPANESE PHARMACY
Manager: Y. Suzuki
411 E. Divisoria, Manila, P. O. Box 2741, Manila
Tel. 495-53

Some of the Japanese businesses in Manila and their Products

Japanese shipping firms had their offices in Manila. The oldest of these was the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK) or the Japan Shipping Line. It was the pioneer in the Philippine-Japan shipping route. It started sailing to Manila from Kobe and its ships regularly connected the Philippines to Nagasaki, Kobe and Yokohama to the Chinese ports of Hong Kong and Amoy and those of Taiwan. Other Japanese shipping firms were the Osaka Shosen Kaisha and the Ishihara Sangyo Kaisha. The big Japanese trading companies such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi had their own shipping companies which carried passengers and cargo across the oceans.

The growth of the Japanese commercial community would not be possible without the role of Japanese financial institutions. The largest of these was the Yokohama Specie Bank which was also known as the Yokohama Shoten Ginko. It had a capital of 100,000,000 yen and an additional reserve of 131,000,000 in 1935. Supplementing the Yokohama Specie Bank was the Bank of Taiwan which was based in Taihoku. Both banks provided valuable financial support to Japanese businesses in Manila. That support enabled these businesses to expand into manufacturing, mining and lumber. (Watanabe, p. 107)

There were also a number of Japanese mutual aid associations or *tanomoshiko* which provided financial support to various Japanese businesses. Among them were the Japanese Mutual Loan Association, the Manila Japanese Mutual Loan Association and the Manila Ko Sei Kai. Aside from providing financial support the last secured jobs for its unemployed members and it operated a dormitory for those who were temporarily unemployed. (Yoshikawa, pp. 175-176)

By the late 1930s the Japanese developed a significant presence in Manila and sections of the city especially along Manila's downtown at Rizal Avenue in Santa Cruz district as far as Echague in Quiapo became known as Little Tokyo and Escolta was dubbed as Manila's Ginza because of the presence of so many Japanese shops and businesses.

Reactions to the Growth of Japanese Businesses

Though the Filipinos generally welcomed the Japanese as well as other foreigners there was a sense of wariness towards outsiders as a result of a rising nationalist sentiment. This sentiment was stirred up by demagogues who questioned the foreign domination of the Philippine economy. Writing in the newspaper *Sakdal*, the Tagalog poet Benigno Ramos wrote:

Wouldn't it gladden us if it could be said that the whole stretch of Escolta is owned by Filipinos. Rosario (Street) is not for the Chinese, but for our countrymen. Rizal Avenue, is not for the Japanese, but for our own?¹ (Wada, p. 82)

Though these words were not aimed directly at the Japanese but to foreigners in general, Ramos felt that it should be the Filipinos who should benefit from the economy not the foreigners. Another sign of rising economic nationalism was the prohibition under the 1935 Constitution limiting foreign capital in any business to only 40% while Filipino capital should be at least 60%. Following the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 the legislature passed laws to limit the activities of foreigners. Commonwealth Act No. 100 or the Forestry Act made it illegal for foreigners to engage in logging; Commonwealth Act

¹ The original Tagalog was: "*Hindi kaya ikagagalak n gating sarili kung maturing ang buong Escolta ay ari ng mga Pilipino, ang Rosario ay hindi sa Intsik kundi sa kababayan din natin ang Ave(nida) Rizal ay hindi sa Hapon kundi sa kabalat din natin?*" From Ramos, "Ang Tunay the Kalaban," *Sakdal*, October 18, 1934.

No. 118 required that three fourths of crewmen of fishing boats must be Filipino and Commonwealth Act No. 141 or the Public Land Act made it impossible for foreigners to acquire land in the Philippines. In 1939 the legislature passed the Anti-Dummy Law which provided punishment for Filipinos who allowed themselves to serve as fronts by foreigners. The law was intended to curb the practices of foreigners of putting the names of their businesses in the names of their Filipino partners. The Immigration Act of 1940 restricted to 500 individuals of every nation who can immigrate to the Philippines. There was also a bill restricting retail trade to Filipinos. (Yu-Jose, 1992, p. 122)

In responding to the challenges posed by Filipinos the Japanese showed extraordinary resilience and flexibility. Many Japanese took steps to becoming Filipino or American citizens. The Japanese government urged their countrymen to learn the Tagalog language in anticipation that this dialect might become the national language. (Goodman, ND, p. 40)

In anticipation that the import trade might be restricted to Filipinos, many Japanese firms shifted their operations into manufacturing. One of the biggest investments before the Second World War was the Balintawak Beer Brewery in Polo, Bulacan which was established with capital from Mitsui Bussan and other Japanese investors. Mitsui also invested in a shoe factory. Numerous factories were established by the Japanese. Among them were the Kinkwa Meriyasu, the Noguchi, the Toyo Shirt, the Tomonaga Shirt and the Rex Shirt factories. (Goodman, p. 40) There was even a candy factory, the O' Racca Confectionery factory which became the islands' biggest candy factory and importer of sweets. The Mori Bicycle Factory began turning out bicycle frames though most of its components came from Japan. (Watanabe, p. 364)

Most of all the Japanese businessmen took pains to befriend Filipino politicians and secure the services of their best lawyers. Among these politicians were Jose P. Laurel, Claro M. Recto and Quintin Paredes. These politicians would later serve as collaborators during the Japanese occupation. With the tightening measures against them the Japanese were prepared to use force if necessary to protect their gains in the Philippines. (Yu-Jose, p. 123)

The Japanese could have adapted well in the face of the challenges if not for the outbreak of the Second World War in the Philippines. After Japanese bombs fell on Manila on December 8, 1941, many business establishments including those of the Japanese were ransacked by mobs. Two hundred ninety Japanese residents including Mr. Osawa were immediately rounded up and taken to the Old Bilibid Prison and later to the New Bilibid Prison. But as the Japanese military began to approach Manila, they were taken to the Manila Japanese School where they were freed by the Imperial Army.

With the ransacking of businesses in Manila's downtown, its little Tokyo and its Ginza were no more. Though many Japanese businesses resumed operation at the beginning of the Japanese occupation the Japanese commercial community was gone. During the war many Japanese residents were forced to serve as guides and interpreters for the Imperial Forces. When the Americans returned in February 1945, most of Manila was razed to the ground by artillery and fire. Thousands of Japanese were killed in the campaign to retake the Philippines.

At the end of the war, the surviving Japanese civilians were interned at the Old Bilibid Prison and were later transferred to a camp in Cabuyao. In November 1945 an order for their deportation was issued. A number of detainees did not wish to go back to Japan since they

lived in the Philippines most of their lives. About a hundred made a petition to remain in the country but were warned if they stayed they might be killed by Filipinos. The Filipinos blamed the local Japanese for assisting the invaders during the brutal occupation period and were thirsting for revenge. That month the detainees including Mr. Osawa were taken to the pier of Manila and shipped back to Japan. (Osawa, p. 259) It would take until 1967 when normal relations between the Philippines and Japan were fully restored. (Baviera, 1999, p. 320) By that time the old prewar Japanese commercial community of Manila was long gone as its former sites were taken over by the Chinese, the Filipinos and the Philippine government. (Osawa, 1989, p. 274)

Conclusion

The Japanese commercial community of Manila grew as a result of Japan's economic hardships the first two decades of the 20th century. The Philippines and most of Southeast Asia was an area of expansion. It attracted thousands of Japanese who came to the islands to earn a living. Originally most of the Japanese migrants were temporary residents but later some came to live on a more permanent basis and many of them established businesses which later grew and prospered.

The Japanese commercial community showed an extraordinary will to survive and prosper by studying the habits and preferences of the Filipino consumer. Aggressive and innovative marketing strategies caused their businesses to grow and soon the power of the Japanese merchant community was felt by the Philippines despite its relatively small size compared to other nationalities doing business in the Philippines. So significant was the influence of the Japanese commercial community that one historian concluded that whatever any Filipino bought, ate or wore passed through a Japanese trader. (Quiason, p. 201) To the Japanese the Philippines was their area of expansion and they sought to retain their goals. Katsutaro Inabata, the President of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, commented in 1933, "to be in the Philippines does not seem to be a foreign country. To us Japanese it seems as if we were at home." (Goodman, p. 1)

There were some problems involving the Japanese community and the authorities. This was solved through a constructive approach by the Japanese diplomatic officials who never condoned the illegal activities of their countrymen. On the other hand the Japanese government took steps to reduce irritants between the immigrant community and the local authorities. The Japanese commercial community reached its peak in the 1930s that parts of Manila were "Japanized" with the presence of many Japanese businesses. Japanese presence diversified the urban environment of Manila as parts of it became known as Little Tokyo or Manila's Ginza in addition to Chinatown in Binondo or the American quarter in Malate.

Rising nationalist sentiment among Filipinos resulted in the passing of some laws curbing foreign domination of the Philippine economy. Instead of buckling down the Japanese commercial community devised ways of dealing with the legal restrictions. They developed friendships with Filipino politicians and hired lawyers who may help them in protecting their gains. They even contemplated in using force if necessary.

The outbreak of the Second World War to the Philippines destroyed everything that the immigrant Japanese had built. The former peaceful coexistence between the Filipinos and Japanese was replaced with a general hostility towards the Japanese residents as they were required to country during its occupation of the Philippines. It cannot be denied that some Japanese served out of a sense of duty. When war ended Manila's Japanese community was destroyed and the surviving residents were deported. The sites of the former Japanese

businesses are now nothing but a shadow of what was a formerly a vibrant immigrant community of Manila.



Bibliography

Documents, Reports and Yearbooks

American Chamber of Commerce. (1940). 1939 Report. Manila.

Government Printing Office. (1949). Official Gazette. Manila.

Philippine Chamber of Commerce. (1958). 1957 Report. Manila.

Philippine National Archives. (1883, 1885, 1898, 1899). *Radicacion de Extranjeros*. Manila.

Theses and Dissertations

Smith, Morris Eugene. (1937). "*The Japanese Menace of the Philippines*." Unpublished Masters Thesis. Manila: University of the Philippines.

Wada, Motoe Terami. (1992). "*Ang Kilusang Sakdal*." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.

Journal Articles and Conference Papers

Goodman, Grant. (ND). "As if We were at Home: Japanese Economic Activity in the Philippines 1931-1941." Unpublished Manuscript, University of Kansas.

Hayase, Shinzo. (October 2014), Japanese in Modern Philippine Society. WAIPS Research Series, No. 5. Waseda University. Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies.

Guerrero, Milagros. (Mar. 1966). *A Survey of Japanese Trade and Investments in the Philippines with Special References to Philippine and American Relations, 1900-1941*" Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review, Vol. 51.

Quiason, Serafin, D. (1958). "*The Japanese Community in Manila, 1898-1941*," Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review, Vol. 23, Nos. 2-4.

_____. (September 1968). "*Some Notes on the Japanese Community in Manila, 1898-1941*." Solidarity.

Wada, Motoe Terami . (1986). "*Karayuki San*." Philippine Studies. No. 34.

Wada, Motoe Terami. (November 23-25, 1996). "*The Philippine Revolution and the Japanese Community in Manila*," Paper read at the 17th National Conference on Oral and Local History, Ateneo de Manila University,.

Yoshikawa, Yoko. (April-June 1995). "Jose M. Tagawa and the Japanese Commercial Sector in Manila." Philippine Studies, Vol. 43.

Books

Alip, Eufronio. (1959). *Philippine-Japan Relations Historical, Cultural and Political*. Manila: Alip and Sons.

Baviera, Aileen San Pablo and Lydia Yu-Jose. Editors. (1998) *Philippine External Relations A Centennial Vista*. Pasay City: Foreign Service Institute.

Osawa, Kiyoshi. trans. and edited by Marivi Jugo Nañagas. (1996). *A Japanese Miraculous Life 70 Years with Filipinos*. Manila: Joshu Bunko Library.

_____. (1994). *The Japanese Commercial Community in the Philippines, Before, During and After the War*. Manila: Joshu Bunko Library.

Osawa, Kiyoshi. Trans. by Tsunesuke Kawashima and edited by Ruthie Aquino. (1989). *A Japanese in the Philippines. An Autobiography*. Tokyo.

Watanabe, Kaoru. (1935). *Philippine-Japan Yearbook and Business Directory*. Manila.

Yu-Jose, Lydia. (1992). *Japan Views the Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo University Press.

Newspaper Article

Jose, F. Sionil. (June 7, 2015). "A Memoir of War (Then) and China (Now)." *Hindsight*. Philippine Star. D1.

Contact email: augustodeviana@gmail.com



Teaching Idiom and Metaphor via Poetry in the Chinese EFL Classroom

Kevin Kilroy, Wenzhou-Kean University, China
Jeremiah Cassar Scalia, Wenzhou-Kean University, China

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

The use of poetry is discussed as a vehicle for teaching concepts of idiom and metaphor to EFL students. It is difficult for any learning non-native speaker to understand idiom and metaphor, and the specific difficulties inherent in translating from Chinese to English, and vice-versa, make it such that many students rely on searching for one-to-one correspondences between unfamiliar English words and the familiar Chinese. Students often resort to working through new texts via literal translation, leaving them with an incomplete understanding of words in context. Poetic diction by nature pushes the boundaries of linguistic capability. Therefore, we argue that close reading of poetry in the EFL classroom helps students gain a more nuanced understanding of the English language. It is our belief that doing so is the best way for students to hone these skills, and thus move from a surface, rudimentary proficiency in English to a more fluent, nuanced, pragmatic understanding of the linguistic subtleties necessary to understand all varieties of academic texts, literary or otherwise.

Keywords: EFL, ESL, non-native speakers, English language learners, poetry, literature, poetic diction, academic language, idiom, metaphor, figurative language, abstract language, China

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Language is an imprecise approximation of our thoughts, feelings, emotions, etc. As such, languages will always be filled with ambiguity in meaning. This can be problematic at times, but it can also be a useful weapon when wielded properly. Metaphorical language works to expand our perception and understanding of otherwise one-dimensional ideas in all walks of life. When delivered well, this allows the speaker to more closely indicate the complexity and nuance of his or her message; when understood properly, this allows the listener to make a more personal connection to an otherwise straightforward idea. Metaphorical language is used every single day by every single English speaker, and the vast majority of these instances are not the stuff of Shakespeare. Nonetheless, these metaphors allow us in the same way to get closer to true meaning; therefore, it is important for all speakers not only to understand such metaphors, but be able to create and use them to express their own nuanced ideas.

For the non-native speaker, this is just one more thing to keep track of on top of many others. In order to become fluent, non-native speakers must learn to work with and understand metaphor as seamlessly as they strive to understand dictionary definitions and one-to-one translations of everyday English vocabulary. Our students, for example, as intermediate-level speakers, go through class with dictionaries open and mark up texts with a myriad of Chinese words that approximate the translation. First, this indicates that the students are focused on literal meaning rather than subtext, as the surface meaning of the texts often still eludes them. Second, it suggests that any complexity in the text also eludes them. This goes double for lectures, during which students may find themselves falling behind quite quickly if they have to pause to consider meaning.

Metaphor is a tool that requires the use of context clues in order to understand meaning. A student can look up all of the individual words in a metaphor, simile, or idiomatic expression, but the student will eventually have to use context in order to fully understand the meaning of the expression. Metaphor, therefore, would appear to be a useful tool in getting students to use context to understand English in all settings, including literal settings that may include unfamiliar words.

Of course, academic texts frequently use metaphors, idioms, etc. Literature does more so, though, and poetry more than any other genre of literature employs metaphorical language and capitalizes on nuance and complexity of language in order to develop meaning; whereas only the most abstract works of fiction may require the reader to work to understand the essential narrative, even mainstream poetry often forces the reader to work to understand precisely what he or she just read.

While it has long been thought that literature, in particular poetry, is too difficult for English language learners, in part because of this difficulty, others in more recent years have pushed back against this conventional wisdom (Khatib, 2011). For our part, given how closely the ability to read context and the study of metaphor in poetry can be related, we sought to determine if poetry might be used as a vehicle to better understand metaphor and, as a result, context for English language learners. In other words, through the study of poetry, might EFL students be better able to use metaphor

to express their own ideas? Might they likewise be better able to use context to understand others' ideas?

Theoretical Framework

The pedagogical usefulness of poetry in the ESL/EFL classroom is still an understudied topic in TESOL and Applied Linguistics research. Moving into this terrain, we have turned to a few recent studies of direct relevance that we have used as guideposts. Beyond these works our study has been informed by some broader philosophical, linguistic, and neurobiological perspectives. The studies, theories, and authors detailed below have informed the questions we have asked as well as the manner in which we have structured our study and analyzed our results, particularly with regard to analyzing and tapping into the affective power of poetry and metaphorical language toward acquisitive ends in EFL settings at the college level.

The TESOL Frame

Kadim Öztürk's study (2014) on teaching poetry in a Turkish EFL classroom emphasizes task-based instruction, as "language learners often find it difficult to transfer classroom language into real-life situations since the traditional type of language activities tend to eliminate the abstract nature of . . . language".

Mohammad Khatib's study (2011) of teaching English literature and poetry in an Iranian university pays particular attention to contributing factors that shape student attitudes and motivation. He introduces pedagogical strategies that he believes can positively impact the affective disposition of students toward literature, specifically poetry. Further, Khatib's assertion that "poetry writing can serve as a way of enhancing the learner's feel for the language" influenced our decision to emphasize creation in the tasks.

Educator and researcher Yu Ren Dong (2004) addresses the challenges of teaching metaphorical language to English language learners and invokes the research and theories of George Lakoff. Dong reminds us of a basic concept espoused by Lakoff regarding metaphor and convention, saying that "even imaginative or poetic metaphors are governed by cultural conventions and our beliefs and values". She argues that poetic, "non-conventional" metaphors are born out of these wider conventions, values, and conceptual systems. Therefore, to successfully achieve metaphorical language acquisition, both conventional and imaginative metaphors should be involved.

The Philosophy of Language Frame

In discussing the nature of metaphor, Richard Rorty (1989) pointed out that "old metaphors are constantly dying off into literalness, then used as a foil for new metaphors". Linguist Guy Deutscher famously stated that "all language is a reef of dead metaphor" (2005). He went on to say that metaphor is "the engine of language change". We certainly agree with these observations of the nature of language. Metaphor is the cutting edge of language change, where fresh and clever turns of phrase, sufficient in their "lexical charisma", take hold within a small group or community of individuals before going viral, rapidly self-replicating throughout a language until reaching a level of full-fledged idiomaticity or cliché, and even reaching literalness in cases where metaphors become so faint that they do not register

as metaphors. Lakoff discusses “the metaphors we live by”, metaphors in conventional use—i.e., the middling realm of idiomaticity. He characterizes metaphors as “general mappings across conceptual domains. . . . these general principles which take the form of conceptual mappings, apply not just to novel poetic expressions, but to much of ordinary everyday language.” His point is well-taken. The “locus of metaphor” essentially references the birth of meaning through a “cross-mapping” of disparate mental domains. Though we may, in light of Deutscher’s “reef of dead metaphor” insight, understand the locus of metaphor and the locus of language in general to be in essence one and the same. In other words, all language, not only what we perceive to be metaphoric language, consists in the possibility of conceptualizing one mental domain in terms of another.

Applying these wider pragmatic philosophical concepts to the field of TESOL raises questions surrounding the pedagogical value of historical linguistic knowledge and the prospect of raising pragmatic awareness of both conventional and imaginative metaphor, and crucially the interrelatedness between the two—that is, addressing how metaphorical expressions evolve over time, and discerning that creative and commonplace formulations both share and move along a common spectrum. Furthermore, these inquiries should not merely look into the efficacy of teaching/learning this knowledge, but also the efficacy of actively and imaginatively participating in it through the creation of original metaphorical language and poetic works by students themselves.

Some would argue that obscure, “imaginative” metaphors will not support proficiency when it comes to conventional idioms in writing and speech, and that it confuses and overburdens the learner. One response is that teaching metaphor through poetry is more than just reading obscure metaphors. It lends itself to teaching idiomatic expressions almost by default since the negotiating and translating of the meaning of a metaphor will frequently come in the form of more conventional and popular idiomatic expressions that relate the poetic sentiment. Extending from this we ask whether or not entering into a dialogue with students about the fundamental nature and pragmatic aspects of language boosts not only metaphor comprehension but second language acquisition in general. Is there real pedagogical value in teaching the relationship between imaginative/poetic metaphoric formulations and popular idiomatic expressions? If so, how can we quantify that value, and what are the best teaching practices to maximize it?

The Neurobiological Frame

The present study is further informed by neurobiological perspectives, particularly in its analysis of affective/emotional factors. Donna Tileston has argued that “when a learner is emotionally engaged the brain codes content by triggering chemicals that mark the experience as important and meaningful” (2004). This chemical triggering is the essential connection between cognitive and affective systems as content is chemically marked by emotion.

Complementary of Tileston’s work is John Schumann’s research (1997) on motivation in the context of second language acquisition in which he traces motivation to the interplay of affective and cognitive systems in the brain. His premise is that emotion is the essential driver of what we consider to be cognition, and

it is hugely determinative of motivation, and that motivation is the determining factor in second language acquisition outcomes.

Method

The purpose of the experiment was to gauge the short-term efficacy of using poetry to strengthen students' relationship with metaphorical and idiomatic language in quotidian or academic contexts. Students completed a writing assignment with an emphasis on metaphor prior to classroom study. Students then studied two poems during two separate class periods, emphasizing the poet's use of metaphorical language in expression via a series of task-based assignments. Students then completed a longer follow-up writing assignment in which they attempted to describe similar subjects via extended metaphor.

Participants

The twenty participants in this experiment were all in a single ESL course, Academic Written Discourse II. Students were all first-year, second-semester students between eighteen and twenty years old at Wenzhou-Kean University, an English-language university based in China. Students were all native Chinese speakers with intermediate-level proficiency in English.

Materials

Two poems were studied. The first poem studied was Theodore Roethke's "My Papa's Waltz". This poem was chosen for its relatively simple language, use of extended metaphor, and ambiguous meaning. The second poem studied was Sylvia Plath's aptly titled "Metaphors". This poem was chosen for its more complex language and use of a series of phrasal metaphors. These poems were further chosen because they are widely anthologized in English-language literature textbooks, and because they focus on two different universal subjects—respectively, one's relationship with a parent figure and one's relationship with oneself.

Poems were photocopied, passed out in class, and read aloud as a group. Other supplementary materials were used in order to augment students' understanding of the studied poems.

Task

As a class, vocabulary words were discussed and reviewed prior to poem study. Next, the poem was read out loud twice by the instructor. Students then split up into small groups of their own choosing and were asked to complete a series of tasks related to understanding the poem and, specifically, its use of metaphorical language. During the completion of these tasks, the instructor remained silent while observing and taking notes. Finally, the groups presented their interpretations, and the class as a whole discussed the poem.

Procedure

Pre-study

Students were given a series of metaphors taken from various poems and asked to identify the subject and object of each metaphor. The lines were as follows: “An aged man is but a paltry thing, / A tattered coat upon a stick” (William Butler Yeats, “Sailing to Byzantium”); “Assorted characters of death and blight / Mixed ready to begin the morning light” (Robert Frost, “Design”); “the sun is a flame-white disc / in silken mists” (William Carlos Williams, “Danse Russe”); “The apparition of these faces in the crowd; / Petals on a wet, black bough.” (Ezra Pound, “In a Station of the Metro”); and “To live in Wales is to be conscious / At dusk of the spilled blood / That went to the making of the wild sky” (RS Thomas, “Welsh Landscape”).

Students were then asked to rewrite five more metaphors, also taken from various poems, in their own words. The lines were as follows: “I should have been a pair of ragged claws / Scuttling across the floors of silent seas” (TS Eliot, “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock”); “Nor any voice of mourning save the choirs,— / The shrill, demented choirs of wailing shells” (Wilfred Owen, “Anthem for Doomed Youth”); “The crowds upon the pavement / Were fields of harvest wheat” (W. H. Auden, “As I Walked Out One Evening”); “The hawk comes. His wing / Scythes down another day, his motion / Is that of the honed steel-edge” (Robert Penn Warren, “Evening Hawk”); and “If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head” (Shakespeare, “My mistress’ eyes are nothing like the sun”).

Finally, students were asked to “write a paragraph in which [they] describe one of the following emotions in metaphorical terms: *love, hate, anger, happiness, sadness, or pity*.”

Pre-task

Students were asked to consider questions in relation to the poem’s subject. Students were encouraged to write their answers down. Our reasoning for not requiring them to write their answers was that the questions being asked were intensely personal issues, and we felt that if they were required to write and submit their answers, they would be less likely to be honest with themselves. We were more concerned with putting them in the proper mindset to receive and understand the poem, we chose to forego asking them to record their answers in the hopes that they would be completely honest with themselves.

Supplementary materials were used in order to further acclimate the students to the mindset needed to consider and understand the poem. Unfamiliar vocabulary words were written on the board and defined via conversation. Finally, the poem was read twice out loud by the instructor in order to stress standard pronunciation and cadence.

Task

As we allowed ourselves room to revise as the experiment proceeded, the specifics of each class period vary. However, it should be mentioned that for both class periods, although metaphor was used as a vehicle, our primary emphasis was on teaching the poem. For “My Papa’s Waltz”, we began with the following questions for consideration: “What kind of relationship do you have with your mother or father?”, “What do you think is good about that relationship?”, and “What difficulties are there

in that relationship?” The poem was supplemented with a recording of Strauss’s “Blue Danube” while the waltz as a musical form was explained. Students were asked to describe and discuss the emotion and/or tone of the waltz. Vocabulary words included *dizzy*, *romped*, *countenance*, *scrape*, *buckle*, and *clinging*.

There were eight tasks. First, the students were instructed to take turns reading the poem aloud to their group members; while doing so, students were asked to move slowly so that they could feel the weight, or stress, of each word and syllable. Second, students were asked to choose which of four paraphrases best fit the meaning of the poem: (a) “The speaker recalls happy memories of his father”; (b) “The speaker recalls ambivalent memories of his alcoholic, but loving, father”; (c) “The speaker recalls troubled memories of his abusive, alcoholic father”; or (d) “The speaker compares his mother and father”. Third, the students were asked to identify any figurative language used in the poem. Fourth, they were asked to replace their chosen examples with appropriate substitutions. Fifth, they were asked to describe what the poem, as a whole, meant. Sixth, they were asked to write down any ambiguous parts of the poem. Seventh, they were asked to add several lines to the end of the poem. Eighth, and finally, they were asked to describe the function of the poem’s title. The final fifteen minutes of the 75-minute period were then reserved for open-ended discussion focused on meaning and interpretation.

Because most groups did not complete all of the tasks assigned for “My Papa’s Waltz”, we reduced the number of tasks required for “Metaphors” to four. Questions for consideration were as follows: “Think about a time you were unsure of yourself. What made you insecure or critical of yourself?”; “If you could change one thing about yourself, what would it be and why?”; and “What do you like about yourself?” As supplementary materials, the instructor provided a biographical sketch of Plath in order to emphasize her struggle with depression and eventual suicide in order to set a proper tone for the reading of the poem. Finally, vocabulary words were *syllable*, *ponderous*, *strolling*, *tendrils*, *yeasty*, and *minted*.

The first task, as with the Roethke poem, was to read “Metaphors” out loud. Next, the students were asked to consider the visual images in each line and draw each image as best they could (see Appendix C). Then, the students were asked to guess what the speaker is. (If you are unfamiliar with the poem, the speaker is describing her pregnant self; this poem is also included in the appendix for reference.) Finally, students were once again asked to extend the poem by several lines.

Post-study

Students were asked to describe, using metaphors and imagery, either the relationship they have with another person or the relationship they have with the self. This was assigned as a freewriting assignment for which they had one hour. They were allowed to keep their technology out, although strongly encouraged to use it only if absolutely necessary. (In hindsight, it might have aided their creation of metaphor if we had forced them to eschew dictionaries, but live and learn.)

Results

All students showed some level of competency in their ability to create metaphors in the initial exercise; although, as expected, some students had a better understanding of metaphor than others, even after discussion. (It should be noted that metaphor was discussed via a duo of Frost poems two or three weeks prior to this extended assignment, so all students had been familiarized with the core concepts.) Where students struggled, it was typically because they got the metaphor part of the assignment out of the way quickly, then settled into standard description. For example, Caroline wrote that “Anger is like a little monster in everyone’s mind”—not exactly a metaphor, but figurative, at least. However, she then goes on to describe a series of things the monster does in reaction to very real things that happen to us, suggesting that she struggles to move from her vision of reality to a symbolic construct.

A number of students developed some striking work. We highlight three examples below. (Original spelling, punctuation, grammar, and mechanics have been retained.)

Sheila

Sheila had an interesting trajectory because she was one of the few students who correctly identified the subject and object of the fifth metaphor in the first exercise (from Thomas’s “Welsh Landscape”). That metaphor was chosen specifically because it reverses the typical syntax of the metaphor, which indicates that she was actually able to understand it, not just follow the format described in the introduction to the exercise. Then, though, her prewriting paragraph is virtually void of metaphor: “Anger, a sudden evil comes to mind, makes you feel like doing anything bad to survive. He may come without any reasons and may go when you feel peaceful. When he comes, you are controlled all by him and cannot get rid of him.” Rather than describing anger using metaphor, the student instead personifies anger—a kind of metaphorical language, to be sure, but not true metaphor.

She improved greatly on her freewriting, in which she describes a lost relationship of sorts: “The string linked us together has been cut off recently. The first time two talkative sparrows flied everywhere together and built up their neats closely. Sharing things with each other is really a happy thing. Gradually, they flied farther and found other groups to live with though the relationship never changed. . . . When they were taking a break on a tree after a long time of flying, one of the sparrows asked another sparrow that why it always find her when she felt tired. The sparrow who was asked felt akward and lonely and thought itself is the one who always accompany her.”

Outside of her use of first-person pronouns, there is no explanation otherwise—the piece remains entirely in the metaphor of the two sparrows. This may have been a product of time—she understood metaphor, but ran short on time during her prewriting—but there is no doubt that her freewriting demonstrates a better understanding of how to create metaphor than her prewriting does.

Optimus

In Optimus's case, the assessment could go either way rather easily. He was able to identify metaphor about as well as any other student in the class, getting three out of five correct (he missed the Thomas example), and his second exercise is filled with rather literal descriptions of the metaphors rather than paraphrases; for example, he "paraphrases" the Shakespeare lines as "The writer compare a woman's hair to wires, to show the hair is hard and straight." But, his prewriting does demonstrate some understanding of metaphor, even if it is of the call-and-response method: "The hate in his heart is a flame, almost burn everything into ashes and dusk. His unsuccessful revenge increased the emotion of hate, which gradually burned himself into a devil." His freewriting, on his relationship with his mother, demonstrates a similar formulaic approach in which he provides a metaphor, but follows it with an explanation: "My mother is a flashlight. She only beacons me and others, hardly shines up herself. She is my alarm clock, maybe more accurate than a real one. . . . After several years, I began my high school life. My relationship with my mother changed. The heavy study pressure was a high mountain pressed me out of breath. My mother became my shield. She kept me from the interference of the outside world, help me to deal with many other things."

Optimus, therefore, demonstrated a clear understanding of metaphor, even if he was unable—by design or otherwise—to maintain an extended metaphor describing their relationship. It is difficult to say if this is to be called an improvement or not (and indicates to us that we may have been better off using a full freewriting assignment as prewriting rather than a shortened version.)

Hans

While Hans performed about as well as the other students in identifying metaphors in established poems, his prewriting demonstrates a strong preliminary understanding of metaphor: "Pity: The sun goes down before I take a look; The plane takes off when I arrive at the airport; My parents grow grey hair when I come back home; Time goes by when I finally realize."

His version of freewriting made use of a nested story, in which he introduces his topic—his relationship with his best friend—in largely literal terms (although he calls her "a flower standing beside" him). He then provides the metaphor: "Two rivers flowed along the mountain, they divided sometimes, but kept parallel. One day, one of them, tried to collaborate with the other one, while it just found it impossible. Because the other one have focused on another river. . . . Then two rivers had to cross the mountaintop, which brought enormous pressure honestly. They all knew it clearly that over the hill, they would separate immediately. That's life and they had to finish it. They did their best on the process, unfortunately, which made no difference on the result at all. . . . Two rivers flows still, toward unknown directions. However, they did believe to see each other again soon."

He was largely able to maintain the extended metaphor, even if at times he switched to personification. It is likewise unclear if this was a success or not, though it should be noted that his ability to interpret and paraphrase metaphor was on the weaker end during the prewriting process. At the least, we can say that his freewriting demonstrates an ability to synthesize metaphor into a larger context, woven into a real-world story rather than set up as a series of disparate metaphors. This is not to say

the latter is necessarily bad, but the student nonetheless showed a different, developed approach in his freewriting that did not exist in his prewriting.

Conclusions

While students generally came in with some understanding of metaphor, either through previous study in other classes or because of earlier study in our class, the class as a whole appears to have demonstrated an improved ability to create and work in metaphor following study of the poems. Following the two class periods, most students were able to demonstrate some ability to describe either themselves or their relationship with another person in metaphorical terms. The students sometimes struggled with these metaphors, but they appeared to be able to work with them and sustain them over the course of the freewriting assignment, which seems to be indicative of the affective power of personal creation in the learning process. This act of creation is important because it demonstrates an ability to do more than translate metaphorical language into terms they may or may not understand. Rather, it demonstrates that they can think of themselves and the world around them in these terms, and gives them a more powerful articulatory arsenal with which to express their own developing personal perspectives with original, imaginative expressions and phraseology, which is a fundamental skill necessary in critical thinking and, thus, in participating in academic discourse (Dong, 2004). It furthermore demonstrates that they have the pragmatic and metalinguistic understanding that the line between conventional and imaginative expressions is not fixed, that the contexts in which we write and share ideas are ever-shifting, and that through the power of their own imaginative writing they can influence popular conventions, in academic discourse and culture at large.

A long-term approach would yield clearer results. However, focusing on short-term gains is helpful because it demonstrates that the study of poetry could be useful in short bursts. Most ESL/EFL classes will not be literature-based; efficacy aside, students struggling to learn the language may get worn out if their linguistic skills are put to such an extensive test regularly. Therefore, it is useful to examine whether or not short-term gains may be made, so such exercises may be used periodically as diversions to break from the usual academic essays, etc. Using poetic study as a working break may develop a more well-rounded reader, one who will not hesitate to analyze unfamiliar words and phrases in academic texts in context, and may be more ready to describe new academic contexts using critical thought as opposed to regurgitation.

References

- Deutscher, G. (2005). *The unfolding of language*. New York, NY: Holt.
- Dong, Y.R. (2004). Don't keep them in the dark! Teaching metaphors to English language learners. *English Journal*, 93(4), 29-35.
- Jones, B. (2010). Motivating and supporting English language learners with the poems of William Carlos Williams. *Middle School Journal*, September, 16-20.
- Khatib, M. (2011). A new approach to teaching English poetry to EFL students. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 2(1), 164-169.
- Lakoff, G. (1992). *The contemporary theory of metaphor: Metaphor and thought* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP.
- Ozturk, K. (2014). Exploring "The Brain Is Wider Than the Sky" by Emily Dickinson through task-based learning in EFL classes. *Journal of Theory and Practice in Education*, 10(1), 220-232.
- Rorty, R. (1989). *Contingency, irony, and solidarity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP.
- Schumann, J. H. (1997). *The neurobiology of affect in language*. Maiden, MA: Blackwell.
- Tileston, D. W. (2004). *What every teacher should know about learning, memory and the brain*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Appendix A

My Papa's Waltz, by Theodore Roethke¹

The whiskey on your breath
Could make a small boy dizzy;
But I hung on like death:
Such waltzing was not easy.
We romped until the pans
Slid from the kitchen shelf;
My mother's countenance
Could not unfrown itself.
The hand that held my wrist
Was battered on one knuckle;
At every step you missed
My right ear scraped a buckle.
You beat time on my head
With a palm caked hard by dirt,
Then waltzed me off to bed
Still clinging to your shirt.

The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of several overlapping, semi-transparent arcs in shades of blue and red, creating a sense of motion or a stylized 'i'.

¹ Courtesy of *The Poetry Foundation* <<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/172103>>

Appendix B

Metaphors, by Sylvia Plath²

I'm a riddle in nine syllables,
An elephant, a ponderous house,
A melon strolling on two tendrils.
O red fruit, ivory, fine timbers!
This loaf's big with its yeasty rising.
Money's new-minted in this fat purse.
I'm a means, a stage, a cow in calf.
I've eaten a bag of green apples,
Boarded the train there's no getting off.



² Courtesy of *Shenendoah* <<http://shenendoahliterary.org/blog/2012/01/metaphors-by-sylvia-plath/>>

Appendix C

Student interpretations of the imagery in “Metaphors”. Each group was asked to contribute one image on the board; however, some groups had a lot of fun with this task.

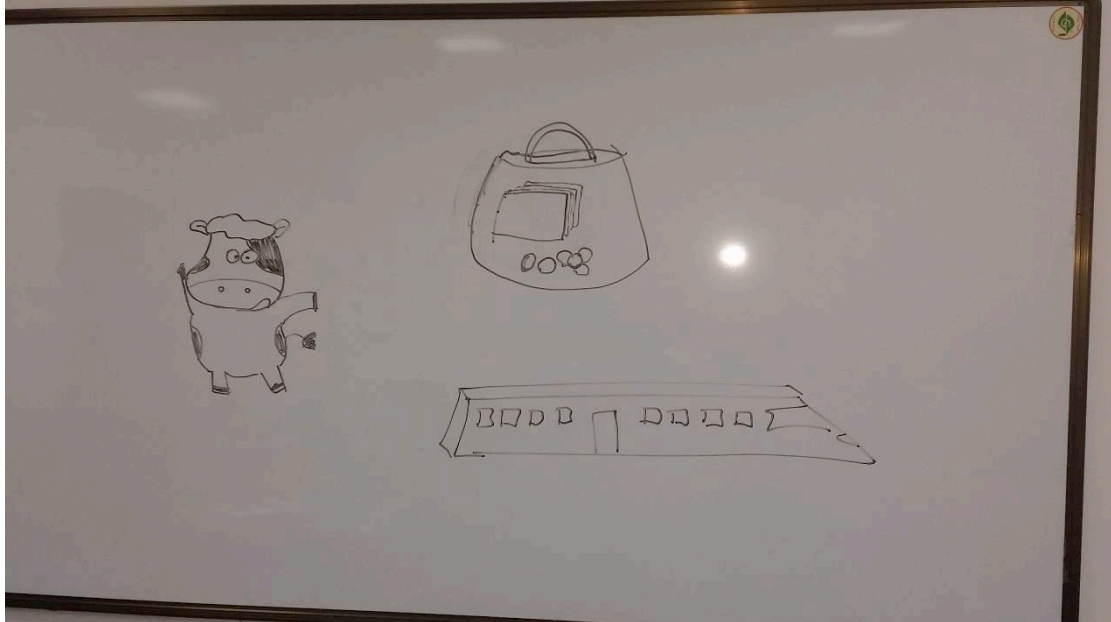


Figure 1: Clockwise from left: “a cow in calf”, “Money’s new-minted in this fat purse”, and “Boarded the train”.

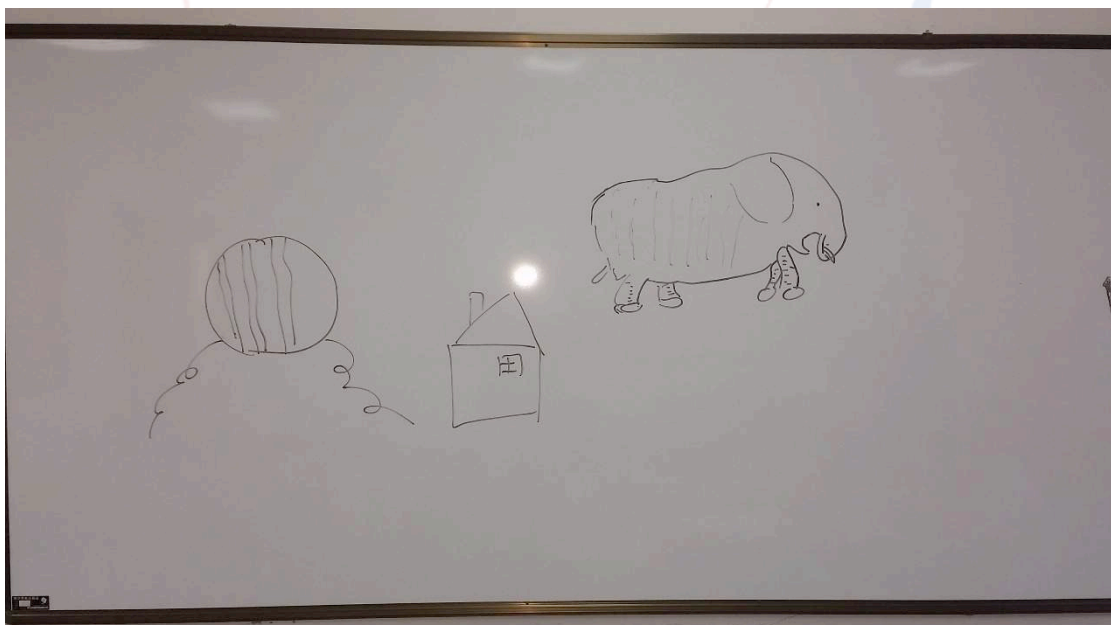


Figure 2: From left: “A melon strolling on two tendrils”, “a ponderous house”, and “An elephant”.

An Analysis of Pembayuns Speech Acts in the Sorong Serah Ceremony of Sasak Marriage: A Ritualistic Discourse Study

Lalu Nurul Yaqin, University of Gunung Rinjani, Indonesia

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This study investigated the *Pembayuns* speech acts in *Sorong Serah* ceremony of the *Sasak* marriage. As such, it examined the speech events that occurred within the ritual of the ceremony. It was designed as a descriptive qualitative research of the ethnography of communication type and employed observations and interviews as methods of data collection. Video recording and note-taking techniques were applied. The data analysis was affiliated with Wijana's (1996), Austin's (1975) and Searle's (1969) models of speech act theory and was done following Miles and Huberman's (1994) interactive model of data analysis. The findings of the study showed that the *Pembayuns* in *Sorong Serah* ceremony conveyed speech acts of certain types that can be categorized as direct speech acts, indirect speech acts, literal speech acts, nonliteral speech acts, direct literal speech acts, direct nonliteral speech acts, indirect literal speech acts, and indirect nonliteral speech acts. Among those eight forms of speech acts, indirect speech act was used most dominantly by the *Pembayuns* as it was seen as a politeness strategy. In relation to the force of utterances, it was found that the illocutionary acts used by the *Pembayuns* in *Sorong Serah* ceremony comprise a strategy that was oriented to face saving politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). All the five types of speech act were found to be used by the *Pembayuns* in *Sorong Serah* ceremony, namely: directive, commissive, expressive, representative, and declaration. These types of speech act were mainly concerned with values and wisdom related to politeness principles.

Keywords: Speech Acts, cultural, Sorong Serah, Sasak Marriage

iafor

The international Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Language is one of the most crucial human cultural symbols. Discussing language and culture is often symbolized as two sides of one coin as the two notions cannot be separated (Mahyuni, 2007). This is most basic argument that has to do with the nature of language in social practices. An effort to separate language from its cultural context is to neglect social conditions that give resonance and meaning in communication. Culture consists of the beliefs, behaviors, and other characteristics common to the members of a particular society. Through culture, society's members shared values, which include many societal aspects, such as language, customs, values and norms (Schiffrin, 1994).

Related to the socio-cultural and linguistic behavior, the *Sasak* community has uniqueness in their customary marriage ceremony. As suggested by Dhana (1989: 6-7) "*Marriage in the Sasak custom regulates matters of marriage, while the marriage ceremony is a habit in Sasak community which is an effort to finalize the process of marriage*" (the writer's translation).

As mentioned above, the *Sasak* customary marriage involves all the institutions and norms of social and cultural matters relating to marriage, while the marriage ceremony is a series of events in which the cultural institutions lay down certain rules so that the marriage is considered legitimate from the standpoint of the culture of the society. Customary marriage and the marriage ceremony constitute a unity so that the two cannot be separated even though between them there are fundamental differences. Marriage *ceremony* is an inseparable part of customary marriage.

Marriage ceremony in *Sasak* community consists of four stages, namely: *Sejati*, *Selabar*, *Sorong Serah*, and *Nyongkolan*. From the four stages of the marriage ceremony, *three* of them, namely, *Sejati*, *Selabar*, and *Sorong Serah* are cultural events that comprise an oral tradition, which consists of speech events. These three ritual events are carried out in the form of certain types of communicative events in which certain speech acts, or pragmatic forces, are used in different functions according to the role, purpose, and urgency of each stage of the process.

The first ceremony is called "*Sejati*," which takes place after "elopement," that is, a process in which a man as a prospective husband elopes with a woman who will become his prospective wife. The man's family has an obligation to inform the village government (head of village/hamlet). In this traditional ceremony the family of the groom delegates two persons as "*Pembayuns*" with several companions to come to the head of the village. The ceremony is held with the aim of telling the authorities that one *woman* has "eloped" (*Kawin Lari/Merarik*) with a man of her choice. This ceremony consists of dialogues between the "*Pembayuns*" of the prospective bridegroom's family and the head of the village, who represents the village government. After the "*Sejati*" ceremony has been completed, the head of the village immediately contacts the woman's family to give the information that the *Pembayuns* set by the family of the prospective husband has come.

The second stage of the marriage ceremony, which is held after the *Sejati* ceremony, is called *Selabar* ceremony. The prospective bride's and bridegroom's families as well as representatives of the village government and traditional leaders attend the *Selabar* ceremony. The ceremony aims at breaking the news to the family of the bride

about the truth of the information that has been conveyed in the *Sejati* ceremony. In the ceremony presided over by the head of the village, the woman's family conveys the terms and conditions that must be covered as custom duty by the family of the prospective bridegroom. Besides that, the ceremony is also meant to determine the time of the wedding and *Sorong Serah* ceremony. In this ceremony, there are rituals in the form of a dialogue between the *Pembayuns* and the head of hamlet on behalf of the prospective bride's family. The topics are around the terms and conditions of the custom duty that the prospective bridegroom's family has to cover to marry the woman.

The third stage is the *Sorong Serah* ceremony. The ceremony is conducted with the purpose of implementing the terms and regulations of custom duties to be done by the bridegroom's family, including *Ajigama*, *Ajikrama*, *Dowry (Mahar)* and other requirements. In this *Sorong Serah*, *Pembayun Pisolo* and *Pembayun Penyerah* represent the groom's family, while *Pembayun Penampi* represents the bride's family. *Sorong Serah* is a cultural event held in the form of dialogues, in which utterances are exchanged, so that, it can thus be referred to as a speech event. The third stage of the marriage procession is carried out to cover different subjects or concerns so that the dialogues among participants are arranged accordingly with different durations.

Sorong Serah is the culmination of a marriage ceremony. It is different from "*Sejati*" and "*Selabar*." *Sorong Serah* ceremony aims at submitting the terms and regulation of the bridegroom's custom duty. The ceremony takes place in the form of discussion through which utterances are exchanged toward the implementation of the terms and regulations in which the handover of the custom duty matters from the bridegroom's to the bride's family is done. In the discussion, a speaker called *Pembayun* represents both sides. The dialogue among the participants of the ceremony is conducted in a relatively long duration.

The dialogues in the ceremony involve utterances exchanged among participants called *Pembayuns* from both the groom's and the bride's families. The former is called *Pembayun Pisolo* and *Pembayun Penyorong* or *Pembayun Penyerah* who speak on behalf of the groom's family, while the latter is called *Pembayun Penampi* or *Pembayun Nanggep*, serving as the speaker of the bride's family. In *Sorong Serah* ceremony, *Pembayun Pisolo*, *Pembayun Penyerah* and *Pembayun Penampi* are involved in dialogues relating to the terms and regulations customary to a marriage ceremony (*Ajikrama*) which must be fulfilled as an obligation of the bridegroom's family.

The *Sorong Serah* ceremony as a speech event has its own uniqueness. This can be seen in the three languages used, namely, the ancient Javanese language (*Bahasa Jawa Kuno*), *Sasak* Utami Language (*Bahasa Sasak Utami*), and the Balinese noble language (*Bahasa Bali Halus*). The spoken discourse in *Sorong Serah* ceremony includes: opening discourse (*Pangaksama Penyolo*), the main discourse, that is, the discourse of the discussion on the terms and conditions customary to the wedding ceremony (*Pangaksama Ajikrama*), and closing discourse (*Amutus Wicara*), which are carried out in dialogues with a variety of discourse entertainments (*Egar-Egar Serira*) in the form of puzzle songs (*Pepinja*) and Rhymes (*Lelakaq*).

In addition, the uniqueness is also evident in the utterances that are used by the *Pembayuns* as speech participants in the dialogues to discuss the customary terms and regulations (*Ajikrama*). The dialogue sometimes comes to a deadlock when both *Pembayuns* persist on their respective points. They may even attack each other using utterances so that the situation becomes heated. However, the utterances used by the *Pembayuns* are polite. Another uniqueness of the speech event of *Sorong Serah* is the use of gestures that accompany the utterances, comprising a motion of the hand and head, mimic and movement of certain limbs, all of which have a special significance.

Inspired by the background above, the problems of this study was focused on the types, forces, and speech act functions of the utterances used by the *Pembayuns* as speech participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony. The specific problem addressed in the study are (1) what are the types of speech acts embedded in the utterances used by the *Pembayuns* in *Sorong Serah* ceremony in the *Sasak* marriage? (2) what are the forces of the utterances used by the *Pembayuns* in *Sorong Serah* ceremony in the *Sasak* Marriage? and (3) what are the functions of the illocutionary acts conveyed by the *Pembayuns* in *Sorong Serah* ceremony in the *Sasak* marriage?

This study was mainly concerned with analyzing the utterances expressed by the *Sasak Pembayuns* in the *Sorong Serah* event of the *Sasak* marriage ceremony. As such, the study was meant to be an analysis of the speech event that occurred within the ritual of the ceremony, which was affiliated with certain theories such as Wijana's (1996) theory for analyzing the types of speech acts occurring in the discourse of *Sorong Serah* ceremony. The study also adopted Austin's (1975) classification of speech acts to analyze the force of the utterances in *Sorong Serah* ceremony, and Searle's (1969) conception to analyze the function of the illocutionary acts in *Sorong Serah* ceremony. The analysis of the types and functions of the *Pembayuns*' speech acts was based on the politeness principle perspectives, such as those of Brown and Levinson's (1987).

Research Methods

This study was a descriptive qualitative research with a natural setting as the direct source of data with the researcher taking a role of being the key instrument (cf. Bodgan and Biklen, 1982). That is, that the researcher had an authority in elaborating what had been found in the source and applying the appropriate theory to answer the research questions.

This study was an ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974) in which the starting point was the ethnographic analysis of the communication conduct of a community. it was concerned with observing, analyzing and explaining what people do when they communicate with each other in actual events of social interaction within a community. By using ethnography, the researcher was able to provide holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (sights, sounds) of the location they inhabit, through employed methods of data collection such as observations and interview. The observations and interviews were video recorded and note-taking techniques were also applied. In the data analysis, which was carried out along and after data collection, the researcher used three flows of activity, proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), namely: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing, or verification.

Findings and Discussion

This section gives an overall picture of the results of this study, which corresponds with the research questions postulated. The research questions to be answered are concerned with speech act types, utterance force, and the speech act functions found in the *Pembayuns'* utterances that occur in the speech event within the ritual of *Sorong Serah* ceremony. The following description present the results of data analysis that answer each research question, covering the types of speech acts, the force of utterance, and the functions of speech acts used by *Pembayuns* in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony.

Findings Concerning the Types of Speech Acts in the Sorong Serah Ceremony

The speech act types that were used by the speech participants (*Pembayun Pisolo*, *Pembayun Penyerah* and *Pembayun Penampi*) in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony, cover: (1) direct speech acts, (2) indirect speech acts, (3) literal speech acts, (4) nonliteral speech acts, (5) direct literal speech acts, (6) direct nonliteral speech acts, (7) indirect literal speech acts, and (8) indirect nonliteral speech acts (Wijana, 1996).

The use of direct speech acts by speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony can be identified through the mode of utterance that was used by speech participants was the same as their purposes. Based on the results of data analysis, the direct speech acts were used by speech participants for various purposes, namely: (1) the disclosure of the intention of proposition through declarative mode, (2) the disclosure of the intention to ask through interrogative mode, and (3) the disclosure of the intention to command through imperative mode.

The direct speech acts used by speech participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony were in forms of declarative, interrogative, and imperative utterances used to express speech functions such as greetings, asking permission, apologizing, giving permission, and welcoming the guests. The speech participants used direct speech acts to express something that was not in contrary to the politeness principles. This is in accordance with the fact that the speech participants hold on politeness principle by showing good attitude towards speech partner (Seken, 2004). Politeness principles are shown by the speech participants by using direct speech acts for expressing different language functions such as: greeting, asking permission, apologizing, giving permission and welcoming the guest which are intended to eliminate speaker's superiority and the inferiority of the speech partner. The use of direct speech act by speech participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony was in line with three of the six maxims of politeness stated by leech (1983) covering, tact maxim, approbation maxims, and modesty maxims.

The indirect speech acts depicted in the utterances used by the participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony could be identified from the content of the intention expressed by speakers (the meaning behind the utterance). These utterances were used to express different intentions. Based on the analysis of the speech acts used in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony, it was discovered that the forms of indirect speech acts used by speech participants in the ceremony, included: (1) the use of declarative utterance to express a command, (2) the use of interrogative utterance to express a command, and (3) the use of declarative to express a request.

Based on the three forms of utterances of indirect speech acts used by speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony, the most dominantly used utterances was declarative utterance to declare command. The intention to command is refined by declarative and interrogative utterances, that can be seen as an attempt of speech participants to perform “face saving” to speech partner which is related to the face notion of Brown and Levinson politeness theory (1987). The use of indirect speech acts by speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony could be viewed as an effort to reduce the threatening of speech act utterances that were used by speech partners.

From the point of view of the politeness principle, indirect speech act does not necessarily indicate the speaker's politeness. The indirect speech acts used are often considered less polite if it means to satirize (Gunarwan, 2004). Indirect speech act is considered to be related to the politeness principle when used instead to make the point sarcastic, mocking, or insulting. In this case, the speaker's intention was revealed through indirect utterances closely linked to socio-cultural context in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony. There were no utterances containing indirect speech acts used to express the senses of being sarcastic, mocking or insulting the speech partners.

In general, the utterances that contained indirect speech acts in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony were used to show good attitude. The speech participants honoring and rewarding his speech partners used indirect speech acts, which were beyond the social-culture context of the *Sasak* community that emphasized politeness principles in communication. This is in line with the assumptions stated by Gunarwan (2004) that say indirect speech acts are associated with politeness strategies in communication, the more indirect an utterances is the more polite the utterance it is.

Besides direct speech acts and indirect speech acts, the data analysis also showed that the speech participants also used the utterances containing literal speech acts and nonliteral speech acts. The literal speech acts used by speech participants were the utterances having meaning the same as the lexical meaning of words. While, nonliteral speech acts were not the same as lexical meaning of words. The use of literal speech acts and nonliteral speech acts by the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony in addressing the speech participants had something to do with a choice related to topic, situation and socio-cultural in expressing something.

The literal speech acts in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony were used by speech participants in greetings, apologizing, asking permission, and expressing acceptance. These utterances were used by the speech participants because they didn't have alternative choice except using literal speech acts, besides, using them to declare the participants desire, to show his thoughts and good intentions explicitly to his speech partner point of view to maintain harmonious relationships among the speech participants. It can be regarded as one of the strategies used by the speech participants to show politeness. This strategy is in line with the politeness principles that are suggested by Brown & Levinson (1987) who state that the speakers can use different strategies in threatening speech partners fairly related to the topic of discussion, context of the situation and the background of the cultural context of speech events.

In relation to the direct speech act, the results of data analysis showed a number of utterances containing direct literal speech act and direct nonliteral speech acts that were used by speech participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony. The direct literal speech act that were used by the speech participants were the utterances having the same meaning as the mode of utterances and the lexical meaning of words. The use of direct nonliteral speech acts utterances used were related to the mode (speech meaning). However, the words constructing the utterances did not semantically comply with the intention expressed by the speaker.

The results of data analysis in this study also showed that the use of indirect literal speech acts and indirect nonliteral speech act were in the forms of a number of utterances using modes that were the utterances having different meanings from the intention of the utterance and the lexical meaning of words. The indirect nonliteral speech act utterances used by the speech participants, were not consistent with the speaker's intention and were constructed by using lexical meaning of the utterances that did not have the same meaning as the purpose of the utterance. The use of indirect literal speech acts and indirect nonliteral speech acts by speech participants were adjusted to the topic, the context of the situation and the social cultural background of the speech events of *Sorong Serah* ceremony that was oriented to show the speech partners politeness.

Findings Concerning the Force of the Utterances in the Sorong Serah Ceremony

The analysis of speech act types depicted in the utterances used by speech participants makes use of theory of analysis suggested by Austin's (1975), comprising: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts.

The results of the data analysis concerning the force of the utterances used by the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony can be stated as follows. In general, all utterances used by speech participants contained locutionary acts. The act that implied was based on the lexical meaning and the syntactical rules by unquestioning the intention or function of utterances. However, the utterance used by speech participants also contained illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. Based on the results of data analysis, the illocutionary acts utterances used by speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony could be seen from the intention, message, behind the lexical meaning of words.

The illocutionary act expressed hidden meaning beyond the lexical meaning of the utterances used by speech participants for asking, a command, a hope, a request or demanding, offering, praising and threatening. The illocutionary acts of the utterances used by speech participants were related to direct or indirect and literal or nonliteral speech acts. In addition, the illocutionary acts were different in terms of the lexical meanings of the utterance from the purpose expressed. The illocutionary act utterances used by speech participants were also different from the utterances that were used to convey purposes. The speech participants' utterance in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony had a tendency to declare a command, demanding and expectations through declarative or interrogative utterances. In using illocutionary act utterances, the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony followed the rule of politeness maxims in communication.

In relation to the use of a command utterance, the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony employed six maxims of politeness principles suggested by Leech (1983) covering: tact maxims, generosity maxim, approbation maxims, agreement maxims, modesty maxim and sympathy maxim. By adhering to Leech's maxims through utterances containing illocutionary act, the speech participants intended to maintain politeness in communication. This was consistent with the politeness theory in communication in showing thoughts and good intention to the speech partners.

The purpose and message which constituted of illocutionary act utterances, were used by speech participants consciously, and were in accordance with the circumstances and socio-cultural context of the speech event in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony. This is in line with the *Sasak* community's points of view that uphold politeness, and mutual respect. The illocutionary act used planned and consciously by the speech participants were intended to achieve effectiveness of communication without showing the superiority, so that, the relationship among speech participants could be maintained.

The efforts to achieve effectiveness of communication through illocutionary act utterances were showed by speech participants through politeness principles in communication. The use of illocutionary acts to show politeness in *Sorong Serah* ceremony by speech participants was intended to perform "face saving" to speech partner. The illocutionary acts were used by speech participants in order that the speech partner felt that their personal integrity was appreciated; therefore, good relationship among speech participants could be maintained. This is in line with politeness theory of face saving to speech partner; that the speakers ought to use an appropriate strategy of the level of politeness, which is in accordance with the politeness investment required in a particular speech situation (Seken, 2007).

Besides, the illocutionary act utterances used by the speech participants were oriented to give an effect or influence to the speech partners in order to perform an action. The speech participants used a number of utterances; besides containing the illocutionary acts that were showed by the speech partners as the effects after hearing the utterance disclosed by speakers. The acts or influences were expected from speech partners as an act of doing something. The results of the speech acts conveyed by the speech participants that could be influenced by doing something in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony are called perlocutionary act. The inflicted utterances used by the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony, were the effects of command utterances. The effects that were expected by the speech participants by utilizing the illocutionary act utterances were also parts of the politeness strategy. The four basic strategies that are suggested by Brown & Levinson (1987), include: impolite strategy, less polite strategy, polite strategy, and the most polite strategy. The utilization of illocutionary acts were used by the speech participants to achieve the most politeness strategy in communication.

Findings Concerning the Function of the Speech Acts in the Sorong Serah Ceremony

According to Searle's (1969), the analysis of illocutionary act consists of certain aspects, which are related to the message and content of the utterances that were used by speech participants. The results of the data analysis showed that the speech participants in *Sorong Serah* used certain types of illocutionary act functions that can

be categorized into directive, commissive, expressive, representative, and declaration functions.

Directive function of speech acts were used by the speech participants in expressing requests. The directive function to express the intention of a command was not found in the utterances that were used by the speech participants. To make the intention become soft using command in the form of a request, the speech participants mainly used certain utterances to show some characteristics, comprising: (1) the use of politeness pronouns based on the social status, to show respect and honor to the speech partners, (2) the use of certain verbs, bearing very soft connotation, and the utterances that implicitly stated the intention to request, and (3) the use of honorific utterances to show politeness and mutual respect to the speech partners.

Commissive function of speech acts used by the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony could be seen from the utterances that were oriented to future action. This case was possible because of the substitutions occurring among the speech participants in the speech event of *Sorong Serah* ceremony. There are certain characteristics of what that are suggested by Searle (1969) and Levinson (1983), covering: (1) the conversation involves at least two speech participants acting as speaker and addresser, (2) the mutual interaction among speech participants, and (3) the results of the interaction among the speech participants which are in the form the acts of offering, promising and threatening.

The results of data analysis concerning the expressive function of speech acts used by the speech participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony showed that there were certain forms speech acts that can be categorized into an expression of sympathy, happiness, and apologizing. However, the expressive speech act utterances used by speech participants in this study were not absolute, because the utterance could be revealed, as the expressions of sympathy as well as the expression of apologize.

According to Searle's (1969), the representative speech acts function is concerned with expressing the intention of message through the speakers' utterances. The results of data analysis related to the representative function of speech acts used by the speech participants could be categorized into various functions, namely: (1) The speakers express opinions to speech partners concerning the truth, (2) the speakers convey a conclusion about something to speech partners, (3) speakers propose an opinion to speech partner, and (4) the speakers convey advices to the speech partners. The use of the representative functions of speech act in *Sorong Serah* ceremony, were mainly intended to maintain good relationships among speech partners.

The declaration functions of speech act in the study were mainly concerned with the utterances produced by speech participants that were in accordance with proposition and reality. It means that, the utterances used by the speech participants to express the relevancy between the statement and the action happening. Thus, the declaration functions of speech acts were used in the speech events of *Sorong Serah* ceremony.

Conclusion and Suggestion

Based on the results of the data analysis of speech acts in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony of *Sasak marriage*. It can be concluded that, the types, forces, and the speech act functions were used by the speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony as an

option toward strategies that could be used to express intention in certain situation and socio-cultural contexts that underlie the speech event. In relation to the forms of speech of acts, the indirect speech act was most dominantly used by speech participants in *Sorong Serah* ceremony which can be seen as a politeness strategy in communication.

While, the illocutionary acts function that were used by speech participants in the *Sorong Serah* ceremony could be viewed as a communication strategy which was in line with six maxims of politeness and the utterances used by the speech participants was intended to perform "face saving" to speech partners



References

- Austin, John L. 1975. *How to Do Things with Words (2nd edn)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, P. & S.C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universal in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press
- Dhana, I Nyoman. 1989. *Adat dan Upacara Perkawinan Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*. Denpasar : Kanwil Depdikbud Provinsi Bali
- Gunarwan, Asim, 2004. Dari Pragmatik ke Pengajaran Bahasa. Makalah Pada Seminar Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, IKIP Negeri Singaraja, 29 November 2004.
- Hymes, Dell. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hymes, D. 1994. *Towards ethnographies of communication (edited version)*. In J. Maybin (Ed.), *Language and literacy in social practice* (pp. 11-22). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters in association with Open University.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. New York. Longman Inc.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Mahyuni. 2007. Valuing Language and Culture: An Example From Sasak. *Makara, Sosial Humaniora*, Vol. 11, No. 2, December 2007: 79-86
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman A.M. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. (Second edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1994. *Approaches to Discourse*. Cambridge. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Act, An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. London: Cambridge University press.
- Seken, I Ketut. 2004. *Being Polite in Balinese: An Analysis of Balinese Adat Leaders' Spoken Discourse*. Malang. Graduate Program in English Language Education. State University of Malang. Unpublished Dissertation.
- Seken, I Ketut. 2007. Kesantunan Linguistik dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Kedua. Naskah Orasi Pengenalan Jabatan Guru Besar Tetap Dalam Bidang Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris, Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni, Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha Singaraja, 28 Desember 2007.
- Wijana, I Dewa Putu. 1996. *Dasar-Dasar Pragmatik*. Yogyakarta: Andi Offset.



Power of Sympathy: Constructions of “Children’s Rights” in Tokyo’s Slum

Akane Oishi, University of Tsukuba, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This paper argues that something akin to children’s rights emerged as a byproduct of modern women’s charitable works in prewar Japan. At a time when the welfare system was not officially established, charity was men’s sphere. But around 1900, two college-educated women, Yuka Noguchi and Mine Morishima, launched into this male-dominated sphere and founded a nursery school for children living in slums, named Futaba Nursery School. Noguchi and Morishima gathered neglected children living in slums in Tokyo out of feelings of pity. Even though there was deep-rooted prejudice against the lower classes, the founders tried to save these pitiable children and published reports on their plights in annual reports and magazines, which resulted in creating great sympathy toward them among women in the middle and upper classes. Futaba Nursery School and the media thus inadvertently helped to create a hitherto unthinkable bonding beyond class that revolved around what is now called children’s rights—such as the right to health, education, play and recreation, and to be protected from abuse and harm. Furthermore, this sympathy with children was extended to their mothers, and Noguchi and Morishima founded a home for mothers and children. It was characteristically part of charitable work by women, but it nonetheless was an important step toward the protection of motherhood. In this paper, based on the archival works on Futaba Nursery School, I will analyze the ways in which the power of sympathy helped pave the way to the Japanese formation of children’s rights and protection of motherhood.

Keywords: children’s rights, protection of motherhood, family, poverty

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

This paper argues that something akin to children's rights emerged as a byproduct of modern women's charitable works in prewar Japan. Based on the archival works on Futaba Nursery School, I will analyze the ways in which the power of sympathy helped pave the way to the Japanese formation of children's rights and protection of motherhood. Before WWII, there was no sufficient welfare system and children's rights were not recognized in Japan. In fact, there were many slums and miserable children which were treated discriminatively. Some intellectuals such as Emori Ueki and Takayuki Namae who were known as pioneers in social work, already considered about "children's right" and they also used the phrase "children's right" but it did not spread sufficiently in public opinion. However, when children's rights were recognized officially after WWII, children's rights took root in Japan. Can the postwar spread of children's rights be traced back to the pre-WWII era?

I argue that it was the power of sympathy that helped the spread of "children's rights". I focus on a grass-roots movement, especially Futaba Nursery School which was a charitable kindergarten for the poor in a Tokyo's slum. It means that I trace not just the idea of children's right but practices that involved many people even if the phrase "children's rights" was not be used. Furthermore, most pioneers were men such as Ueki and Namae, but Futaba Nursery School was an exception because it was established by two women, Noguchi and Morishima, supported by many middle and upper class women, and helped poor mothers and children. In this women's community, sympathy had great influence and promoted the understanding of "children's rights."

Sympathy with Children and Discrimination against the Poor

Two Christian women, Yuka Noguchi and Mine Morishima established charitable work, Futaba Nursery School by donation in 1900 and gathered neglected children living in slums. This school has continued to operate and now it manages nursery schools and some institutions for special case children.¹ I analyze its practices from its prewar establishment because we can find the changes which this charitable work made in slum.

¹ Nursery school (Futaba Nangen Hoikuen, Futaba Kusunoki Hoikuen), orphanage (Futaba Nyujiin), and foster home (Futaba Gakuen, Futaba Musashigaoka Gakuen).

Noguchi graduated from the Girl's High Normal School, Joshi Koto Shihan Gakko, which gave the highest education for girls in this era and most of them became teachers. She became interested in early child education because her school friend, Hatsuko Bito had a passion for it and always told Noguchi the necessity or wonderfulness of its education. After graduation, she got a job in a famous public kindergarten, Ochanomizu kindergarten, where upper class children came. After four years of employment, she moved to Noble kindergarten, Kazoku Jogakko Fuzoku Yochien. While working for Noble Kindergarten, she wondered what the most ideal education for children was because she could not be satisfied with the principle of this noble school and hoped to try out her ideal education by herself. Mine Morishima who worked for Noble Kindergarten together hit it off with Noguchi. They decided to establish Futaba Nursery school in slum. Before she met Noguchi, Morishima studied English with Umeko Tsuda who was the first woman to study overseas, and went to California to study early childhood education and get kindergartener's training at charitable nursery school for poor immigrants there. Upon her return, she got a job at Noble Kindergarten as kindergartener.

The idea of Futaba Nursery School in a slum came from their experiences in daily lives. Noguchi talked about the beginning of Futaba Nursery School when a journalist Kiyoshi Kamisaki interviewed her.

..... I often met children playing and eating snacks on the road when I walked to and from work. On one hand, there are noble children educated with great care in my work place, Noble Kindergarten, on the other hand, there are children abandoned in the street like them. I could not ignore them.²

She felt so sorry for poor children because she happened to see both children rich and poor and find the different situation between them though they are both children. In those days, there were many slums in Tokyo and Yotsuya Samegabashi slum was well known as one of the three major slums in Tokyo and it was located very near the Noble Nursery School.

Noguchi said that she felt so sorry for poor children but Noguchi and Morishima also shared this same discrimination against the poor with the public. Noguchi and Morishima showed their discrimination in the prospectus below.

² Kamisaki, Kiyoshi. (1940). Noguchi Yuka. *Biography of Modern Women [Gendai Fujinden]*. Chuokoronsha. pp58-59.

Because of the circumstance that their (poor children's) houses barely survive in the weather and give little space for people, their clothes are tattered, and snare and viciousness fills there, they become more and more wretched and fall into temptation in the future. It is deplorable that they threaten social development and national order. The merciful people should not disregard them.³

We can know that founders thought poverty was the root of evil and they needed to prevent from spreading vice. Historian Itoko Kitahara said, "modernization is the process from the society where being "the poor" is just a natural situation to the society where "poverty" means disgrace and should be eliminated".⁴ The prejudice against the poor arose newly and Noguchi and Morishima shared this idea.

The vogue of slums' reportages showed that people looked upon slums as strange. Iwagoro Matsubara and Gennosuke Yokoyama were well known as reportage writers and their works sold like fun. It means that readers enjoyed reportages because slums looked like a very different world satisfying their curiosity. Slums were visible strange space and they did not feel that the poor were the same citizens as themselves.

The Japanese government planned many slum clearances. In fact, the government made Yotsuya Samegabashi slum move to Shinjuku because it was too near to the Imperial Palace and other important institutions which had to be protected from immorality and infectious diseases. Some parts of Yotsuya Samegabashi slum were bought by the government and the managers of land were replaced to choose appropriate inhabitants. The government also emphasized the needs of charitable work for prevention of terrible affairs.

Noguchi and Morishima shared negative images of poverty when they started Futaba Nursery School. However, two aspects of the founders' idea—necessity of protecting children and changing the poverty as a life of vice—are noteworthy. For the founders, "children living in slums" have two categories, "the poor" and "children". In public opinion, "the poor" had a serious implication even if they were adults or children. For example, in common sense, they were dangerous because of poverty, or they were immoral because of the poverty. However the founders thought differently. They drew attention to the other category, "children." They could focus on "children" and noticed

³ Futaba Nursery School. (1900). the prospectus. (1985). *Futaba Hoikuen Hachijyugo Nenshi [History 85 Years of Futaba Nursery School]*.

⁴ Kitahara, Itoko. (1995). *Toshi To Hinkon No Shakai Shi: Edo Kara Tokyo He [Social History of Cities and Poverty: From Edo to Tokyo]*. Yoshikawa Shoten.p8.

they were the same children even if they were poor or rich. They did not use “children’s right” but they believed that children should be protected, taken care of and educated. These ideas and sympathy for poor children gained power gradually.

Creating Family in Slums

Slums were not a place for creating and keeping a family. Akira Hayami compared slums to “doodlebug’s pits,” conical pits dug in sandy soil.⁵ Slums in big cities gathered many people from countryside but could not supply survival spaces. Most of them died before experiencing family lives there.

The natural increase rate of human population in Tokyo’s slum was negative in Meiji era. It means that the death rate was higher than the birth rate. People could not survive there and could not create and keep their family. However, this situation changed around 1900, the end of Meiji era.⁶ Because the death rate became lower and the birth rate became higher, the natural increase rate of human population changed positive. They could turn to keep family and they had to redefine the role as family or parents because they needed to take care of and educate their children for the first time. Then, Futaba Nursery School supported the poor to become “family” and learn the role of family.

Futaba Nursery School supported the poor family. For example, it took care of children in the daytime instead of parents in order to let mothers take a job. It gave food to children in snack time but also lunch which was considered parent’s duty. Because kindergarteners knew that they could not enough food for lunch, they made up the deficit in snack time. Futaba Nursery School collected only 1 sen for fee, which was cheaper than the cost of caring children by mothers in the daytime because children got pocket money to eat snack when they played on the street everyday.

The school gave not only supports but also duties. For example, parents had to cook lunch box everyday because the founders thought that paying attention to children’s meal and health was an important role of parents. Kindergarteners explained the nutritive balance in the meeting which parents had to attend twice a month. In this meeting, kindergarteners showed their method of education and talked about childcare. In fact, the guidance had an effect on them.

⁵ Hayami, Akira. (2001). *Rekishi Jinkogaku Kara Mita Nihon*[Japan Looked by Historical Demography]. Bungei Syunjyu.pp62-65.

⁶ Nakagawa, Kiyoshi. (1985). *Nihon No Toshi Kaso*[Slums of City in Japan]. Keiso Shobo.

Although it is said that the amount of food which elementary school students eat is decreasing, there is no such situation miraculously here. I am not sure but I guess it is because workers can get enough jobs because of good weather and we often talk about the importance of children's meal in parents' meetings. Our lecture that even if their works are hard, we hope them to serve enough food for children and some advices of cheap and nutritious food may have an effect. We are glad that they actually took action according to our instructions and they are reliable.⁷

Through these educations, parents gradually recognized the role as parents and the way of childcare.

In addition, the principle of deposit was taken, which made the poor save five rins a day for their future when they went to Futaba Nursery School. This deposit was to be used for going to elementary school after graduation from Futaba Nursery School. When children came with one sen, they gave five rins to kindergarteners as fee, and save another five rins as deposit by sticking a five rins stamp in notebook.

On principle, Futaba Nursery School did not give all donations to the poor free except for Christmas. For example, it bought materials like cotton to create a job for mothers. Mothers could sew clothes by using materials and could get money.

To give anything they want recklessly does more harm than good for the poor. If we give everything without thinking, they rely on us and they will not try to find a job.⁸

Kindergarteners tried to teach how to live in such a hard world but how to rely on donations without effort through giving duties on purpose. Before the poor went to Nursery School, they did not know the reason and the way in which they took care of children. As Noguchi described, children played on the street all day long. But they gradually recognized the necessities of childcare and the role of parents. In other words, the founders tried to create a family which meant not just a blood relation but also a community having a function of childcare.

⁷ (1912)Annual report, No.13.

⁸ (1901)Annual report, No.2.

Discovery of Sympathy with the Poor

Even though the founders had deep-rooted prejudice against the poor like public opinion at the beginning, they discovered sympathy not only for children but also poor adults. In the process of having relationship with the poor, kindergarteners noticed their hardship which was not always their fault, and the difficulties of escaping from the poverty.

Whatever the reason like the unexpected bereavement, the thoughtless divorce, the young lady's fault, or the difficulty of life are, the economic disadvantage will lead women having infants to die or lapse. Whoever says no to help them?

9

Through the communication with poor families, kindergartener gradually felt sorry and understood the necessity of help.

Not only their hardship but also their humanity has been discovered. Kindergarteners noticed that they had also warm and modest hearts even if they looked immoral and insanitary.

There is a girl having filial piety. She lives with her parents but her father lost his sight. Because he lost his job, they sell cooked beans in the daytime and Karinto (Japanese fried-dough cookies) at night. She goes to sell them together to supports her father everyday. They have never skipped selling even if it rains. I felt sorry for her I heard her voice and footstep at dawn in dead of winter.”¹⁰

This report shows this girl's personality was very different from the image of immorality. Another report shows the humanity of poor adults.

(When poor mothers helped our work,) we tried to give money as pay. However, they did not receive it. How high their moral senses are! We think they always rob someone's thing but they behave morally if we treat them kindly. Any way, we discussed and decided to pay ten sen each time.¹¹

⁹ (1925) Annual Report, No.25.

¹⁰ (1900) Annual report, No.1.

¹¹ (1906) Annual report, No.7.

They had sympathy with not only children but also mothers. When Noguchi and Morishima began this charitable work, they felt sorry only for children but not adults. However, the founders corrected a prejudiced image of them and came to sympathize with adults too, especially mothers.

As a result, Futaba Nursery School built “Mothers’ House,” a shelter for mothers and children in 1922 and their successor Yuki Tokunaga managed it. This was the first full-dress shelter in Japan. Many mothers and children without relatives temporarily lived there and tried to find the way to live independently with the help of Futaba Nursery School.

The expansion of sympathy from children to their mothers was characteristically a byproduct of this charitable work. The purpose of Futaba Nursery School was taking caring of children but the protection of motherhood.

The reason why the protections of children and motherhood developed together was the basic idea of founders about home.

Mothers said ‘If you take care of our children, we can be live-in worker and send money.’ But we consider how to live together—without separating mothers and children and decided to start “Mothers’ House,” adopting an idea from (Yuki) Tokunaga.¹²

Futaba Nursery School was not a home for orphans but a supporting institution for families. In order to support children to live happier, the founders gave weight to helping their parents. It resulted in the development of protection of both children and mothers.

Transmission of Sympathy

The founders of Futaba Nursery School published reports on their plights in annual reports and magazines, which resulted in creating great sympathy toward them among women and children in the middle and upper classes. Futaba Nursery School and the media thus inadvertently helped to create a hitherto unthinkable bonding beyond class that revolved around what is now called children’s rights—such as the right to health, education, play and recreation, and to be protected from abuse and harm.

¹² (1925) Annual report, No.25.

As I already showed from some articles, the founders transmitted how moral they were and how miserable their lives were, and helping pitiable families could involve many women in this charitable work by donations and contribution. According to Norihiko Yasuoka, one hundred eighty in two hundreds fixed donators are recorded in a directory, and one hundred fifty in them were women.¹³ Futaba Nursery School was supported overwhelmingly by women.

We may imagine it was natural that a large number of women joined charitable works but it was surprisingly men's sphere at that time. All pioneers introduced in books on charitable works and social works are men except a few women including Yuka Noguchi.¹⁴ Some books introduce a few women pioneers. Otherwise women do not often appear in the history of Japanese charitable works.¹⁵ Not only pioneers but also workers showed the same tendency according to the government's report, 'statistic summary of employee in social work' in 1922 and 1935. In the early twenties, a number of women worked but most of them did not keep their job probably because of marriage. Futaba Nursery School was a remarkable work, which was founded by women, employed many women, collected donations from women, and helped poor women with children. In other words, it became a unique female community which could promote a sense of solidarity. In the fiftieth annual report, there is an article describing this charitable work as a 'project for partnership with women.'

We hope to complete this project by women's power. Let's stand up to and give light to darkness in society in cooperation through gathering the power of innumerable women and keeping it. This project is carried not only on our shoulder but also yours. We ask you for great aid."¹⁶

Through their practices, the founders turned to have clear consciousness that Futaba Nursery School was supported by a bond of women.

There are women's tears caused by weakness of women, ignorance, or violent men, which show the dark side of society. Even though they are poor, they have real motherhood as same as we have.¹⁷

¹³ Yasuoka, Norihiko (p32)

¹⁴ example. Yoshida, Kyuichi. Ichibangase, Yasuko. Ogura, Joji. Shibata, Yoshimori. (1971.) *Jinbutsude Tsuduru Syakaijigyo No Ayumi*[History of Social Works through Pioneers]Zenkoku Syakaifukushi Kyogikai.

¹⁵ example. Gomi, Yuriko.(1973.) *Shakaijigyonni Ikita Onnatachi* [Women in Social Works].Domes Syuppan.

¹⁶ (1914.) Annual report, No.15.

¹⁷ (1925.) Annual report, No.25.

The founders noticed that the poor were mothers in the same way as other women were. That is to say, the categories of “mothers”, “parents”, or “family” could evoke sympathy with the poor and promoted to cooperation among women. It also led to the idea that the poor were the same human beings as they were, which constituted a basic idea of human rights.

Not simply founders and donors felt sympathy with the poor, but poor mothers also showed consideration for kindergarteners.

All worker wear uniforms here for prevention of diseases...but they do not have time to wash them because they work six days in a week. We decided to ask mothers to wash them as a part-time job. Mothers said, ‘it is not a big problem, and we want to wash workers’ uniforms because they always take care of our children and us.’¹⁸

Mothers could feel sympathy with workers and their hard work, and thanked them.

In addition, some journalists visited Futaba Nursery School and reported. For example, *Shonen Seka [World of boys]*, whose readers were elementary school students, sometimes reported episodes of children and it helped forge the relationship between poor children and children as readers.

Some children reading this magazine wrote letters to these poor children and donated their pocket money..... A child, who was six years old, sent his favorite picture book in which some rabbits appeared because he heard the story that the poor children did not know rabbits because they had never read picture books...¹⁹

Not only adults but also children in middle and upper classes came to be interested in the poor and donated something. The relation among children emerged not only through articles but also in Christmas party. Kizan Ikuta wrote in *Shonen sekai*, “I believe that this party was the most marvelous in my experiences.”²⁰ When he was invited to the party in Futaba Nursery School, Children of millionaires, the Mitsui family, who were students in Noble School where Noguchi and Morishima worked, were there. According to Ikuta, both rich and poor children sung a Christmas song together and it was an incredible scene. Among children, there was no wall of

¹⁸ (1906.) Annual report, No.7.

¹⁹ (1900.) Annual report, No.1.

²⁰ Ikuta, Kizan. Yoji No Syukukai[Party for infants]. *Shonen Sekai* Vol.9, No.4.

prejudice. This episode, of course, was transmitted to other children through an article of *Shonen Sekai*.

Conclusion

Today a family is regarded as a hot bed of modern problems such as child abuse, neglect, and domestic violence. However, it constituted the base of sympathy beyond class. Sympathy raised an awareness of needs which children should be taken care of by their parents and mothers should be protected, no matter what they were. Practice of charitable work, Futaba Nursery School, prepared the way for the idea of children's right and mother protection together by expanding sympathy with the poor.

References

Futaba Nursery School. (1985). *Futaba Hoikuen Hachijyugo Nenshi*[History 85 Years of Futaba Nursery School].(1900). the prospectus, (1900-1925) annual reports No.1-No.25.

Gomi, Yuriko.(1973.) *Shakaijigyoni Ikita Onnatachi* [Women in Social Works].Domes Syuppan.

Hayami, Akira. (2001). *Rekishi Jinkogaku Kara Mita Nihon* [Japan Looked by Historical Demography]. Bungei Syunjyu.

Iwatani, Sazanami. (1900). *Furaba Yochien* [Futaba Nursery School]. *Shonen Sekai* Vol.6, No.4.

Kaide, Sumiko. (1974). *Noguchi Yuka No Shogai* [Life of Yuka Noguchi.] Futaba Nursery School.

Kami, Shoichiro. Yamazaki, Tomoko. (1995). *Hikari Honoka Naredomo: Futaba Hoikuen To Tokunaga Yuki* [Even If the Light Dims: Futaba Nursery School and Yuki Tokunaga]. Sekai Shisosya.

Kamisaki, Kiyoshi. (1940). *Noguchi Yuka. Gendai Fujinden* [Biography of Modern women].Chuokoronsha.

Kitahara, Itoko. (1995). *Toshi To Hinkon No Shakai Shi :Edo Kara Tokyo He* [Social History of Cities and Poverty: From Edo to Tokyo]. Yoshikawa Shoten.

Kyuichi Yoshida, Yasuko Ichibangase, Joji Ogura, Yoshimori Shibata. (1971.) *Jinbutsude Tsuduru Syakaijigyo No Ayumi* [History of Social Works through Pioneers] Zenkoku Syakaifukushi Kyogikai.

Matsubara, Iwagoro. (1980). *Saiankoku No Tokyo*[The darkest Tokyo].(Reprinted). Gendai Shichosha.

Matsukawa, Yukiko.(1987). Jyukyuseikimatsu California No Musyo Yochien Undo To Wagakuni heno Eikyo :Morichimamine To California Rensyugakko Wo Tyushin Ni [Movement of Charitable Nursery School in California in the end of nineteenth century and its impact in Japan: Mine Morishima and Training School in California.] *Humanities and Social Sciences Journal of Yamaguchi Women's College*. No13.

(1987).Morishima Mine To California Yochien Rensyugakko [Mine Morishima and Training School in California]. *Journal of Japanese Society of Research on Early Childhood Care and Education*, No.40.

Nakagawa, Kiyoshi. (1985). *Nihon No Toshi Kaso [Slums of City in Japan]*. Keiso Shobo.

Shakai Fukushi Chosa Kenkyukai. (1984). *A Collection of Japanese Social Works Before WWII*. No.9.

(1922.) Syakaijigyo Jyujin Tokei Tekiyo [Statistic Summary of Employee in Social Work.]

(1935.) Shisetsu Syakaijigyo Jyugyoin Taigu Chosa[Examination of treatment in Social Work Institutions]

Yasuoka, Norihiko. (1999). *Kindai Tokyo No Kaso Syakai: Syakaijigyo No Tenkai[Slum Society in Modern Japan: Development of Social Work]*. Akashi Shoten. Yokoyama, Gennosuke.

(1994). Kyodo Nagaya Tankanki[The Record of Explore in Row Houses] Nakagawa, Kiyoshi.

(1994). *Meiji Tokyo Kaso Seikatsuki[Records of Tokyo's Slum in Meiji Era]*.(Reprinted). Iwanami Shoten.

(1949). *Nihon No Kaso Syakai[Society of Slums in Japan.]* Iwanami Shoten.

*A Dilemma or Hope for China's Democratization: A Research on Cyberpolitics
Participation of Chinese Citizen Based on Chai Jing Event*

Shu Qi, China University of Political Science and Law, China
Jingya Sun, University of Bordeaux, France

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This article discusses the problem of whether the cyberpolitical participation could bring China's democratization a hope or not through examining the main characteristics of Chinese cyberpolitical participation and the reasons behind in the context of the Chai Jing network event. In theory, with the fast development of internet technique and greatly improvement of political system in China, more and more Chinese citizens could be provided with quite number of opportunities to conduct political participation broadly in cyber space, and then a new era of democracy in China will come soon. However, the true situation of cyberpolitical participation in China may largely not bring the true democracy for China in a short span of time for the Chinese political cultural tradition and the limitations of political practice, which will reversely slow down the course of democratization in China. This article also explores a new way to categorize the cyberpolitical participation subject in China.

Keywords: Chinese cyberpolitical participation, Chai Jing, democratization, internet populism, cyberspace

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

The first popular network event in China 2015 belongs to Chai Jing who is a female celebrated ex-journalist of China Central Television [CCTV]. Conducted by Chai Jing, an investigation named *Qiongdong Zhi Xia* on recent Chinese environmental problem makes a splash in cyber space of China and creates a new high peak of cyberpolitical participation. Almost the whole internet is suddenly saturated with the video of Chai Jing's investigation and related news reports as well as a variety of fierce discussions by means of Microblog, Wechat, BBS and some public forums of China. Currently, the Chai Jing network event is a quite representative internet event because the whole process of it has totally revealed the true situation of the cyberpolitical participation in China as well as various problems relating to Chinese political system and political culture such as the phenomenon of the boundless infringement of the power in China, the problem of the internet populism in cyberpolitical participation, and the problem of whether the course of democratization in China will be to some extent accelerated by a wide-range of cyberpolitical participation.

The existing literatures of the cyberpolitical participation in China mainly focus on the influencing factors contributing to the situation of cyberpolitical participation in China. Zhao and Zhang (2009) pointed out that the main pattern of the Chinese cyberpolitical participation was largely reshaped by the Chinese main-stream political ideology and its traditional political culture (p. 132). Ma (2011) considered the problem of the tyranny of the majority in China's cyber space would bring some new traits to Chinese cyberpolitical participation (p. 33).

This article discusses the main characteristics of Chinese cyberpolitical participation as well as some important reasons behind through exploring a new way to categorize the cyberpolitical participation subject in China. The reasons behind those main characteristics of Chinese cyberpolitical participation could be mainly focused on some aspects including some problems resulted from the transitional period in China, the disadvantages of Chinese civic education and the boundless intervention of the power, which also result in the advent of the typical Chinese internet populism.

This article develops in four parts. In the first part, the context of the Chai Jing network event will be given. In the second part, the main characteristics of cyberpolitical participation in China are discussed. The third part focuses on the construction of virtual identity of cyberpolitical participant. In the last part, the phenomenon of internet populism as an obstacle of Chinese democratization is clearly explained.

The Context of the Chai Jing Network Event in Chinese Cyber Space

During the beginning of 2015 in China, the first popular network event belongs to Chai Jing who is a female celebrated ex-journalist of China Central Television [CCTV]. Conducted by Chai Jing, a profound investigation named *Qiongdong Zhi Xia* on recent Chinese environmental problem makes a splash in cyber space of China and then creates a new high peak of cyberpolitical participation. Basically, the environmental problem on which Chai Jing's investigation focuses is not only a domestic problem of China but an international problem which mainly relates to human living environment. Goodell (2014) noted that "the blunt truth is that what China decides to do in the next decade will likely determine whether or not mankind can halt - or at least ameliorate - global warming"(p. 54). However, as a typical network event, it has not only aroused a wide range of Chinese cyberpolitical participation but also has shown the tendency of the internet populism in China.

Released on 28th February 2015, the video of Chai Jing's investigation causes an enormous uproar in Chinese cyber space. Almost the whole internet is suddenly saturated with a sea of related news reports and a variety of fierce discussions by means of Microblog, Wechat, BBS and some public forums of China. According to the related statistics collected by Mediaob (2015), by 0:00 a.m. on 1st March, the number of the total page view of Chai Jing's investigation video amount to 312.44 million. Specifically, according to the statistics collected from some main-stream video websites, the statistics of the page view are respectively 166.37 million by Tengxun, 70.93 million by Youku, 49.99 million by Letv, 15.10 million by Sohu, 5.20 million by Tudou and 4.85 million by QIY. As both an investigator and a mother who is suffering the misery of her only newborn daughter diagnosed with benign neoplasm which is most likely resulted from heavy pollution in China, Chai Jing with her investigation is moved to the centre of online public discussion. Wang (2015) described that just as the basic meaning of her Chinese name, which a match was not satisfied with living in darkness but firing its body and soul to call for light, Chai Jing and her investigation had aroused a wide range of citizen participation in the cyber space of China.

Specifically, the whole process of the Chai Jing network event is quite dramatic. In the beginning, the video of the Chai Jing's investigation is released on Youku video website on 28th February. As a result, almost the whole network is wrapped up by a sea of positive comments on the Chai Jing's investigation. The popular commentator Jiazhuang Zai Niuyue considered that people who forwarded Chai Jing's investigation

video should watch it seriously since it was indeed a very meaningful video (as cited in shishang zuiquan chajing shijian shimo yu gefang shengyin, 2015). What's more, the new China Environmental Protection Bureau Chief Chen Jining also expresses his profound appreciation to Chai Jing. Chen assumed that the awareness of environment protect of Chinese citizen might be awakened by the serious result of the Chai Jing's investigation (as cited in shishang zuiquan chajing shijian shimo yu gefang shengyin, 2015). In addition, a quite number of supporting reports and comments gush from various popular medias such as Microblog, Wechat, Tianya forum, Maopu forum, Xinhua website, Renmin website and so on. However, it is beyond imagination that the online comments suddenly change to the negative side. Many people begin to open fire on Chai Jing's investigation from various perspective. What is worse, more and more netizens are turning their eyes on Chai Jing's private life rather than the investigation itself. Basically, Chai Jing and her investigation are attacked from three main respects as follows. Firstly, some people begin to question the true reason of her newborn daughter's benign neoplasm which might be brought by Chai Jing's unhealthy personal living style such as heavy smoking. Besides, Chai Jing's identity of environmentalist is also questioned because she is found to drive the car with a large displacement; Secondly, some intellects question the internal logic and supporting materials of her investigation. The professor Wu Jing of Peking University addressed that Chai Jing's investigation was organized with superabundant personal emotion and dramatic self-performance rather than rational analysis and precise logic (Anonymous, 2015); Lastly, Chai Jing's identity of being a heroine of environment protect is so challenged by the public that some netizens consider that Chai Jing's investigation is deliberately manipulated by some special interest groups. Therefore, the disordered internet war between the supporters and the opponents starts. However, the Chai Jing network event gradually disappears from the sight of the public with the interference of the power in China.

Importantly, the typical Chai Jing network event has showed the true situation of the cyberpolitical participation and has also revealed quite number of crucial problems of Chinese political system and political culture in contemporary China including the boundary of the power, the disadvantage of the true situation of civic education in China and the advent of the internet populism which undoubtedly hinders the course of Chinese democratization. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that the Chai Jing network event is quite representative because at first the focus of most netizens just on environmental problem is changed abruptly into the emphasis on Chai Jing's private life. With irresponsible comments and unreasonable discussions, an internet chaos known as Chai Jing network event comes into being finally.

The Main Characteristics of Chinese Cyberpolitical Participation on The Basis of An Analysis on the Chai Jing Network Event

A number of existing academic researches on the cyberpolitical participation in China revealed some typical characteristics of cyberpolitical participation from various perspectives. Yang (2014) explored the different patterns of the cyberpolitical participation from the perspective of the cyberpolitical participation subject (p. 138). Ma (2011) considered the problem of the tyranny of the majority in China's cyber space would bring some new traits to Chinese cyberpolitical participation (p. 33).

With one month continuous researching on the process of Chai Jing network event, from the perspective of focusing on the cyberpolitical participation subject, the main characteristics of the Chinese cyberpolitical participation can be concluded in four respects as follows: 1. the phenomenon of the group polarization of the cyberpolitical participation; 2. the instability of the political attitude of the cyberpolitical participant; 3. the defocus of a certain network event and immature approaches of cyberpolitical participation; 4. the intervention of the power.

Above all, the phenomenon of the group polarization in Chinese cyber space might be the key point to result in the internet violence in China. The group polarization describes a phenomenon that compared with the individual attitude, the group attitude is unstable and much easier to fall in the very extremes. Aronson and Elliot (2010) pointed out that "in social psychology, group polarization refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members" (p. 274). Isenberg (1986) assumed that "Group polarization is the phenomenon that when placed in group situations, people will make decisions and form opinions to more of an extreme than when they are in individual situations" (p. 1143) However, how does the group of polarization form in Chinese cyberpolitical participation? What is the function of the group polarization in cyber space?

Actually, the path of the formation of the group polarization in cyber space of China derives from the formation of the group cognition, the group psychology and the group attitude. Chen (2010) explained that the group cognition was the base of the formation of the group attitude, and the information stimulation was the precondition of the formation of the group cognition (p. 91). On the basis of the formation of the group cognition, the concept of the group psychology is formed, which largely promotes the development of a series of internal group interactions, and therefore the group attitude is formed finally. Sha (2006) noted that the group attitude usually

exerted important effects on the pattern of behavior of the whole group (p. 211). Basically, the group attitude is built on the basis of the individual attitude, but the group attitude conversely reshapes the individual attitude so intensively that the phenomenon of the group polarization appears in cyber space.

As a main characteristic of the Chinese cyberpolitical participation, the group polarization makes a tremendous effect on the appearance of the internet violence. Initially, most netizens in Chai Jing network event hold relative moderate ideas, but finally they firmly hold the completely extreme opinions. Honestly speaking, it is the group polarization that stimulates the attitude of netizens to evolve into very extreme attitudes so that other voices will not be heard, and finally the focus of the network event is also transferred gradually.

Secondly, with the advent of the group polarization, the political attitude of Chinese netizen is rather unstable and vulnerable to change even from supporting side at first to totally opposing side at last. However, the primary reason of the changeable attitude mainly rests with the failure of establishing the self-awareness of Chinese citizen who are mainly cultivated by the Chinese traditional monarchy-subject political culture. Consequently, most Chinese citizens easily incline to be stuck in the parental type of relationship between the people and government at the expense of their self-awareness and consciousness of being masters of their country. What's more, under the monarchy-subject political culture, citizens should need some elites who are qualified to train and teach with adequate professional skills. However, the serious problem in Chinese cyber space is that some elites have been increasingly questioned by the public and supervised by the power in China. Therefore, the real situation of Chinese cyberpolitical participation is that there is a group of people with rather changeable attitudes in control of the Chinese cyber space.

Thirdly, with the assistance of the group polarization, the defocus of a certain network event together with the immature approaches of the political participation are much easier to be formed. Typically, in Chai Jing network event, the phenomenon of the defocus appears with the attitudes of the public changing from the positive side to the negative one. Basically, the internet criticism in China usually develops from a public discussion into a universal suspicion over the participants of some hot network events, however, which usually ends up with an irresponsible quarrel filled with moral and ethic judgments.

Last but not the least, it seems that in China almost each and every sensational issue usually ends up with the intervention of the power, and it also can be applied in Chinese cyber space. Just after three days, it is impossible to watch this video on the main-stream websites of China. More seriously, after several days, this video together with some related comments and discussions completely disappear from Chinese cyber space under the serious circumstances of strict supervision. Therefore, the power in China has a powerful and almost boundless strength to interfere almost all public affairs.

From Chai Jing to the Generalized Subject of Cyberpolitical Participation: An Analysis on the Construction of Virtual Identity of Cyberpolitical Participation Subject in the Context of the Transitional Period in Contemporary China

“Identity” initially belongs to the philosophy discussion category, and it derives from the exploration towards the state of existence and the significance of life. Charles Taylor explained identity in a philosophy framework through asking a classic question of “who am I”. To some extent, the exploration on the concept of identity means the equivalent research on the relationship between individual and collective.

In the words of Jenkins (1996), “Identity has become one of the unifying frameworks of intellectual debate in the 1990s” (p. 7). Basically, with the development of the large-scale social movement of fighting for rights in the 1990s, a number of social groups such as homosexual group, racial group and feminism group gradually put much more emphases on the process of identifying identity. Consequently, more and more scholars in various fields begin to focus on the problem of identity. Meanwhile, the research on the concept of identity steps into a new academic era which belongs to sociology and psychology.

On the concept of individual identity, Tajel (1978) explained that the individuals could distinguish themselves from others in the same space and time. In the words of Parcel (1981), the concept of social identity is that “individual identity and self-concept are determined in large measure by group membership” (p. 1193). In other words, just as Jenkins (1996) explained “the expression refers to the way in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities” (p. 4). As for the concept of racial identity, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley and Chavous (1998) considered that it mainly concerned about the establishment of racial attitude and belief.

My understanding of the virtual identity concept could be partly explained as follows. Compared with the traditional concept of identity, the concept of virtual identity is a process of establishing and identifying a new or partly new identity under various conditions in cyber space. However, the process of establishing and identifying a virtual identity is largely subjected to different values, beliefs, objectives and emotions. Consequently, the new identity reestablished in cyber space may duplicate, partly duplicate or depart from the old identity in reality. Besides, once a new or partly new virtual identity is established in cyber space, it possesses an obvious trait of extreme instability, and even one individual may hold different identities simultaneously under different conditions. However, it should not confuse the concept of the dissociative identity disorder with the concept of virtual identity. The former is largely applied to the situation in which the sick as the subject of identity totally or partly fail to identify his or her identity, but the concept of virtual identity tends to describe a healthy individual who not only has the capability to recognize his or her identity but also can recreate various virtual identities under the different conditions in cyber space.

There are at least two categories of Chinese cyberpolitical participation participant. In the first category, virtual identity established and identified as well as the old identity recognized in reality may wholly or partly match together. In other words, these people who indirectly participate in the network political events by means of comments and discussions hardly need create some new identities for seeking a certain sense of self-existence and self-satisfaction. However, under the first category, two types of netizen could be classified according to different believes, objectives and sense of responsibilities.

The first type of the first category is the elites with many prominent characteristics such as a firm faith, great ambition, short-term and long-term objective and strong social responsibility. What's more, the elites are equipped with not only professional knowledge but also the basic capability of thinking and behaving in a logic way, which qualify them to be experienced opinion leaders who always set good examples of how to behave like a responsible citizen in Chinese cyber space. However, with the stepping up efforts in supervising the internet, some elites turn to abandon the internet platform to explain and spread their theories. For instance, during the summer of 2013, a wide range of fighting rumor movement in cyber space launched in China. Once the "rumor" was detected in cyber space, people who were considered as circulators of the "rumor" could suffer a lot.

The second type of the first category is the “zombie” which is a metaphor to describe a group of Chinese netizens who tend to be motivated only by economic benefit. However, this group of zombies are always hired by some other people including interest groups and the left or the right in contemporary China. Besides, the Chinese government has been strictly supervising Chinese internet through directly deleting and revising some internet posts and comments which are regarded as a certain serious threat to the social harmony. Therefore, under the circumstances of what so called free cyber space in China, the attitudes of the ordinary netizens are much easier to be manipulated by not only those interest groups but also Chinese government.

Compared with the first category of netizens, the second category of netizens in China varies in the mismatch between the virtual identity and the real one. Specifically, netizens of the second category usually establish and identify some new or partly new identities while participating in internet political activities. However, under the different circumstances, there are at least two different types of netizens in this category, which are respectively the violence oriented netizen and the heroism oriented netizen. The type of the violence oriented netizen refers to the netizens who have been suffering so heavy burden from career, family and other parts of daily life without a appropriate way to release that those heavy pressure are gradually transformed into a certain negative psychological condition usually expressed by the boundless release of negative emotion, aggressive attitude and over-extreme expression. On the contrary, the type of the heroism oriented netizen refers to the netizens who usually express their negative emotions by playing as heroes in the online public discussions by means of some seemingly logical concepts and opinions in order to seek a sense of self-satisfaction and self-confidence.

Basically, the syndrome of the transitional period of China might partly give rise to the appearance of the two typical types of netizens in China. With the rapid economic development in China, many crucial problems during the transitional period of China are becoming more and more obvious such as the big gap between the rich and the poor. Every individuals has to take much burden in daily life. Consequently, more and more Chinese are suffering from losing out of control in their lives. However, it is the internet together with some political events that will provide them with a chance to be out of control by others and then live in a virtual life of self-control. That’s why the more harmonious a society is, the more chaotic its virtual society is.

The Obstacle on the Way to Democratization in China: The Appearance of the Populism in Cyberpolitical Participation

The populism can be traced back to the late 19th century, but it enters a relatively thriving period in the late 20th century. However, the concept of populism has not been becoming one of the unifying framework in academic world. Wang and Fang (2011) denoted that the concept of populism as a kind of social thought was imbued with so many distinctive understandings given by scholars in different realms (p. 115). Yu explained (1997) that as a sort of social thought, the basic meaning of populism was an extreme trend towards civilian, which emphasized the values and demands of the general public and regarded the popularization as the only radical source of the legality of political system; as a sort of political movement, the basic meaning of populism emphasized that social reform and political development should rely on the general public instead of the elites (p. 89). Wu (2008) compared the populism as transformers, which underlined the extreme instability of this kind of theory (p. 1). Basically, for most scholars, the basic consensus of the concept of populism comes to the confluence of its extreme focus on the power of the general public instead of elite and authority.

However, the internet populism in contemporary China is undoubtedly a special case compared with other countries. Cong (2014) explained that with the sudden advent of the internet as a new means of media in China, hundreds and thousands Chinese citizens who actually lacked of the capability to well participate in politics swarmed into the public sphere to comment on public affairs and exerted impacts on public designs and thus the internet populism was much easier to develop in cyber space (p. 55).

During the whole process of the Chai Jing network event, the phenomenon of the internet populism becomes more and more obvious. Specifically, the internet is firstly saturated with the voice from the supporting side. However, with the development of the heated debate, the public comments are gradually transferred to the negative voice. Numerous negative comments begin to open fire on Chai Jing's investigation from various perspectives. What's worse, more and more netizens are turning their eyes from the radical significance of the environment protection to Chai Jing's private life instead. What's more, because of the distrust towards authority as well as the elites, netizens are much easier to suffer the unreasonable chaos filled with so many irresponsible discussions. Specifically speaking, under the circumstances of the transitional period of China, the type of violence oriented netizens and the type of

heroism oriented netizens, who respectively hold two different voices in the Chai Jing network event begin to pretend opinion leaders just for self-satisfaction and self-confidence. Consequently, a seeming public discussion becomes a public quarrel which is saturated with infringement of privacy and irresponsible remarks.

Actually, on the whole Chai Jing network event, it is not difficult to find that the advent of Chinese internet populism is not an occasional case. First of all, with the rapid development of economy in China, many different kinds of problems brought by the special China's transitional period which is a transformation from a traditional society to a modern one are shown in the cyber space either. For instance, the unsettled important problem of the bigger gap between the poor and the rich will, to some extent, deeply shape the public attitudes towards the social stratification of China, and therefore some negative emotions may be much easier to be released by the public through internet. What's more, the disadvantage of civic education of China and Chinese typical monarchy-subject political culture may not be beneficial to cultivate the true citizens who at least possess the basic consciousness of citizenship. As a result, so many netizens have been discussing in an extreme way which is undoubtedly a prominent characteristic of the internet populism. Chen (2011) explained that under the circumstances in Chinese cyber space, even a trivial thing could become a sensational network event because of extreme emotion and uncontrolled behavior with the help of anonymity of the cyber space in China (p. 157).

Conclusion

From the full analysis of the recent Chai Jing network event, the main characteristics of Chinese cyberpolitical participation could be concluded as follows. Firstly, the phenomenon of the group polarization of the cyberpolitical participation; Secondly, the instability of the political attitude of the cyberpolitical participant; Thirdly, the defocus of a certain network event and immature approaches of cyberpolitical participation; Lastly, the intervention of the power.

By exploring a new way to categorize the participants of cyberpolitical participation in China, some reasons behind those main characteristics of Chinese cyberpolitical participation could be focused on some aspects including the social problem of the transitional period in China, the disadvantages of Chinese civic education, the quite immature civil society in contemporary China and the boundless intervention of the power of China, which not only promote the appearance of the characteristics of Chinese cyberpolitical participation, but also radically contribute to the advent of the typical internet populism which undoubtedly hinders the process of democratization in China.

However, with the rapid development of internet technique in China, whether the prosperous situation of cyberpolitical participation could radically contribute to the progress of China's democratization? And, under the circumstances of the large-scale cyberpolitical participation in China, whether the various types of virtual identities could also promote the democratization in China? Undoubtedly, the answer to this question is not difficult to find. In theory, with more and more Chinese citizens swarming into the public sphere to broadly conduct cyberpolitical participation, a completely new era of democracy in China will come soon. Nevertheless, the true situation of cyberpolitical participation of China might not bring the true democracy for China in a short span of time for the Chinese political cultural tradition and the limitations of its political practice, which will reversely slow down the course of democratization in China.

Especially, with the advent of the typical internet populism in China, it draws a question mark of whether the China's democratization would be accelerated under the help of a wide-scope cyberpolitical participation in China. Undoubtedly, the internet as a crucial means of communication is value neutrality. It can be served as both a vehicle of democratization and a means of populism. As a tool of democratization, the internet contributes a lot to the western democratic states because most citizens of these countries who would like to participate in politics are indeed mature citizens who not only clearly understand their basic rights but also have enough capability to express their political demands in order to make influence on important political decisions. However, in the mainland of China, the people in China lack enough and true experience of democratic practice and even they have not established the consciousness of rights. In spite of the help of the internet technique, Chinese netizens are still many individuals who have not so adequate political knowledge that they hardly shoulder the responsibility of what they should think and behave as masters of their country. What's more, since there still are lots of emergency problems of Chinese representative democracy to be tackled, it seems much earlier for China to place big hope on the internet civic participation and the internet democracy. Therefore, the advent of the internet populism has given a hint to China that as for the course of democratization in China, there will be a long way to go.

References

Anonymous (2015, March 2). Chai Jing wumai jilupian yin gefang zhengyi(Chai Jing's pollution documentary evokes a verity of controversies in China). Retrieved from <http://dzh.mop.com/48777547>, accessed 2nd March 2015.

Anonymous (2015, March 2). Shishang zuiquan Chai Jing shijian shimo yu gefang shengyin (The most complete information on Chai Jing network event in China with so many different voices in various realms). Retrieved from <http://www.vccoo.com/v/fb1637>, accessed 2nd March 2015.

Aronson, F. A., & Elliot, K. (2010). *Social psychology*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Chen, L. J. (2010). Wangluo shehui zhong de qunti yishi de fasheng yu yindao (The formation and the guidance of the group consciousness in internet society). *Zhengzhixue Yanjiu(Political Science Research)*, 2, 91. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?QueryID=14&CurRec>

Cong, R. Y. (2014). Zhongguo wangluo mincuizhuyi biao xian yu chulu(The manifestations and solutions of the internet populism in China). *Renmin Luntan zhi tebie cehua(The Forum of The People)*, 2, 54-55. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?QueryID=0&CurRec=1&recid=&filename=RMLT201404021&dbname>

Goodell, J. (2014, September 25). China, the climate & the fate of the planet. *Rolling Stone*, 1218, 54-59.

Isenberg, D. J. (1986). Group polarization: A critical review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 1141-1151. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.50.6.1141

Jenkins, R. (1996). *Social identity*. London: Routledge Press.

Ma, X. D. (2011). Dangdai gongmin wangluozhengzhi canyu zhong de wenti jiqi duice(The problems and solutions on the cyberpolitical participation of the contemporary citizens). *Zhonggong Sichuangsheng Shengwei Dangxiao Xuebao(Journal of Party College of Sichuan Province Committee of CCP Jan)*, 1, 32-34. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx>

Parcel, T. L. (1981). Book review [Review of the book *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*, by H. Tajfel].

American Journal of Sociology, 86, 1193-1194. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778772>, accessed 6th September 2015.

Sellers, R., Smith, M., Shelton, J., Rowley, S. & Chavous, T. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2, 18-39. Retrieved from <http://ida.lib.uidaho.edu:3901/content/2/1/18.full.pdf>

Sha, L. X. (2006). *Shehui xinlixue (Social psychology)*. Beijing: China Renmin University Press.

Tajel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

Wang, L., & Fang, X. Q. (2011). Wangluo mincuizhuyi de qianliu: 2000-2010 nian zhongguo wangmin xingweiyishi de ge'an fenxi(The undercurrent of the internet populism: 2000-2010 A case study on the behavior and consciousness of Chinese netizens). *Neimenggu Shehui Kexue(Inner Mongolia Social Sciences)*, 32, 114-119. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/>

Wang, P. (2015, March 2). Chai Jing yitiao shipin yinfa de quanmin shuaping(The whole attentions evoked by a hot network video of Chai Jing). Retrieved from http://www.net.cn/zixun/c_26_51_1549829.html, accessed 2nd March 2015.

Wu, J. X. (2008). Mincui zhuyi de sanzhi shou(Three hands of the populism). *Nanfang Zhoumo(South Weekly)*, 31, 1-4. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx>

Yang, P. (2014). Wangluo zhengzhi canyu de tezhen, xingtai yiji zhengzhi gongneng(The characteristics, types and political functions of the cyberpolitical participation). *Dong Yue Luntan(Dong Yue Tribune)*, 35, 138-139. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx>

Yu, K. P. (1997). Xiandaihua jincheng zhong de mincuizhuyi(The populism of the process of the modernization). *Zhanlue Yu Guanli(Strategy and Management)*, 97, 88-95. Retrieved from http://epub.cnki.net/kns/brief/default_result.aspx

Zhang, Z. P., & Zhang, J. S. (2009). Zhengzhiwenhua shiyu xia de wangluo zhengzhi canyu yanjiu(The research on the cyberpolitical participation from the perspective of the political culture). *Fazhi Yu Jingji(Legal System and Economy)*, 222(11), 133-134. Retrieved from <http://www.cnki.net>



Race for Human Rights: Tommie Smith, the Black Power Salute, and Japan

Yu Sasaki, University of Tsukuba/Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Doctoral Program in Modern Languages and Cultures, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

“Black Power Salute” in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics is one of the best remembered moments when political protest was carried into the sports realm. Less well known, however, is the historical fact that the first indication of the possibility of the Olympic boycott was made in Tokyo, Japan, in September 1967 by Tommie Smith—one of these protestants with black gloved fists and a member of the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR)—. This paper seeks to recover the missing link between Asia and OPHR. It has been recognized that the root of this movement was traced back to Dick Gregory’s notion in 1964. This paper, however, has examined an alternative genealogy of Smith’s black power/“human rights” salute focusing on the Smith’s first indication in the 1967 World Student Games in Tokyo. Based on archival research, this paper concludes the most pertinent context in Tokyo was the boycott by students from North Korea to protest against Japan’s racial discrimination—a problem of abbreviation, how North Korea should be called—. We might safely speculate that Asian colored students’ protest and demand for human rights via boycott may have shaped the way in which Smith understood the relation between human rights, justice, and sports as a black activist, athlete, and student.

Keywords:

Cultural History, Human Rights, Black Culture, Sports, Media

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

The 1968 Mexico City Olympics are best remembered for the “Black Power” salute—a silent gesture that two black American sprinters, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, made to protest against US racism by raising their black-gloved fists. This iconic image of black-gloved fists is so ubiquitous in the media that the viewers tend to forget the fact that they also wore buttons that read “O.P.H.R”, meaning “Olympic Project for Human Rights,” indicating that their performance was part of the human rights movement as much as the civil rights movement.

Smith’s involvement in the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR) that advocated a boycott of the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games is a story familiar to scholars. Less well known is that Smith first indicated the possibility of the Olympic boycott publicly while in Japan in September 1967, and this news was subsequently reported in the United States to create a sensation. It was a watershed moment in his athletic career.

In this light, the role of Asia in the development of Smith’s idea about human rights, justice, and sports emerges to demand our careful attention. This paper seeks to recover this missing link between Asia and OPHR. Based on the archival research on Japanese newspapers (such as *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Nihon Keizai*) and magazines (such as *Track and Field Magazine* and *Track Field News*) that covered Smith’s participation in the World Student Games in Tokyo in 1967, I will set out to chart an alternative genealogy of the black power/“human rights” salute in the Olympic Games.

1. World Student Games in Tokyo

The World Student Games (“World University Games” or “Universiade”) is one of the major international sports events for university athletes sponsored by the International University Sports Federation (FISU). According to Junji Kanda, because most of the Japanese athletes were students, this competition tends to be evaluated higher in Japan than in Europe and the United States.¹ The World Student Games, therefore, gathered highly attention in Japan. In 1967, the World Student Games was held in Tokyo from August 30th to September 4th. It was supposed to become the biggest competition in the history of the World Student Games. 44 countries entered for the World Student

¹ Kanda Junji, *Universiade wo Meguru Mondai* [The Problem of World Student Games](*Taiiku no Kagaku*, Vol. 17, No. 8: 1967) 448.

Games in Tokyo with an estimated 2,300 participants. However, the actual number of participating countries was only 34 because Communist bloc countries boycotted the Games en masse.² The Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Cuba and North Korea refused to participate in the competition in Tokyo.

The initial problem was one of abbreviation, how North Korea should be called. The official name of North Korea was (and is) “The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.” But the Japanese government insisted to use the term “North Korea.” The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan had never accepted the admission of aliens from “The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea” into Japan because Japan had severed its diplomatic relations with North Korea and they did not regard North Korea as an official sovereign state.

It is important to note, though, that many athletes from North Korea entered for competitions held in Europe and Japan using the name, North Korea, before 1967. For example, in 1963, they took part in the world competition in speed skating in Karuizawa, Japan, as representatives from “North Korea.” Why did they suddenly decide to boycott the games in 1967? Obviously their decision reflected the emergent international concern about the human rights. One of the optional protocols of the International Bill of Human Rights had just been recently adapted on December 16th, 1966. North Korea made its first boycott to protest against the team name used at the major international valley ball competition (FIVB Volleyball World Championship) held in Japan in January 1967, 8 months before the World Student Games in Tokyo.³ North Korean athletes thus made the name a political issue in sports via boycotting in Asia.

The Soviet Union supported the political decision of North Korean athletes. In June 1967, vice president of the “Burevestnik”—the All-Union voluntary sports society of students and teachers in the Soviet Union—issued a statement that North Korean athletes would fight against the discrimination in Japan and called for the solidarity among Eastern bloc countries’ student unions.⁴ In August 1967, the Collegiate Athletic Association in North Korea blamed Japan for discrimination and violation of

² “Tokyo Taikai no Kyokun [A Moral Lesson in World Student Games in Tokyo].” *Nihon Keizai Shimbum*, 5 Sep. 1967: 13.

³ Nonparticipation in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics by North Korea was not caused by the problem of the abbreviation. North Korea objected to the punishment of some athletes losing a qualification to entry 1964 Tokyo Olympics because of the participation in GANEFO.

⁴ “Kokumei no Kabe Hutatabi [The Problem of Name of the Country Occurs Again]” *Asahi Shimbum*, 28 June 1967: 10

their rights.⁵ North Korea obviously regarded the name issue as the issue of “discrimination” and the “violation of human rights.”

Despite this, some Japanese media reported that the World Student Games in Tokyo ended in great success. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* reported on the closing ceremony thus: “Event flags, signboards and participating nations’ flags entered the field. White people carried red and white curtains and black people entered dancing... South Korean female athletes with ch’ima chogori costume of various colors began the barn dance making a large circle. Student athletes from many countries joined it and danced. The circle was getting large. They also made some scrums. Japanese student athletes joined them and integrate themselves into the circle... World Student Games in Tokyo is the competition under the influence of the political obstacle ever so far. The young power, however, seems to blow off it.”⁶ The Japanese media thus celebrated the world integration as a “circle” sharing the similar values of “the First World” or the Western bloc and emphasized the “young” power to eliminate the mood of disappointment.

2. The Roots and Genealogy of Boycott

Tommie Smith attended the 1967 World Student Games in Tokyo as a student at San Jose State University. Smith was already a star athlete not only in the United States but also in Japan and was reported as one of the most promising athletes who might establish a new world record. It was in Japan that Smith indicated that he might possibly boycott the Mexico City Olympic Games held the following year. As the American sport magazine *Track and Field News* reported in November 1967, Smith’s first indication of the Olympic boycott was made after the race of 200 meters dash:

On Sept. 3 during this year’s World Student Games in Tokyo, a Japanese reporter asked Tommie Smith, “In the United States, are the Negroes now equal to the whites in the way they are treated?” His answer was, “No”. The American Negro sprinter was then asked, “What about the possibility of (US) Negroes boycotting the 1968 Olympics?”, a question probably prompted by comedian Dick Gregory’s request—made at least partially in deference to the stripping of Muhammed Ali’s world heavyweight boxing title—that such an act be considered by Olympic prospects. Tommie’s reply was, “Depending

⁵ “*Kita Chosen mo Huhuku Hyomei* [North Korea Appeals Objection against Abbreviation in the World Student Games in Tokyo].” *Asahi Shimbun*, 4 Aug. 1967: 12

⁶ “*Sayonara Sekai no Wakamono* [Good Bye Young Athletes from All Over the World].” *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 5 Sep. 1967: 15

upon the situation, you cannot rule out the possibility that we (US) Negro athletes might boycott the Olympic Games.”⁷

In the United States of the sixties, the civil rights movement was in full flourish. Higher attention to the blacks’ rights seemed to extend to the sports realm. The seeds of the Olympic boycott movement had been sown under the leadership of Harry Edwards, who was an American black sociology instructor at San Jose State University holding Cornell University’s Ph.D. Smith and Carlos were the students taking Edwards’ classes at San Jose State University and participated in the gatherings organized by Edwards to promote American black athletes’ rights—O.P.H.R.—. Based on his experiences and concerns, Edwards strongly took offense at Muhammad Ali’s forfeit of his heavyweight title in 1966. Edwards embraced the idea that sports had been elevated into a false icon of racial harmony.⁸

Moreover, it is important to note that the roots of the boycott movement in the United States can be traced back to 1964, when the famous African-American comedian/civil rights activist Dick Gregory, quoted in the above passage, adopted the athletic boycott concept from the antiapartheid plans.⁹ *Track and Field News* also understood the question by a Japanese reporter in this context. However, I would suggest that there was another context in which the Japanese reporter framed his question: that is, the boycotting of the World Student Games by North Korean athletes.

Subsequently, the US media reported Smith’s boycott idea widely. According to Japanese magazine, *Track and Field Magazine*, Smith was reinterviewed by a reporter of the Associated Press on September 26th about his intention in World Student Games Tokyo and he said: “It is not interesting for me to compete with whites. I am admired as the fastest Smith in the world wearing my spiked shoes and running tracks. However, I am nothing but just a nigger if I take off my shoes. If we—black American athletes—boycott the Mexico City Olympics, US will be hard hit by it.”¹⁰ Moreover, in November 1967, *Track and Field News* carried an interview with Smith and another talented African-American sprinter Lee Evans and asked them about exactly what happened in Japan. Despite the uproar that he created, Smith emphasized that he was not really an advocator of the Olympic boycott.¹¹

⁷ Dick Gregory, “Tom, Lee Discuss Boycott.” *Track and Field News*, Nov. 1967: 3.

⁸ Jon Entine, *Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We’re Afraid to Talk about It* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2000) 225.

⁹ Douglas Hartman, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003) 30.

¹⁰ “A la Carte.” *Track and Field Magazine*, Vol. 17. No. 22, 1967: 86.

¹¹ Gregory 22.

The Japanese media, by contrast, did not seem to be interested in the implications of Smith's boycott idea. No major newspapers reported Smith's remark; they just reported that Smith won the men's 200 meters dash final. *Mainichi* reported how Smith would compete in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. Smith was quoted as having said, "I am not satisfied with today's record and race. 100 meters dash is too short for me. I will do my best in 200 meters dash at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics."¹² Smith was at once eager to compete in the Mexico City Olympics and was thinking of the possibility of the Olympic boycott in the World Student Games in Tokyo. He did participate in the Mexico Olympic Games and won the 200-meter dash final and a gold medal. He wore his Olympic Project for Human Rights badge and raised his fist in a black power salute. In the interview by *Track and Field News* carried in 1967, Smith affirmed how much a sudden question by Japanese reporter had inspired him; "If this individual in Japan would not have asked me about the possibility of a boycott in 1968, I might not have begun really thinking about this specific suggestion. All of a sudden something suddenly flushed into my mind."¹³ Obviously it was the turning point to make him conscious of human rights.

40 years later, in 2007, Tommie Smith recollected and reconstructed this episode in his autobiography by highlighting the issue of race. He writes, "In early September, I ran in the World University Games in Tokyo, won the 200, and was second in the 100. When the meet was over, a reporter from Japan asked me directly about the possibility of a boycott. Other nations, of course, were more aware of the racial prejudices in the United States than we were in our own country, so it took someone from another country to bring the topic up. So I told him yes, it was being discussed and considered. Nobody had told me to talk about it; it was the truth, and it was not going to hide it."¹⁴

Smith thought that the Japanese reporter asked him about the boycott of the Olympic Games because the Japanese—a people of color—were more aware of the racial prejudice in the United States. However, as I have argued, the most pertinent context was the boycott by students from North Korea to protest against Japan's racial discrimination. Korea had been under Japan's colonial control before World War II. North Korean college students made a protest against Japan's discrimination that did not end with World War II, and claimed their rights. They demanded that Japan recognize North Korea as a sovereign state that stands on an equal footing with Japan.

¹² Okano, "Mexico de Gambaru, Smith Kiroku ni Human na Kao [Do My Best in Mecxico, Smith's Dissatisfied Look with His Record]." *Mainichi Shimbun*, 4 Sept. 1967: 13.

¹³ Gregory 22.

¹⁴ Tommie Smith, et al. *Silent Gesture : The Autobiography of Tommie Smith* (Temple University Press, 2007) 159.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined alternative genealogy of the black power/“human rights” salutes in the Olympic Games and sought to recover the missing link between Asia and OPHR. In 1967 World Student Games in Tokyo, a sudden question by Japanese reporter made Tommie Smith to think of the possibility of an Olympic boycott. Smith recollected no one in the United States had asked him about it before that even though some threats and signs had emerged.

It is also inferred that Tommie Smith received an emotional shock from the boycott by communist bloc countries, especially North Korean student athletes who made protest against the usage of abbreviation. For Smith, student athletes from North Korea were the protestants fighting against the discrimination and demanding for their “human rights”.

Accordingly, we might speculate that Asian colored students’ protest and demand for human rights via boycott may have shaped the way in which Smith understood the relation between human rights, justice, and sports as a black activist, athlete, and student. This paper has examined an alternative genealogy of Smith’s black power/“human rights” salute in the Olympic Games. It was a race for human rights and there was a hidden track that ran from Asia to Mexico.

References

Entine, J. (2000). *Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We're Afraid to Talk about It*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Gregory, D. (1967) "Tom, Lee Discuss Boycott." *Track and Field News*, Nov. 1967: 3, 22-23.

Hartman, D. (2003). *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kanda, J. (1967). *Universiade wo Meguru Mondai* [The Problem of World Student Games]. Vol. 17, No. 8: 448 – 451.

Smith, T. et al. (2007). *Silent Gesture : The Autobiography of Tommie Smith*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Periodicals

Asahi Shimbun

Mainichi Shimbun

Nihon Keizai Shimbun

Track and Field Magazine

Track and Field News

Contact email: yusasaki272@gmail.com

Soledad: A Depiction of a Filipino Woman's Chastity as Perceived by Pre-Service Teachers

Ma. Junithesmer D. Rosales, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Philippines

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

“Soledad” is a poem written by Angela Manalang-Gloria during a time when the Philippines was steeped in Catholic faith and men ruled the literary arena. The poem is found in Manalang-Gloria’s only published book titled “Poems” which came out in the 1940s. Manalang-Gloria was known as a feminist writer during the Philippines pre-colonial years.

“Soledad” tacitly speaks of society’s treatment of women who went beyond acceptable bounds because of love. An undercurrent of reality mixed with beliefs that may or may not be present today shows morality as dictated by faith in Catholicism and love forbidden by norms in the society. Through the perceptions of selected students majoring in English at the College of Education of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines, the paper intended to reveal how Filipino students, particularly pre-service teachers, view Filipino women of today based on the context of “Soledad”. It specifically focused on the idea of pre-marital sex and virginity as the overriding reason for a Filipina’s sin and crime and how the idea is viewed by the participants today. It also looked into common grounds in terms of the influence of media, beliefs, and society in general to the idea of purity and what the participants’ feel about it as future educators.

Keywords: “Soledad”, Chastity, Media and Technology, Values

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

The Philippines, the largest Christian nation in Asia, is a nation that has a moral compass that is based on the teachings found in the Bible to strengthen its Catholic faith. The catholic religion which was brought to Philippine shores by the Spaniards in the 16th century has permeated the Philippine consciousness. Before the Americans arrived on Philippine soil to help liberate the country from the Japanese during World War II, there have been attempts to emancipate the country from various forms of power. Although there were limited opportunities for women to find their voice in mainstream Philippine Literature because the society was highly patriarchal, Filipino writers, whether male or female, attempted to capture in poetry or in prose the milieu and social transformations brought about by colonization.

“Literature mirrors society”. This is perhaps one of the reasons for the creation of “Soledad”, a poem written by Angela Manalang-Gloria, a native of Guagua, Pampanga province. The poem was written in English and contained in Manalang-Gloria’s collection of poems entitled “Poems” which was first published in 1940 and re-issued as a student publication in the 1950s (Manlapaz & Pagsanghan, 1989,p. 392). The period to which Manalang-Gloria belonged was marked by challenges—political and social—that led to the emergence of different voices in the literary field. One such voice is that of women who are in the crux of all the changes happening in the nation during this turbulent time in Philippine history.

Many influences—internal or external to the country—have shaped the Filipinos’ view of who they are today in the society. This research attempted to give a depiction of Filipino women as perceived by pre-service teachers, students who are enrolled in an Education program. Tantamount to this, the research tried to find out how the reflection of the Filipina in the poem “Soledad” translates to the Filipina image today focusing on chastity as perceived by five pre-service teachers and how the revelations in the interview can potentially affect their perceptions when they teach students about culture and values in the future.

Literature Review

A reading of several literatures and studies about the topic helped the researcher in understanding ideas that may underpin the study. At the outset, the research is based on two ideas: chastity as revealed in the work “Soledad”, chastity and how it is perceived today by a selected group of pre-service teachers.

Chastity or virginity according to Christian perspective and tradition focuses on three key ideas: *imitatio Christi* (imitation of Christ); the Virgin Mary, and asexual cohabitation (Chen, 2010). Although these three key ideas shall not be discussed in-depth in this paper, it shall however serve as a reason for explaining the mind-set created on the importance of chastity in the Catholic faith and how said concept is perceived by pre-service teachers through the poem “Soledad”.

In “Catechism of Catholic Faith” published by the Vatican, section two which discussed the Ten Commandments elaborated on the sixth commandment: “You shall not commit adultery”. In this section, chastity is defined as a virtue that involves the integrity of the person and the integrity of the gift (line 2337). Integrity in this sense means that “the chaste person maintains the integrity of the powers of life and love placed in him. This integrity ensures the unity of the person; it is opposed to any

behavior that would impair it” (line 2338). In the same section, offenses against chastity were enumerated such as rape, prostitution, lust, etc. But the one which seems to be most near the corpus of this study is “fornication” or the carnal union between an unmarried man and an unmarried woman (line 2353).

Similarly, the Church of Jesus of Latter-Day Saints (2015) defines chastity as sexual purity. Those who are chaste are morally clean in their thoughts, words, and actions. Chastity means not having any sexual relations before marriage. It also means complete fidelity to husband or wife during marriage. Moreover, the United States Catholic Bishops Conference (2015) defines chastity as the successful integration of sexuality within the person and thus the inner unity of man in his bodily and spiritual being.

From the point of view of one lay individual, chastity is defined as the virtue which excludes or moderates the indulgence of the sexual appetite. It is a form of the virtue of temperance, which controls according to right reason the desire for and use of those things which afford the greatest sensual pleasures (Melody, 1908). In literature, Chen (2010) explained that the idea of virginity is regarded as a moral standard or religious faith, based mainly on the Greco-Roman tradition of Christian idea of the Virgin Mary. Virginity is considered holy or sacred, something worth the sacrifice of one’s life. Chen gave examples of this in literature citing one of Joseph Addison’s in “The Coverly Papers”. Addison wrote “the concept of pre-marital virginity is extended to post-marital chastity.” This was explained in one of the story’s scenes when Glaphyra, after the death of her husband was married to the dead husband’s brother. In a dream she was scolded by her new husband and repelled by him because he was not “the husband of thy virginity”. Chen expounded on this by saying that even though Addison tried to prove the immorality of the soul, the idea of virginity as something for sole possession is too prominent to be ignored (p.88).

The concept of maintaining chastity is not only apparent in works written by well-known poets and prose writers. Feminist reading of the work of Angela Manalang-Gloria would reveal that there were several attempts to understand the female gender. Manlapaz and Pagsanghan (1989) explained in “A Feminist Reading of Angela Manalang-Gloria” that there are two reasons why critics should look at Manalang-Gloria’s works: *first*, she wrote in what was particularly interesting historical juncture for the Filipina woman of a certain class. The opening decades of the twentieth century marked the transition of the Filipino woman from the feminine ideal to another from the Hispanic woman confined to home and church to the American ideal of the liberated woman forging her own identity in traditionally male-dominated fields (p.391). *Second*, Manalang-Gloria’s literary career presents itself as an excellent case study of a “muted voice”: a voice from the muted female culture, raising itself to be heard in the halls of the dominant male culture (p. 392).

Peña-Reyes (2001) in a study of “Manlapaz on Manalang-Gloria” said that new readers need to be introduced to Manalang-Gloria and reintroduced to those who knew her work before the war. Hence, Manalang-Gloria’s seminal work is reintroduced in this humble investigation.

Method

This qualitative research made use of focused group discussion to know the perspectives of pre-service teachers. The participants described “Soledad” and were

asked questions based on the context of the poem. Then, the participants were asked to describe “Soledad” in the context of the present time in order to see if parallels can be made from the situation presented in the poem.

The Poem

Soledad

By: Angela Manalang-Gloria

*It was a sacrilege, the neighbors cried,
The way she shattered every mullioned pane
To let a firebrand in. They tried in vain
To understand how one so carved from pride
And glassed in dream could have so flung aside
Her graven days, or why she dared profane
The bread and wine of life for one insane
Moment with him. The scandal never died.*

*But no one guessed that loveliness would claim
Her soul's cathedral burned by his desires,
Or that he left her aureoled in flame. . .
And seeing nothing but her blackened spires,
The town condemned this girl who loved too well
And found her heaven in the depths of hell.*

Results and Discussion

How did the participants describe “Soledad”?

The participants were asked to describe the poetic persona “Soledad” based on their understanding of the poem. The participants were instructed to stick to the poem’s context in order to draw out certain parallels, if any, later.

Matrix 1. Participants’ Description of “Soledad”

Participant	Response
RP	<i>Soledad, the girl. I can describe her, based on the poem, as a Filipina, a woman whose focus is not morality. A woman who did not have proper guidance from parents.</i>
KP	<i>A woman blinded by love. Soledad cast aside everything that she learned from life in order to have one insane moment with him.</i>
JM	<i>She is blinded by love. She is an intelligent woman, but, she did not use her head when it comes to love. She has a dream and a reputation but she threw them away because of love.</i>
DA	<i>Soledad seems to be educated but she was blinded by love. But, like what RP said, instead of her personality getting better, because of love, it became worse.</i>
RB	<i>The Poem “Soledad” describes an era where Filipina women are expected to act like the well-known character Maria Clara in Dr. Jose Rizal's novels. Girls back then are known for being shy, demure and have a great respect for religious beliefs and to their own self. In the poem, there is a line which mentions Her (Soledad) "Aureole" left in flame. Aureole is an aura, pertaining to heavenly aura found in angels. She is an angelic girl and very, very admired by the towns people but a scandal had happened leaving her in the shadows of that scene.</i>

From the participants’ descriptions of the persona on Matrix 1, a common answer is that Soledad is a girl who is blinded by love. Because of love she threw away what seems to be best and that she became worse because of it. However, RB described Soledad like “an angel” who is very shy and admired by the townspeople. According to Antonio (2014), the representation of the female persona and the promotion of her character are pivotal in any literary form. Hence, the description of Soledad is

important in understanding the poetic persona and circumstance to which she became a victim of.



How did the participants perceive Soledad's loss of chastity?

Matrix 2. Participants' Perception of Soledad's Loss of Chastity

Participant	Response
RP	<i>I think what Soledad did was both a sin and a crime. It is a sin to her self and crime to the society during that time... Her sin is that she did not give value to her self, her being a woman. And it became a crime because that's what people thought. Things back then were considered crime because it depended on how society views it.</i>
KP	<i>The same. The act itself is a sin on her part. The act itself based on Soledad's perspective is a sin because she engaged in pre-marital sex. And because it is a sin, it becomes a crime because the society condemns it.</i>
JM	<i>I was contemplating on... maybe... Soledad was a nun... so what she did was a sin because what she entered into [being a nun] is sacred. So her actions are both sin and crime. Because, she has to preserve it [chastity] for the Lord.</i>
DA	<i>... it's a sin because she did not give importance to her virginity and then crime because of society. When you did something wrong, it is bad reflection right away as far as society is concerned.</i>
RB	<i>Soledad has committed a crime and a sin to the eyes of God and to the mortal law.</i>

As shown on Matrix 2, the participants perceive that losing one's chastity is a sin based on the context of the poem. It seems that from their answers the sin becomes a crime because it goes against God and society. This perception somehow runs parallel to how the Vatican defined chastity as explained under the Sixth Commandment. Furthermore, Hunt and Sta. Ana-Gatbonton (2000) said that sexuality in the Philippines is distinguished by a double standard that expects women to remain virgins until marriage [...] This double standard is reflected in the attitude towards wives who commit adultery (morally unacceptable) [...] Young women who lose their virginity before marriage, whether through rape or in a relationship, diminish their chances for a "good" marriage [...]

If you were a person living in Soledad time, how will you react to her situation?

Matrix 3. Participants' Reactions on Soledad's Situation

Participant	Response
RP	<i>Uhhh... I may pity her, if I don't know her personally. Because if we don't know the person it would be hard to conclude about and how to react to the situation.</i>
KP	<i>There is a saying "hate the sin, love the sinner". I think, for example, I know Soledad then I found out about what happened to her, I think it's a natural reaction to judge, to condemn, but, I will try my best to understand the situation. I know that what she did was wrong. In my opinion, it is wrong. Even though my opinion of her may change, I will not condemn her... So, I will just understand.</i>
JM	<i>I believe in the saying "don't judge others when they see different from you." Of course, If I were in her situation I would probably get caught up also in the situation. It's a pity and it's sad because during that time there are so many instances like this. It seems it's a common scenario, I will just understand her because she was not guided about proper morality.</i>
DA	<i>Like what they said, I will just understand her situation and then I will try to help raise her reputation.</i>
RB	<i>Knowing that Soledad violated God's law, rather than look at her at the bad side, my reaction would be is to understand that Soledad is just a human being even though we all are shaped under the image of God; it doesn't mean we can be like Him. She is human and not perfect, she was just driven by her desires, yes it is a sin. But yet again we humans are sinful, thus, I cannot judge Soledad. Only God can.</i>

It seems that what is common about the participants' responses on Matrix 3 is that they will understand the situation and consider it as maybe a product of the person's lack of proper guidance about morality and that the situation of "talking about" or probably gossiping about people who made a mistake was a common scenario during this time. Social Catholic Teaching tells us about the "Principle of the Dignity of the Human Person" – Every human person is of infinite dignity. This means that gossiping about other people is a violation of this basic principle.



What were the participants' views on loss of chastity?

Matrix 4. Participants' Views on Loss of Chastity

Participant	Response
RP	<i>There was so much fuss back then. Women were regarded in the society, men respect them. What she did [losing her virginity] was not natural or common that time. People talked about it because the country has not yet enjoyed democracy, there was no social media, people were not yet that open minded</i>
KP	<i>Maybe during that time people were more confined to the norms of society. One such norm is the sacredness of virginity. That is why when people knew of the scandal, if you will call it scandal, they were surprised, it was big deal because she broke a norm.</i>
JM	<i>It was a big deal because Soledad had to protect her reputation. Because of that reputation, if she commits a crime like being pregnant out of wedlock, people will consider it a crime.</i>
DA	<i>I think people made a fuss out of it because people's minds were not so liberated. It is like this, when a woman is educated people will think that she will not dare things that are against society's expectations. People back then were not open minded.</i>
RB	<i>The scandal of Soledad has created many fuss, it spread like wild fire. For during those times, the Church holds the power and if people at those times discover that you have sinned, they condemn you and think as if you are evil or possessed by evil spirit. What happened to Soledad was looked upon by the people as a great deed of the evil. Rather than to understand her situation they made her feel more bad.</i>

On Matrix 4, the participants believed that losing one’s chastity was “big deal” and people made a “fuss” about it to the point that it became a “scandal”. The respondents’ seem to agree that this was due to not being “liberated”, protecting one’s reputation, absence of democracy, and being confined to the norms of the society. This could imply that the nonchalance of the participants on an issue that was considered in the past as scandalous may not be a cause for alarm to parents today.

What is the role of religion in this context?

Matrix 5. The Role of Religion in the Context of “Soledad”

Participant	Response
RP	<i>Yes, religion has a big role. Religion shows and teaches how people should act.</i>
KP	<i>Religion really has a big role. The Church teaches us the sacred powers of pro-creation. It is something which should not be taken lightly because it is what the Church teaches us. So, back then, I think when people do not follow the Church, they will be considered abominations.</i>
JM	<i>Christianity has a big role especially in our country. Religion teaches proper ethics and morality. So, like in that period in the poem, people’s minds were molded by the idea of what is right is found in the bible and because doing right pleases God.</i>
DA	<i>There is a quote in ethics that says “there is no social order without moral order”. To me, this is perhaps based on our culture and our actions based on morality which is linked to religion. I think the role of religion is very important because it cannot be separated from social norms and culture.</i>
RB	<i>As I've said. Yes. The church have [sic.]great role.</i>

The participants all agree that religion has a big role in the context of “Soledad” as revealed in the responses to Matrix 5. It can be inferred that the basis of morality is religion.

In the past, how did people treat their beliefs?

Matrix 6. Participants' perceptions on the way people treated their beliefs

Participant	Response
RP	<i>Back then people prioritized their beliefs. It is number one, very important.</i>
KP	<i>I think the belief about what Soledad did was wrong—sex before marriage—because it made people condemn the person.</i>
JM	<i>People treated their beliefs as necessary in their life, like food. Soledad having sex before marriage was totally wrong; it was really a bad idea. She was treated an outcast.</i>
DA	<i>Their beliefs, like what JM said, became the foundation of their actions.</i>
RB	<i>Their belief is very tied to their lives. The society at those times has many beliefs and it turns out that the pagan belief our ancestors had are mixed in the new belief the society had established.</i>

In line with the tenor of responses on Matrix 6, the participants seem to perceive that people treat their beliefs as “necessary”, prioritized or “number one”, a foundation of their actions, and very tied to their lives. The idea that religious beliefs direct the believers’ actions is supported by Torres’ (2007) claim that Religion is the basis of their [Filipinos] actions. More often than not, the Filipinos deep sense of religiosity is reflected in their decisions and ways of seeing the events that happen in their lives.

Is there a Soledad in the present time?

Matrix 7. Participants' Perception on "Soledad" in Present Day Context

Participant	Response
RP	<i>Yes there are many "Soledads" today. Also, the internet and media has affected the country because people are exposed to a lot of things that is why there are many Soledad living today.</i>
KP	<i>There are many Soledad today. There are still people who condemn persons who have committed the sin like the Soledad of the past.</i>
JM	<i>Today, there are many Soleded because of what people see on TV.</i>
DA	<i>There are women who are like Soledad today. There are many of them. They commit sin even though they feel guilty every time they do.</i>
RB	<i>There will be always a Soledad in every era, in fact in every human being.</i>

When asked about "Soledads" in the present time, the participants seem to agree that there are more Soledads now and that whatever time period there will always be a Soledad as revealed on Matrix 7. This implies the influence of media and technology. According to Leyson (2010) the internet has become an integral part in both business and personal activities, hence, changes modern society were brought about by technology.

Is the loss of chastity a sin or crime today?

Matrix 8. Perceptions of participants on the loss of chastity as sin or crime

Participant	Response
RP	<i>Today, it's only a sin not a crime.</i>
KP	<i>If we will base it on the Bible, it is a sin. No matter what time period, it is a sin. But, it cannot be considered a crime today because society has accepted it.</i>
JM	<i>To me it's neither a sin nor crime. Because it is a recurring thing today so it seems normal now that is why I think it's neither.</i>
DA	<i>For me it is a sin. Whether in the Bible or in the society, it is a sin to lose it.</i>
RB	<i>It is a sin and a crime at the same time. God's law can never be change, nor bend at any means even though we can say we do it for the purpose of self-actualization. God's words are absolute.</i>

As revealed on Matrix 8, the participants seem to agree that the act which was condemned in the context of the poem may not be condemned today. The participants view the act as more of a sin than a crime. It can be inferred from the views of the participants that the act committed by Soledad is unacceptable to what is normal but may be acceptable because there may be no governing rules to say that the sin is a crime.

How did the participants view Soledad’s situation in the context of the present time?

Matrix 9. Participants’ views of Soledad’s situation in today’s context

Participant	Response
RP	<i>For me, I will just laugh at it.</i>
KP	<i>I will not anymore be surprised; many people are already doing it.</i>
JM	<i>If it were my close friend I will be irritated. But if it is not a friend, maybe it’s okay.</i>
DA	<i>I will be slightly surprised but I guess it’s just okay now.</i>
RB	<i>Maybe now, what Soledad did was bad and a sin to God, but nowadays, there is no such fuss or commotion whenever we hear something like what happened to her, for the reason that the morale have been reduced to little and this issue is not a big deal to some because throughout the years, it became as normal as breathing. Some people prioritize their own wants and desires and giving less importance to what God wants.</i>

Matrix 9 reveals the participants’ views on Soledad’s situation when taken in today’s context. Their reactions revealed that the matter is something to be laughed at or not surprising. It is also viewed as an “okay” thing and that people don’t make a fuss about it now.

What are the participants' personal realizations about Chastity?

Matrix 10. Participants' personal realizations about chastity

Participant	Response
RP	<i>I realized that losing one's chastity during that time was not okay. It was okay that it happened in the poem because it could be a good reference for people to realize also what is proper and what should be done especially by people living today.</i>
KP	<i>I was surprised and at the same time I realized that there are people like me who believe in the sacredness of virginity. I realized that people like Soledad should not be condemned because if we do we are also committing a sin because we may be judging unfairly.</i>
JM	<i>I realized the difference of life then and now. Especially, on the way people were treated. I realized also that someday things will make sense even if they don't make sense now. Like what happened to Soledad in the past, now it makes sense to me.</i>
DA	<i>To me, we are perfectly imperfect. But if there is something that I learned from this session is to "think hundreds of times before you do a certain thing".</i>
RB	<i>I remember all the times when people approach me about issues like this, and I realize, maybe, if I can be a better friend for anyone. If I can be there for them, they won't find peace and belongingness into another human being who will or might just abandon them in broken pieces. I realized if I became a better friend, and I will be an outlet of God's words, then maybe there would be no more Soledad.</i>

On Matrix 10, participants seem to agree that they learned something from the experience of Soledad and that there is a very big difference in terms of how people who sinned were treated by people in the past—the 1940s which is the context to which the poem revolves. But, the respondents also realized that people are not perfect, that they can do something to help other people through good counsel, and that the past makes more sense now.

Conclusions

Selected pre-service teachers offered a mature understanding of Soledad's situation by staying on point when they answered all the interview questions. The idea of chastity expressed by the participants is dormant in their consciousness until it is talked about. Using a poem to bring to the surface imbedded thoughts about a taboo topic in a conservative society like the Philippines can be done in a more mature discussion.

Although not directly cited in the matrices, it would help the readers of this research to understand how technology played a role in the perception of the participants as regards their reactions to the situation of Soledad if she is living in the present time. To the participants, the reasons for their show of indifference to a woman who sinned in the eyes of the religious are that technology has somehow made them understand certain world views; that in the Philippines there are many religions now, as well as the world. Thus, making them have a liberated view and open-minded take on Soledad's situation.

As regards learning from Soledad, the respondents found it their responsibility as future teachers to learn from the past so that they can contribute something for the future. The realizations, they say (although not directly quoted in the matrices), can guide them in conducting their classes in the future. Maybe, it would be good to consider other literary works that will help the present generation and generations thereafter to appreciate who they are and how their circumstance differs to situations experienced by Filipino women in the past.

References

Antonio, G.R.V. (2014). Archetypes of women in Philippine fictions. *Advances in English Language and Literature*. 1 (3), pp. 25-37

“Catholic Social Teaching”, (2013). *Caritas Singapore Community Council*. Retrieved from [http://caritas-singapore.org/catholic-social-teaching?gclid=CLDCi9WwhMUCFcGWvQodRUwACA#. VTS0GhZMYct](http://caritas-singapore.org/catholic-social-teaching?gclid=CLDCi9WwhMUCFcGWvQodRUwACA#.VTS0GhZMYct)

Chen, K. (2010). The concept of virginity and its representations in eighteenth century English literature. *Wenshan Review of Literature and Culture*. 3 (2) pp. 75-96

http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s2c2a6.htm

Hunt, D.D. & Sta. Ana-Gatbonton, C. (2000). *Filipino women and sexual violence; speaking out and providing services*. Retrieved from <http://cpcabrisbane.org/CPCA/IWSSForum.htm>

Leyson, L. (2010). *Philippine islands: effect of internet and cellphones on the Filipino Youth*. Retrieved from http://www.philippine-islands.ph/en/effect_of_internet_and_cellphones_on_the_filipino_youth-aid_36.html

Melody, J. (1908). *Chastity*. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved from New Advent <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03637d.htm>

Reyes, M.P. (2001). Angela Manalang-Gloria by Manlapaz. *Philippine Studies*. 49(1) Ateneo de Manila University, pp. 138-142.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.lds.org/topics/chastity?lang=eng>

Torres, D. (2004). Analysis and insights on Manalang-Gloria’s SOLEDAD. Retrieved from <http://denvertorrespopular.blogspot.com/2007/08/analysis-on-manalang-glorias-soledad.html>

Catechism of the Catholic Church, no. 2337. (2015) *United States Conference of Catholic Bishops: Abstinence and Chastity*. Retrieved from <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/abstinence-and-chastity/>

*Is an Alternative Deliberation Space?:
The Anti- Nuclear Movement and ICT Communication after 3.11 Disaster*

Kyoko Tominaga, Ritumeikan University, Japan.
Takanori Tamura, Hosei University, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

In this paper, we explore the role of the internet in anti-nuclear actions in Japan after the compound disaster of 11 March 2011. We investigate two features of the role of the Internet for activism with analyzing cases. Firstly, we show cases that the Internet plays a role of alternative media under circumstances with restricted freedom of speech of Japanese journalism. Secondly, we introduce the conflicts on the Internet on anti-nuke actions which revolve around a right to set the agenda, illustrating this via two cases.

Keywords: anti-nuke activism, the Internet, Twitter, alternative media, arguments on the Internet

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

In this essay we explore the role of the internet in anti-nuclear actions in Japan after the compound disaster of 11 March 2011 (hereafter “3/11”). The current anti-nuclear movement draws on multiple strands and diverse levels of experience in political activism. Some participants draw on pre-existing political groups. Many groups were newly established after 3/11, for example MCAN (Metropolitan Coalition Against Nukes) which has been conducting major, long-lasting anti-nuke protest gatherings in front of the prime minister’s residence and is an influential civilian protest group.

We would like to argue the role of the Internet in anti-nuclear activism from two points of views, 1. the Internet as alternative media, 2. the Internet as an arena for debate, in which which the subversive use of computers and computer networks to promote a political agenda (della Porta ed. 2006).

We are interested in the way the Internet plays a role to shape a form of modern activism especially after 3/11 disaster as well as other east western countries like Taiwan’s Jasmin revolution, Hong Kong’s umbrella revolution and Korea’s campaign against candidates. Firstly, we describe how they use the Internet for dissemination of actions and organizing movements. We also mention how the Internet effected personal decision towards the actions. Secondly, we discuss how do they conduct arguments for movements on the Internet. We explore dynamism of human relationship for arguments on the Internet.

As one of the authors, Tamura, discussed in another paper (Tamura, 2015), the Internet is important to current social actions because the way people participate in the current anti-nuclear protests differs from an earlier generation of labor and socialist movements. In the immediate post-Second World War period individual participation in social movements was typically facilitated through membership of large hierarchical organizations such as political parties or their affiliated trade unions and cultural associations. In contemporary social movements, however, individual participation in particular actions is less likely to be a result of compliance with decisions made at the leadership level of a particular organization. It is more likely the result of individual decisions to attend particular actions and events. The struggle against the ratification of the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty (Anpo) in 1960 was something of a watershed in the development of a more individualistic style of movement participation. Although large organised groupings such as the Japan Communist Party, the Japan Socialist Party and their affiliates organised huge numbers of people to attend anti-Anpo demonstrations this period also saw the emergence of groups who emphasised their independence from established political parties and labour unions (Sasaki-Uemura, 2001, pp. 148–194). As Simon Avenell has argued, the philosophy of the “*shimin*” (citizen) which emerged out of these movements celebrated the political agency of non-aligned citizens as social movement actors (Avenell, 2010). As the large left-wing parties and smaller New Left groups declined in size and power in the 1970s and 1980s these citizen-based movements flowered. Jasper observes a similar trend in his studies of Euro-American social movements where he describes a shift from the predominance of movements such as labour movements (which often competed with each other because they had clearly defined constituencies) and the new movements which flow more easily into each other. He cites the environmental and feminist movements, for example, which together inspired the antinuclear movement of the 1970s, which in turn gave rise to the disarmament movement of the early 1980s in Europe (Jasper, 1999, p. 7).

The growth of internet communication technologies including email, the world wide web and newer social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Youtube has accelerated the trend away from monolithic organizational structures and towards more fluid forms of political participation.

As Slater et al. have noted, after the 3/11 disaster social media played an important role in disseminating information about the Fukushima nuclear disaster and facilitating anti-nuclear activism (Slater, Nishimura, & Kindstrand, 2012). Social media not only facilitates the flow of information in real time across national borders (Lotan et al., 2011). It also influences the way in which people participate in a social movement (Bennett, 2012). The loose, non-hierarchical and open structure of new social movement organizations in Japan facilitates the participation of individuals and does not require them to subscribe to any broader organizational agenda. Individual patterns of engagement are visible on social media as activists Tweet, blog and chat about their involvement in different movements and demonstrations. Political scientist Gonoï Ikuo describes the way information is shared through the internet in contemporary forms of grassroots political engagement in terms of the “cloudification” of social movements. According to Gonoï, the web acts as a kind of “cloud” which people access in order to exchange information easily. Internet communication technologies have decreased the cost of sharing information and have taken the hassle out of organising events. Activist groups no longer rely upon specific physical locations or centres in which to organise but only some symbolic information centre. Instead they can download designs for placards, find a meeting point, or check the route of a demonstration online (Gonoï, 2012, p. 15).

In Japan, citizen movements, NPO&NGO and social actions have used the Internet for a long time. NPO named JCAFE has started to offer share hosting service to these organizations and actions since 1995. The 4th World Conference on Women held in this year and they used the digital network for their communication. However, according to Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC, hereinafter) , only 13.4% of Japanese individuals had experience to use the Internet in 1997. In such situation, any movements could not reach the masses via the Internet. However, the Internet gradually penetrated Japanese society. At the end of the 2011, the year for triple disaster, 79.1% of individuals had experience using the Internet — a figure that reached 82.8% in 2013 (Figure 1).

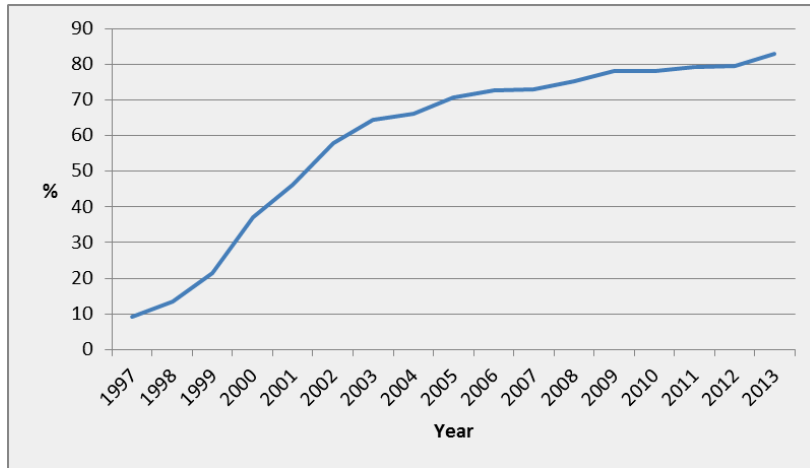


Figure 1 Percent of Individual Users for the Internet in Japan¹

The MIC pointed that few er percent of older generation used the Internet. According to a report by MIC, the ratio of use of the Internet by 60-64 years old people was 76.6% and by 65-69 years old people was 68.9% ² However; a graph of absolute numbers of internet users by age gives one a different impression because Japan is an ageing society (Figure 2). The biggest numbers of Japanese internet users are 40s who could have a chance to meet Anti- Iraq War movement. Numbers of 60s who belong to Anti-Anpo Movement generation are almost the same to 20s. Today anti-nukes organizations can reach the masses from this point of view.

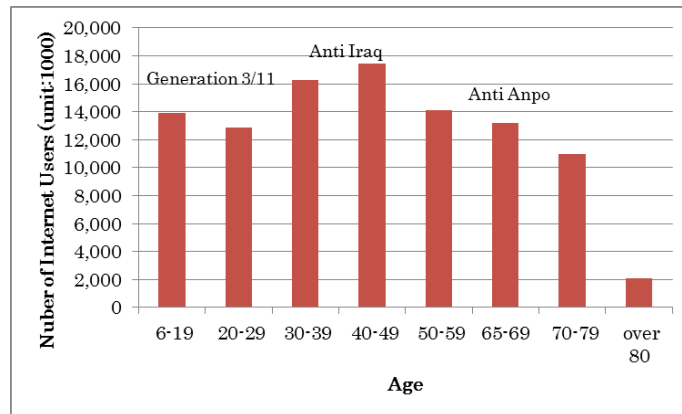


Figure 2 Number of Internet Users by Age in Japan, 2013

The Internet and Anti-nuke Activism

The Internet as alternative media for information

The Internet is playing an important role for people to achieve information on both nuclear power plant and anti-nuke actions. As McLelland et al. (McLelland et al., under review) described this is because after the 3/11 earthquake disaster and the incident at the Fukushima nuclear power plant, Japanese people realized that Tokyo

¹ This graph is based on the data from MIC, Japan.

<http://www.soumu.go.jp/johotsusintokei/field/data/gt010102.xls>

² <http://www.soumu.go.jp/johotsusintokei/whitepaper/ja/h26/html/nc253120.html>

Electric Power Co. (TEPCO), the owner of the plant, was able to influence the media coverage of the incident due to the high advertising revenue it paid to various media outlets³. Other cultural factors that have limited the diversity of expression in Japan include the specific newsgathering techniques of Japan's journalists. Unlike in some other developed nations, Japan has relatively few freelance journalists, most professional journalists are members of 'journalist clubs' (*kisha kurabu*) set up by major media outlets which have restrictive rules for membership.

When various government or industry bodies hold press conferences they are often open only to members of specific *kisha kurabu* who, in exchange for the exclusive information, agree to a specific framing of their reports. This system gives a monopoly of information to specific media companies and makes it easy to manipulate information (Freeman 2000).

Consider a record of interview for an anti-nuke participant on 13 April 2013, conducted by Tamura. The participant is a company employee in Tokyo. Having grown up in a rural city of Japan in a rather conservative family, She had never thought about participating in political protests prior to 3/11. After 3/11, she received numerous emails from abroad with links to reports from the BBC and CNN. These international broadcasters ran stories that showed the seriousness of the nuclear power plant accident, and provided more information than did the media in Japan. She started to study the effects of radiation exposure via the internet.

This person had no previous intention to participate in protests. Far from it, she thought that if she went to a demonstration she would be arrested or treated roughly by the riot police. In her imagination, a demonstration was a dangerous place. She hesitated, but ultimately participated in an anti-nuke demonstration. One of popular singer Saitō Kazuyoshi's songs was a decisive factor in her decision. Saitō uploaded a song "Zutto uso datta" (It Was Always a Lie)¹⁹ to the video sharing site YouTube. This song was a reworking of one of his earlier songs "Zutto suki datta" ("I always loved you"). The song charged that the government and the nuclear power industry had been lying to the Japanese people about the dangers of nuclear power. The video was deleted soon after, but somebody kept uploading it persistently. She thought Saitō might encounter serious difficulties in his career because of this but she recognised that he was fighting, nevertheless. His determination to speak out inspired her and pushed her to participate in movements..

Though the Internet plays an important role for anti-activism, we found limitation of it. MCAN's organisers, too, came to realise these limitations. They were able to reach fewer people than they had expected via the Internet (Oguma 2013: 321–2). So, MCAN had to find ways to contact greater numbers of people. For this purpose, they established the No Nukes Magazine. We cannot specify precise reason for limitation of dissemination of information via the Internet but suppose that mechanisms

³ TEPCO paid 26.9 billion yen as advertisement fee in 2010 although all electricity power companies were monopoly firms and no competitors (Nikkei Kōkoku Kenkyūjo, 2011).

identified in previous research — such as cyber cascade (Sunstein, 2001) and filter bubble (Pariser, 2012) — help us to understand these kind of situations which imply dynamisms which reduce space and capacity available for internet users.

Verbal Communication: Arguments on the Internet

To provide a context for these kind of developments and uses of the Internet, it is helpful to consider the recent history of the concept of the “public sphere” in Japan. There has been a cluster of discussions about relationship of the digital network and the society borrowing concept of “public sphere” of Habermas, in Japan (Hoshikawa, 2001; Yoshida, 2000). Famous, the public sphere, as an ideal type, is social network where citizens rationally discuss issues in the society to develop a public opinion (Yoshida, 2000, p. 8). In Japan, and elsewhere, theorists have tried to apply a concept as “public sphere” of Habermas (Habermas, 1992) to the Internet communication and desired to develop democratic communication sphere on the Internet. These literatures have merely attempted to find proof for the existence of a classic Habermasian public sphere, and yet have not found much evidence for this. However, revival of protest style social actions and penetration of the Internet after 3/11 request reconsideration of the public sphere issue and further speculation on debates on the Internet.

Before we provide an analysis of cases, we need to consider a theoretical criticism to relationship between Habermas’s concept of public sphere and absence of common pre-understanding on discussion on the Internet. One of remarkable criticism for this “information public sphere” was written by Kitada (Kitada, 2010). Kitada claimed that we should understand that public sphere of Habermas not as product of universal human rationality but as an effect of specified social relationship and information technology, namely, bourgeoisie discussion circle and rising print capitalism. Participants were classified people who could have common rule for discussion that coordinated interaction inside a circle. According to Kitada, that rule for modifying communication was the concept of “public” of Habermas.

One can hardly apply this rule to the Internet discussion because they do not share pre-understanding and context to interpret meaning of messages, according to Kitada. In communication in mass media, newspaper publishers or broadcasters of TV retain a right to decide which was appropriate interpretation of messages. However, Kitada said, on the Internet, there is no transcendental position to certify true interpretation of the situation. Interpretation of the message always depends on a reader there. It implies that, on the Internet, they always argue rules of discussion which are pre-understanding and presupposition of the discussion. They struggle the order of priority among agendas and/ authority to set the agenda. Though public sphere of Habermas was established rule of the discussion and it expected people to discuss based on the rationality, a framework for rational discussion is a problem to discuss on the Internet. Thus the most keen point for arguments is “who decide the agenda and a rule of discussion there.” Kitada expressed this situation, borrowing a phrase from Max Weber, “struggle of gods with one another.” Thus, it becomes more like political demonstration than rational discussion.

At the same time, after developing various kinds of software for communication for the Internet, we should clarify feature of communication driven by architecture of software. Communication on Twitter, which is quite individual based, can be different from one on community based mode communication media like BBS, where they

have community. Baym (Baym, 1994) has argued that social context of online community consists of reflexive interaction between given resources and actions by participants. Baym pointed five resources for online community, shaped by factors such: 1) external context, 2) temporal structure, 3) system infrastructure, 4) group purposes; and 5) participant characteristics. With those resources, participants create social meaning like: 1) forms of expression, 2) identity, 3) relationship, 4) behavioral norm. In community mode communication on the Internet can have mutual context and norms for discussion. On the other hand, when it comes to communication on Twitter, it is rather difficult to find such shared norms because Twitter is a micro blog and all owners has their own rules and context. Therefore, we easily find argument around agenda setting issue on Twitter communication.

The followings are cases for argument around priority or agenda setting on Twitter about anti-nuke activism. After 3/11 disaster, many groups and activities protesting nuclear power plants have appeared. These include small groups protesting in rural prefectures as well as a national Diet members' coalition for anti-nuclear power in the nation's capital. However, these diverse groups have experienced difficulty in forming a unified front against pro-nuclear groups because some anti-nuke groups have attacked the legitimacy of other anti-nuke groups to speak about these issues. One reasons for this lack of unity is the contention around priority and initiative of agenda settings. We deal with topics on those discussion which are arguments between anti-nuke group vs anti-radiation exposure group and on Japanese flag (Hinomaru). Our case study involves the disagreements that have emerged between the most influential civilian protest group, the MCAN, and anti-MCAN. Much of the debate among conflicting anti-nuke groups is carried out via social media such as Twitter.

Anti-Nuke vs Anti-Radiation Exposure group and “You don’t do it” claim

Firstly, we focus on anti-nuke vs anti-radiation exposure argument. It had a debilitating effect on attempts at galvanizing mass protest against the nuclear power industry in Japan. In this argument, a group of anti-nuclear actions criticized MCAN that MCAN did not emphasize problems of radiation exposure and relief of victims in Fukushima. One reasons for this lack of unity is the contention around “who has legitimacy to assert opinions about the matter” (in Japanese, *tōjisha*). According to Mark McLelland, since the 1970s, the *tōjisha-sei* (the sense of being a *tōjisha*) has emerged as a major rhetorical strategy in arguments about self-determination for “parties concerned” facing discrimination or difficulties and has now become a central concept for all self-advocacy groups in Japan. *Tōjisha* is a culturally specific concept for which finding an appropriate English equivalent phrase is difficult (McLelland 2009:193).

Hence our methodology involves a close reading and text mining of Twitter debates around this issue from March 17, 2011 to Feb 7, 2013. We chose 453 tweets through search results from <http://topsy.com/> with key words “radiation exposure” and “MCAN.” We coded the text with the software, KH CODER, with a coding rule that consisted of words related to the concepts “*tōjisha*,” “radiation exposure,” “MCAN,” “censure” and “solidarity.” For example, “*tōjisha*” coding rule includes a word for

Fukushima, mother and children. The asterisk mark means a name of a code here in after. One Twitter message can be coded under plural codes.

Table 1 shows the matrix of co-occurring ratio of codes calculated by Jaccard Coefficient. It indicates high co-occurring of *Radiation Exposure and both *MCAN (0.371) and *Censure (0.338), *Victims and both *Radiation Exposure (0.323) and *MCAN (0.246), *MCAN and *Censure (0.331).

This matrix is visualized on Figure 3.

	* <i>Tōjisha</i>	* Radiation Exposure	* M CAN	* Censure	* So lida rity
* <i>Tōjisha</i>	1	0.323	0.246	0.18	0.025
* Radiation Exposure		1	0.371	0.338	0.101
* M CAN			1	0.331	0.032
* Censure				1	0.09

Table 1: Co-occurring ratio of codes in Twitter text on “radiation exposure” and “MCAN.” Numbers are Jaccard Coefficient.

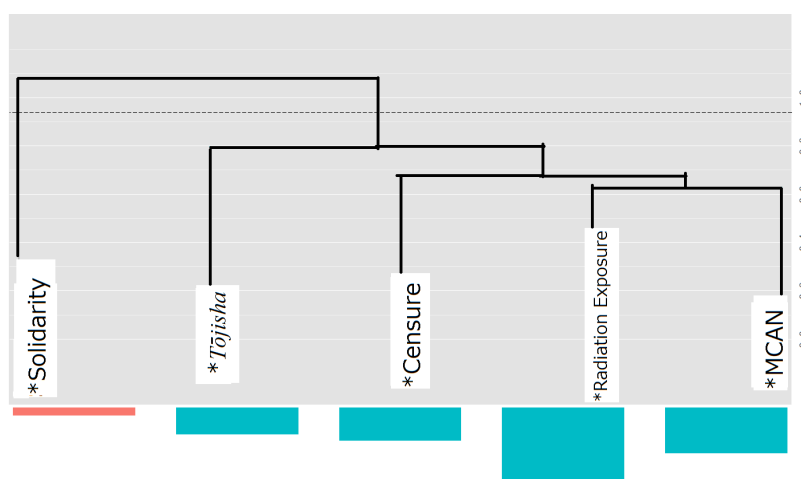


Figure 3 : Cluster analysis for Twitter text on “radiation exposure” and “MCAN.” Bars under the code names represent sum of messages coded (* *Victims* 126, * *Radiation Exposure* 366, * *MCAN* 218, * *Censure* 156, * *Solidarity* 38, No code 19, n= 453).

Via this text mining and reading the text, we discovered that in the case of anti-nuclear activism, the “people of Fukushima” are considered by some to be the real *tōjisha* and thus have legitimate privilege to assert their opinions on anti-nuclear issues because they or their families have directly experienced the consequences of the accident. Those speaking as *tōjisha* or groups for *tōjisha* claim that MCAN neglects the voices of Fukushima victims, for example by not sufficiently emphasizing the fear of radiation. In short they claimed “You don’t do it.” This is an effective rhetoric because all other things than you have done are things you have not done.

Through our analysis we show that MCAN has so far focused on a “single issue policy” that emphasizes only an anti-nuclear stance and requires no other affiliation or commitment from its participants. This broad-based platform is one reason why MCAN has seen the protesters numbering in the thousands. However the fact that MCAN is open to all comers based only on their anti-nuclear stance, has led to the

movement's organizers being criticized by those positioning themselves as *tōjisha* – those who assume the most authority to speak on the issue because of their personal involvement in the disaster. Hence we show that debates over *tōjisha-ness* have emerged as an impediment to developing a united front against the pro-nuclear campaigners in Japan. Our analysis further shows that the use of social media such as Twitter has heightened awareness of debates over *tōjisha-ness* among Japanese in general.

We focus our analysis on Twitter in particular because of its archive of discussion among groups. We discovered that Twitter plays an essential role as arena for debates around *tōjisha-ness*. Twitter has amplified controversies over the concept of *tōjisha-ness* and who has the right to set agenda in the anti-nuclear movement.

Japanese flag and “You do it” claim

The nuclear plant accident drew a nationalist reaction from many Japanese, not only rightist but also non-political citizens. We refer here to nationalism in the widest sense of the word. Nationalism is a polysemous word and does not directly mean aggressive imperialism. Consideration about national policy cannot avoid being a part of nationalism. The accident stimulated people to reconsider their nation, Japan, thorough finding differences of Journalism and attitudes of Japanese government for other countries, for example Germany. This is because Japanese TVs and newspapers did not provide enough information about NPP accident and journalism in other countries, like CNN or BBs, broadcasted much information on it. At the same time, Japanese government and so called “nuclear village” tried to cover danger of the accident in an opposite manner to German government which decided to abandon NPP in Germany because they learned from disaster in Japan. This situation prompted people who participated in anti-nuke actions to trial to change Japan better. Through content analysis of three kinds of peoples messages, that is twitter messages from an organizer and participant and speeches of general participant who joined anti-nuclear protest in front of prime minister's residence conducted by MCAN (Figure 4). The <Japan> category is one of major components for all three messages which is consisted by words like, Japan, Germany, world, etc. Horie called this kind of nationalism as “pessimistic nationalism” for his finding from a question survey for anti-nuke action participants around the prime minister residence and the diet (Horie, 2013).

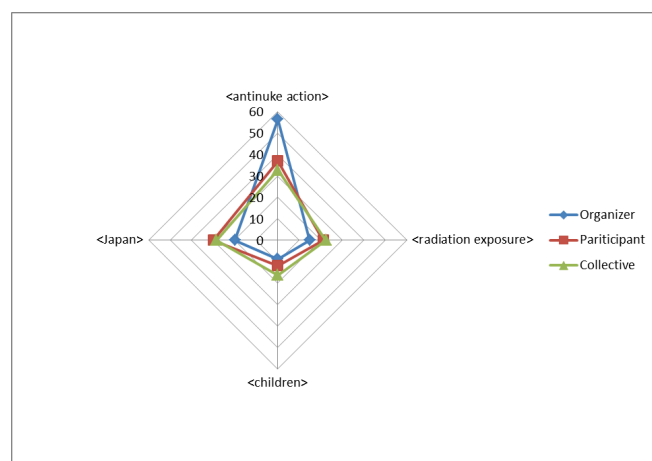


Figure 4 Frequent Categories in Anti-nuke Activists Messages

Some rightist groups started anti-nuke actions because they were worried about people, soil and nature that belong to the country. In protest actions conducted by MCAN, there are a few of people who bring Japanese flag to the actions. MCAN has a policy of “single issue politics” and announces the following policy about flags and placards.

Please do not show signs which are unrelated to nukes issue. A staff may ask you haul them down. Being unrelated means any statements which are not instantly comprehensible as matters of nukes.

This is the same to signs as any names of organizations which represents any other political issue.

We are not going to ask to haul down other flags and signs of any other organizations than those mentioned above, but we do not welcome them. We insist that “Appeal anti-nuke opinions instead of places you belong!”

We will apply these guidelines as loosely as possible. We ask participants’ understanding and cooperation⁴.

MCAN do not stop participants to bring Japanese flag but they do not refer to Japanese flag officially as mentioned above. Noma(Noma, 2012), an organizer of MCAN, wrote that they have not even set Japanese flag issue as an agenda in any official meetings because they did not care it at all (Noma, 2012, p. 177).

Some left activist groups have antipathy to the Japanese flag as we introduce a case of a left wing activist as mentioned below⁵.

Present anti-nuclear actions have a problem to exclude ethnic minority in Japan.

Especially, most of activists get nervous to carrying Japanese flag in social movements. In a meeting, I asked a question a racial minority activist. “To be frank, what do you think about anti-nuclear movement after 3.11?” She answered that “We can’t participate into the movement because it excludes non-Japanese. We have regarded Japanese flag as exclusive symbol.

Left activists regard Japanese flag as not only a symbol of exclusion but also the representation of “Great Imperial Japan”. They challenge MCAN and made arguments on Twitter⁶. This is again an argument around agenda setting right and also an argument on interpretation of a sign, Japanese flag.

Scholars of social movement discussed the movement symbol like Japanese flag in this case. They constructed a concept of “repertoires” (Traugott 1995). Repertoires mean the tactics, tools and other means protesters use in their action (e.g. lobbying, advocacy, demonstration, banners protesters carry and music activists play etc.). Moreover, activists use their repertoires as perform their identity. (Clemens 1993, 1996; Bernstein 1997) MCAN had chosen a repertory, single issue politics, that insisted focusing on one issue they set as an agenda and neglect any other differences of political thoughts and opinions. MCAN intends to de-politicization or deideologize their movement to recruit more participants who have allergy to political and/or ideological movements. Activists who challenged MCAN try to obtain a right of

⁴ Translation by author, Tamura

⁵ Interview with an author Tominaga, August 3, 2013

⁶ <http://togetter.com/li/337531?page=2,XX>, <http://togetter.com/li/580865>

interpretation of the sign and re-politicize or re-ideologize the movement, claiming that “You do it though you say you don’t.” This is because their repertory was their identity and criticism is a way to reinforce the identities reflexively.

For MCAN, Japanese flag is not an agenda to discuss. On the other hand, some left activists regard Japanese flag is a symbol of exclusion for minorities like Korean and Chinese residents who live in Japan due to historical reason. Left activists try to obtain authority to set it as agenda of anti-nuke actions. Internet and SNS like Twitter and Facebook empowered this trial of left activists whose numbers are quite smaller than MCAN and its supporters. The Internet visualized it and records it so that many other unrelated audiences could read this trial. It is one of the features in social movement at present. Discussion is one of the repertoires and it presents their own identity for external actor of social movement.

Conclusion

We explored the role of the internet in anti-nuclear actions in Japan after the compound disaster of 11 March 2011. We investigated two features of the role of the Internet for activism with analyzing cases. Firstly, we showed cases that the Internet plays a role of alternative media under circumstances with restricted freedom of speech of Japanese journalism. Secondly, we introduced the conflicts on the Internet on anti-nuke actions which is around a right to set the agenda with showing two cases. First one was a conflict between anti-nuke group vs anti-radiation exposure group and the second one was Japanese flag issue. From these cases, we could understand that online communication have a features of tactics and battles among protesters around frames of discussion and the order of priority of agenda.

Social movement scholars have conducted the research for discussion and they argued that discussion is the deliberation space and alternative public sphere (Wood 2012, Polletta 2002, 2005). However, online discussion is not only deliberation but also “battles” around who has a right to set framework for the deliberation. The Internet plays a role this struggle by visualizing them and recording them so that unrelated audiences could observe arguments even though one of between a small group and huge one. The Internet equalizes the voice of speakers and it allows conflicts around agenda setting trial to keeps rising.

In this paper, the authors mainly focused on alternative media and ICT communication among the activists after anti- nuclear movement after 3.11 Disaster. Of courses, protesters use the internet other ways also. Hacktivism (a portmanteau of hack and activism) is one of the movement on Internet space. In anti-nucleuse social movement we could not find obvious evidence of hacktivism, but it is an important case for further research and discussion of on-line activism.

Acknowledgments

This article draws on research conducted as part of Australian Research Council Discovery Project DP10928278 (2010–2013), Internet History in Australia and the Asia-Pacific. We owe Daiyu Tamura, Rikkyo Univesity for his ideas on arguments around frameworks on discussion.

References

Avenell, S. A. (2010). *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the Shimin in Postwar Japan*. University of California Press.

Baym, N. (1994). The Emergence of On-line Community. In S. Jones (Ed.), *CyberSociety: Computer-Mediated Communication and Community*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, Inc.

Bennett, W. L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20–39.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212451428>

Porta, D. D. (2006). *The Global Justice Movement: Cross-national and Transnational Perspectives*. Boulder: Paradigm Pub.

Freeman, L. A. (2000). *Closing the Shop: Information Cartels and Japan's Mass Media*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton Univ Pr.

Gonoi, I. (2012). *Demo towa nanika: Henbo suru chokusetsu minshu shugi [What is demonstration; Changing direct democracy]*. Tokyo:Enueichikei shuppan.

Habermas, J. (1992). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Horie, M. (2013). Datsu/Han Genpatsu no Supirituaritei: Ankēto to Intabyū kara Ukabiagaru Seimeisyugi [Spirituality of anti-nuke movements: From a question survey and interviews. In *Gendai Syūkyō 2013* (pp. 78–122). Tokyo: Kokusai Syūkyō Kenkyūjo.

Hoshikawa, T. (2001). *Kokyōkenno Shakaigaku [Sociology for the Public Sphere]: Dejitaru Nettowākingu ni yoru Kokyōken Kōchikuhe Mukete*. Kyoto: Hōritubunkasya.

Jasper, J. M. (1999). *The art of moral protest culture, biography, and creativity in social movements*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

McLelland, M. (2009). The role of the “tojisha” in current debates about sexual minority rights in Japan. *Faculty of Arts - Papers (Archive)*.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/10371390903026933>

McLelland, M., Tkach-Kawasaki, L., Tamura, T., & Hamada, T. (under review). Internet Activism in Asia-Pacific: A Comparative, Cultural History (Japan section).

Narita, Y. (1993). Medea Keiken To Komyunikēshon: Pasokon Tsūshin Netto Niokeru Komyunikēshon Manzoku 1. [Media Experience and Communication: Communication Satisfaction Study on Digital Network] *Chukyōdaigaku Shakaigakubu Kiyō*, 7(2), 43–92.

- Nikkei Kōkoku Kenkyūjo. (2011). *Yūryoku Kigyō no Kōkoku Sedenhi 2011 [Advertisement Budget of Big Enterprises]*. Tokyo: Nikkei Kōkoku Kenkyūjo.
- Noma, Y. (2012). *Kinyo Kanteimae Kogi Demonō Koega Seijō Kaeru [Friday Protest in front of Prime Minister Residence: The Voice of the Demonstration Changes the Politics]*. Tōkyō: Kawadeshobōshinsha.
- Pariser, E. (2012). *The Filter Bubble: How the New Personalized Web Is Changing What We Read and How We Think*. Penguin Books.
- Plummer, K. (2003). *Intimate Citizenship: Private Decisions and Public Dialogues*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Polletta, F. (2002). *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Polletta, F. (2005). "How Participatory Democracy Became White," *Mobilization* 10(2): 271-288.
- Sasaki-Uemura, W. (2001). *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizens Protest in Postwar Japan*. Honolulu: Univ of Hawaii Pr.
- Slater, D. H., Nishimura, K., & Kindstrand, L. (2012). Social Media, Information and Political Activism in Japan's 3.11 Crisis. *Asia-Pacific Journal*, 10(20-1).
- Sunstein, C. R. (2001). *Republic.com*. Princeton University Press.
- Tamura, T. (2015). The Internet and Personal Narratives in the Post-Disaster Anti-Nuclear Movement. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 13(6-4).
- Traugott, M. ed. (1995). *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, Duke University Press.
- Wood, L. J. (2012). *Direct Action, Deliberation, and Diffusion: Collective Action after the WTO Protests in Seattle*, Cambridge University Press.
- Yoshida, J. (2000). *Intanetto Kukan no Shakaigaku [Sociology of Internet Space]* Tōkyō: Sekaishisōsha.

Contact email: kyokotom@fc.ritsumei.ac.jp (Kyoko Tominaga)

The Struggle of Waria Buddies to Achieve Symbolic Capital in an Infectious Diseases Intermediate Care Unit in Indonesia

Mira Adriani Permadi, Airlangga University of Surabaya, Indonesia

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

HIV/AIDS is a major health issue that has become the concern of various parties. Infection Diseases Intermediate Care Unit (*Unit Pelayanan Intermediet Penyakit Infeksi* or UPIPI) is a therapy and treatment unit for people living with HIV and AIDS (PLHIV) in Dr. Soetomo teaching hospital, Surabaya, that employed 2 *waria*(s) (Indonesian term for male transvestite (Boellstorff, 2004)) who plays important role as a buddies in ministering, supporting, educating PLHIV.

Waria(s) involvement in public health service isn't common in Indonesia by reason of *waria*(s) negative stigma as a low class community and cheap prostitute. Using Bourdieu's theory of practice as theoretical framework, this qualitative study evaluates *waria*(s) involvement in public health service and how UPIPI personnel respond to them. The study design includes participatory observation and in-depth interview data collection techniques. Upon completion of this study it is found that *waria*(s) involvement in UPIPI is initiated by government's program to reach *waria* community in an HIV/AIDS prevention program. The unusual presence of *waria* buddies around the hospital is responded by the PLHIVs and physicians with generally slow acceptance to non affirmative attitudes. On the other hand, the buddy status brings relatively positive impacts on improving *waria*(s) life with the obtainment of various forms of capital: monthly income (economic capital); knowledge in caring and assisting PLHIV as well as better language skills (cultural capital); network expansion benefits (social capital); which are significant to their attempt in gaining social acceptance, recognition as a humanitarian worker status (symbolic capital).

Keywords: *waria*, HIV/AIDS, buddy, Bourdieu's theory practice

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

HIV/AIDS has been an important issue among other noteworthy health issues emerged. In Indonesia, HIV/AIDS prevention becomes the central government's concern due to the increased prevalence of PLHIV seen in every year. Based on studies conducted by AusAID in 2005 regarding HIV/AIDS emergency, it is predicted that Indonesia will arrive in a phase of generalized epidemic in 2025 (HTA, 2009). This situation has raised awareness from various parties to actively participate in the HIV/AIDS prevention program.

UPIPI is part Dr. Soetomo teaching hospital in Surabaya which handles therapies and treatments for patients, as well as plays as HIV/AIDS prevention centre of the hospital. Besides providing medical services, UPIPI collaborates with nongovernmental organizations (NGO) in providing social supports for patients. In UPIPI there are two *waria* buddies, their main duties are providing support, care, and education for patients. They recruited to work at UPIPI is the implementation of HIV/AIDS prevention program established by the government where one of the missions is targeting the key populations of the virus. This mission is one of the main strategies of action in preventing HIV/AIDS as well as overcoming and treating those who are already infected, with expectations of increasing both individual and collective awareness of HIV threat within such community (Oetomo, 2001: 197).

In Indonesia, the *waria*(s) are commonly understood as poor people or psychologically disabled (UNDP and USAID, 2014: 18), therefore their participation in public health service sector becomes less likely encountered in Indonesia. The *waria*(s) receive disadvantaging stigma which results in public hatred and phobia (Boellstorff, 2004a). People are aware of the presumed negative impacts that may occur regarding the contact with *waria*(s), this causes rejections to the *waria*(s), even though there is not yet constitution, law, or regional regulations that address issues regarding the *waria*'s circumstance; the *waria*(s) are simply defined as belonging to the male group in law and society (UNDP and USAID, 2014).

In Indonesia, the *waria*(s) define their circumstance as man who possesses feminine soul inside the body that influences their womanly appearance and behaviour (Boellstorff, 2004a). They are also often identified as lower class prostitute which only worsens the stigma (Oetomo 2001: 40). *Waria*(s) likely chance to handle wider range of customer type (homosexual and bisexual men) is made their positions as one of the key populations of the outspread of HIV (Joesoef et al in Crisovan, 2006: 53).

The differences between *waria*(s) with the two other established genders which are female and male cause the emergence of different perspectives within society. Society has not yet been able to understand and accept gender diversity on an individual, therefore they views *waria*(s) as manifestation of sexual perversion that can be cured. In 2012, the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs through its law even classified *waria*(s) as group of people with social welfare issues and thus they are advised to seek for rehabilitation (UNDP and USAID, 2014: 28). This fact only aggravates the stigma labelled to the transvestites in the social space.

The involvement of *waria*(s) in public service provides an opportunity for them to restore their stigma in society. As seen in UPIPI, the *waria*(s) prove that they can work skilfully by helping fellow patients to fighting the disease. With the help of Bourdieu's theory of practice that establishes identification of habitus, arena, and

capital, this study aims to interpret the social practice, investigate the process of formation of the symbolic capital that is created within the two *waria*'s attempt to eliminate the negative stigma in UPIPI.

Theoretically, in struggling within the social arena, each individual must have specific strategy to be able to maintain existence. To do so, individual may carry out the economic investment strategy or the symbolic investment strategy (Bonnewitz in Haryatmoko, 2003). With the *waria*'s poor background their option is limited to symbolic investment strategy to maintain their existence in the social arena, raise capital, and obtain symbolic recognition from the surrounding social environment and therefore finally renew the stigma. Symbolic capital is the unit of all forms of capital, and is the main strategy to reach desired social class as well as the recognition from social environment.

Theoretical Basis

Bourdieu's theory is a fundamental approach to investigate the power relations which are culturally and symbolically formed within the social changes taking place in society (Anggraeni, 2014), therefore knowledge, culture, customs, and environment of an individual become significant influences in forming the individual's practice in society. Bourdieu (in Maton, 2010: 51) summarizes his theory into: (habitus) (capital)] + field = practice.

a. Habitus

The term habitus is derived from the Latin word that refers to the condition, appearance, or habitual situation carried out by members of the human body. Habitus is rooted in the body and is manifested by the five senses possessed by a cultural actor which later determined the worldview of the symbolized someone (Jenkins, 2004: 107-108). Habitus is human's way of thinking, perspectives, action, cognition, way to undergo emotional sensation, and way of presenting the whole background of lives into actions in the present and the future. The actions are later socialized and adjusted according to the specific conditions in which they are established, thus they are indirectly related to the conditions of social class in society (Jenkins, 2004: 116; Haryatmoko, 2003). This mechanism allows the uniformity of lifestyle within a group of individuals that later recognized as the distinctive characteristics of the group that distinguishes it from other social groups. Such established system has been defined by Pierre Bourdieu (in Haryatmoko, 2003:9) through habitus which is a particular condition closely related to the circumstance of a social class existence.

b. Arena

Arena or social sphere comes in close proximity with habitus. Imagine an arena in which a football match takes place where players play based on the binding rules, therefore making the arena possess the special meaning for involved agents.

Arena is not a sole concept, just like the football players in the above imagery, they are the individuals or institutions that compete by implementing strategies to maintain or improve the position of the group in the social domain (Thomson, 2010: 68-69).

While Bourdieu (Web, undated) offers a definition of the cultural arena as follows:

A field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field.

The cultural arena consists of *field of forces*, which is a barrier to the operation of the arena. It is a space where *agent occupies* positions which are determined based on the amount of investment and the scale of involvement they exhibit. Each agent carries out the *position takings* or the positioning in the arena or in other words each agent actively seeks strategic positions in order to be able to play particular role within the arena. And above all, any action performed by the agent in the arena is *aimed at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of force* or intended to change the structure of power relations. The social agents compete to restructure the arena in a particular manner that is in accord with their interests, with the goal of dominating the arena accordingly (Web, undated). Dominating the arena becomes the ultimate goal of every social agent. They will try to change the rules or previously established doxa in order to gain more advantages for more powerful existence.

c. Capital

Bourdieu (in Tomson, 2010: 69; Haryatmoko 2003: 12) classified the capital into four, namely:

- a. economic capital, in the form of money and assets;
- b. cultural capital, which is defined as knowledge, taste, aesthetics, language, narrative, and sound;
- c. social capital, to address the affiliations and networks, family, religion, and cultural heritage;
- d. symbolic capital or the accumulation of all forms of capital which is also described as a capital that can "change" within different arenas, as well as the culmination of all forms of capital.

These forms of capital are utilized by the agents to win the competitions achieve social classes recognized within society. Each social class strives to establish its own attributes, which are expected to be the distinguishing characteristics that separate it from other social classes and competes to obtain or maintain various forms of capital that is intended to maintain its power (Haryatmoko, 2003).

Findings and Discussion

UPIPI was officially established in 2004 as a part of the Dr. Soetomo teaching hospital, Surabaya. The hospital itself plays an important role as the highest referral centre hospital for Eastern Indonesia region. As a part of the teaching hospital, the UPIPI polyclinic provides public health service under the supervision of Internal Medicine Department, Tropical Infection Disease Division of Airlangga University. All internal medicine resident are obliged to serve for three to four months at UPIPI as requirement for completion of their study. Along with the internal medicine resident,

there are also residents from pediatrics, dermatology and venereal medicine, psychiatry, neurology, dental medicine, pulmonary, and ophthalmic medicine departments who are also obliged to serve at UPIPI. This action make an easier acces to serve PLHIV.

By referring to the scientific campaign regarding the spread of the HIV virus through hypodermic needles, unprotected sexual intercourse, and blood contact, the government in collaboration with the respective NGO establish the HIV/AIDS prevention program by targeting the key populations considered at higher risk of HIV/AIDS infection, namely the sex workers, drug users, and gay communities, in order to recruit them to actively participate in the prevention program centred at UPIPI. For this reason UPIPI has recruited five HIV positive buddies providing services for the PLHIV. Each buddies represent the key population of HIV, which are *waria(s)*, former drug users, prostitute, and house wife. Interestingly, the life background of the buddies brings advantages as they are able to facilitate and interact more effectively and indiscriminately both with the old or new patients at the UPIPI.

a. Habitus

Yeni and Mia are two *waria* buddies at UPIPI. Yeni is a 49-year-old *waria* who holds high school diploma from *MAN* (*MAN* stands for *Madrasah Aliyah Negeri* which is the type of religion based high school for Islamic studies) and was identified as HIV positive in 2000. While the 33-year-old Mia holds junior high school diploma and was identified with HIV in 2008.

Beside their current profession as buddy for the patients at UPIPI, both Yeni and Mia have actively worked for NGO. Between 2000 and 2013 Yeni worked for a NGO, while Mia is currently registered as active worker for two NGOs. Their active participation in the NGOs benefits them since they have been through various trainings and experiences during the time. Their knowledge and experiences are the capital they posses to start as a buddy in providing health care for patients at UPIPI.

Yeni remarked that her/his life as a HIV positive *waria* has been very tough. Yeni was dismissed from her/his job and had to experience another hardship through an irresponsible reporting of her/himself on a local newspaper in 2000 entitled "A Lamongan-Origin *Waria* Infected by Deadly Disease", while the fact is s/he had never been interviewed by the relevant media (interview with Yeni, 4 February 2014). Yeni described s/his job as buddy who responsible for providing supports for patients, advocacies, and the handling of patients. Armed with her/his experience incoperated in the NGO, s/he often asked by UPIPI patient families for caring their relatives who are hospitalized. For this services, s/he receive a wage of IDR 100,000 per day. S/he feed the patient, accompany, bathing, and assisting them during the admission in UPIPI. As for Yeni, his work as a buddy at UPIPI has been her/his main source of income currently.

Yeni commented on her/his performance at work as lacking and not yet her/his best performance. While other fellow buddies are also taking chance to do home care basis services, Yeni decides that s/he will only dedicate her/himself for the inpatients because of her/his limited capacity which is due to age factor. Yeni's preference displays how habitus gives an opportunity for concepts of autonomous, free, and rational individual (Haryatmoko, 2003). In Yeni's case, her/his habitus is structured by which rational options that makes him convenient to carry out her/his routine as a

buddy. Yeni's choice is made autonomously and freely based on awareness of her/his state.

The different story was narrated by Mia who happens to have a regular income from the NGO s/he is working for serving as buddy. Different from Yeni, Mia's duties only revolve around the outpatient's needs such as picking up prescribed medicines, giving information regarding HIV/AIDS patients' treatment, as well as helping in managing patients' administrative affairs. Not only providing supports for the outpatients at UPIPI polyclinic, Mia also actively participates on health care, home care and community care run by UPIPI and NGO. Mia's life does not stop only on patients care and HIV/AIDS activist routines, s/he has been managing a bridal and makeup salon s/he owns and this causes her/him even busier. Just like Yeni, Mia's routines show her/his autonomy over her/his habitus.

b. Arena

Bourdieu (in Webb, Schirato, and Danaher, 2001: 23) explained that the competition within arena to achieve capitals is intended for reproductions and transformations. The limited background state such as lower education level and lack of experiences forces social agents to adapt and compete for various forms of capital. When one managed to gain the desired capitals, the individual's values can be reproduced and transformed into the arena, therefore brings influences on the sustainability of habitus of other social agents who compete within the same arena.

UPIPI is a social space where the *waria* buddies with patients and hospital staffs. Through observations it can be concluded that the patients assisted by the *waria*(s) experience benefits of assistance and supports from them. The interaction between patients and *waria* contributes in renewing their old views regarding *waria*'s negative stigma. There are gradual mindset and attitude changes displaying affirmation or acceptance among patients wherefore they are no longer understanding the *waria*(s) based on negative stigma circulating in society. As observed, the UPIPI has become a more comfortable space for PLHIV to meet and socialize.

Yeni and Mia started with hardships in carrying out their duties and interacting with other UPIPI medical staffs. However they are fully aware of the situation since they are powerless towards the labelling and stigma. The common belief understood by the patients or other non *waria* staffs is manifested into reluctant attitude towards Yeni and Mia. This situation portrays the *field of forces* which are the barriers in the operating of arena. As in UPIPI, the *field of forces* becomes less visible through times because of Yeni and Mia's attempt to perform their best in assisting the patients. They gain patients trust and accepted in this society.

The appealing point regarding the state of UPIPI arena is that Yeni and Mia are possessing more types of cultural capital in the form of knowledge and skills related to HIV/AIDS care therefore the patients do not necessarily struggle for status change or taking over Yeni and Mia's 'position' as the ones with more cultural capitals. In other words, within the UPIPI arena the power structure change does not necessarily occur in terms of relations between patients and the *waria* buddies.

As a referral hospital in East Java provincial government, Dr. Soetomo teaching hospital is able to provide health services in more reasonable cost than private hospitals. At UPIPI each patient is charged IDR 15.000 for consulting fees, while the

HIV/AIDS medicines are provided through government subsidy mechanism as free facility for patients. The minimum cost and free facilities provided by UPIPI attract more lower class patients to seek for treatment. This condition is interestingly advantaging Yeni and Mia in terms of easier and more comfortable chance of interactions since they come from the same social class with most patients. Yeni and Mia's status becomes parallel to the patient's circumstance and social agents who happen to stand in positions with parallel relation know how to act in the social arena because the understanding occurs in a "natural" way (Thomson, 2010: 70). The natural understanding relationship between the *waria(s)* and the patients can be seen through how both parties are supporting each other. Yeni and Mia are keen on promoting better awareness of physical health to the patients while the patients are appreciating Yeni and Mia's performance at the hospital which is very empowering for Yeni and Mia's circumstance. The shared concern later becomes the medium for better relations between the *waria(s)* and the patients.

However, the challenges come from the residents who regularly serve at UPIPI. Three residents interviewed agreed that they actually find it comfortable to work with Yeni and Mia. They look up to Yeni and Mia for their skills and mastery of knowledge related to the handling and therapeutic treatment of HIV/AIDS patients. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily change the way they view the *waria(s)* in general. One of the two male resident expressed his awkwardness and difficulties to interact while being in the same room with Yeni and Mia. The resident's attitude towards Yeni and Mia indicates that they are still aware of the negative stigma labelled on the *waria(s)* despite the facts that they acknowledge Yeni and Mia's capabilities and are co-workers.

The reluctant attitude displayed by the residents is also an interesting point of discussion in this study. During the times spent with Yeni and Mia, it can be inferred that Yeni and Mia possess the nature of behaviour characterized with expressiveness in their way to communicate with others they have known well. In some occasions they show affection through flirtatious greetings, teasing, chin pinching, hands holding, and even crotch pinching to those they are close with. Here, I understand the feeling of discomfort from male medical staff, since such behaviour may be considered too vulgar.

Besides caused by their unique behaviour, the awkward relationship between resident and the *waria(s)* is also caused by Yeni and Mia's skills and knowledge in HIV/AIDS care and patients handlings, since they have more experiences and well trained, compared to the resident's experience who only four months rotating in UPIPI. Yeni and Mia are even able to understand every kind of medicine used in patients treatment, including being able to memorize the types of drugs used by each of patients they assist. Yeni and Mia's trained capabilities in simple pharmacology are the cultural capitals they gained as long life HIV/AIDS activists and as buddy at UPIPI. Even though Yeni and Mia have never received medical related formal educations, their experiences and knowledge stand as their cultural capital strength. In other words, the residents as the supposedly more capable since they have received the formal educations and been through examinations to be at their place are threatened with Yeni and Mia's skills in practical HIV/AIDS care and patients handlings.

As a teaching hospital, Dr. Soetomo is the place where the residents and interns have the chance to interact and build networking not only with medical staff but also other community. However from different background of individuals it can be seen that the barrier between the residents and medical staff, especially the *waria(s)* buddy, is very visible making the discriminating atmosphere which is not necessary to happen when it comes to providing good public health services. Moreover the common sense regarding the *waria(s)* is taken for granted by most people including inside the hospital environment because women's rights activists, Muslim militants, human rights advocates, people from religious circles, and the health science experts are in fierce debates as to defining "normal" gender, "normal" body, and "normal" sexuality, making the existence of transvestites and other people out there that identify themselves as not belonging to the "normal" groups even harder (Wieringa, 2010).

The resident's with their knowledge and position as one who act as a decision makers in UPIPI, has authority compare to medical staff and buddy. Since the cost of medical specialist degree is quite high, which can be understood that only those from the upper middle class or those who are very bright and lucky enough to receive scholarships can afford the education. The structure of possession of capitals of the residents allows them to take the position as the heteronomic principle holder or social agents that dominate the arena both economically and politically (Bourdieu, 2012: 15-19). The residents occupy status as medical staff who possess economic capital and symbolic capital which is standardized knowledge of a variety of diseases, especially HIV/AIDS they received from academic lectures in classrooms; while Yeni and Mia, despite their social class, are practically more knowledgeable on HIV/AIDS issues because of their own state as HIV positive patients. Noticing the shared forms of knowledge with the residents, Yeni and Mia uses the chance to negotiate their status against resident's status. The negotiation is aimed to change the structure of power relations at their working unit, with expectation that the arena will transform by way of their desired interests (Web, undated). This mechanism displays how competition between social agents to dominate the cultural arena occurs.

c. Capital

(1) Economic Capital

Despite the limited working opportunity for *waria(s)*, Yeni and Mia prove that they can survive by actively engage in humanitarian works through NGOs and their current job as buddy at UPIPI. Their services becomes the income source for their daily life. Yeni earns money by nursing and assisting patients. Occasionally, he receives tip when delivering drugs to the patient's home and taking care of patients' administrative affairs. Yeni is smart enough to manage his financial condition so that he is able to save some of his income to buy a motorbike and even planning to pilgrim to Mecca (Hajj).

The different story was told by Mia who leave his profession as sex worker and start working as full time buddy at UPIPI while also managing the bridal and makeup salon business s/he owns. Some of her/his salon customers are fellow UPIPI staffs and patients. Mia commented her/his work as a volunteer as means of advancement in his career life. As a buddy at UPIPI, Mia met the opportunity to visit Thailand to

represent the NGO he is active in. He also had the chance to travel around Indonesia to undergo training and activities conducted for PLHIV.

(2) Social Capital

UPIPI is a social arena where Yeni and Mia interact with patients, medical and non-medical staffs Dr. Soetomo teaching hospital. Yeni and Mia admitted that as a buddy at UPIPI not only financially benefit them but also socially contribute life advantage in the form of friend circle. The connection Yeni and Mia has built with other medical staff is very useful. At times when they or their family members need health treatment because of illness, the consultative session and prescribing can be arranged more easily for them, compare to regular patients.

Working as a buddy give them a new life experience. Yeni's extraordinary life story attracted a local newspaper to publish a report in respect to his circumstance as HIV positive *waria* buddy who dedicate his life to assist PLHIV. Aside from the privileges and media recognition, Yeni and Mia also experience the chance to be in friendly term with the medical staff. Once in a while, some doctors they know will buy them lunch and spend some times to talk with them at the hospital's canteen.

By observing the structure of social capital possessed by Yeni and Mia, it can be understood that the continuous interaction and struggle in their arena in a certain period of time, creating a chance for them to earn social capital. This circumstance is in accordance with Bourdieu's argumentation of social capital as an asset possessed by the privileged people and is a means to maintain their superiority (in Field, 2011: 31).

(3) Cultural Capital

Through trainings and workshops, Yeni and Mia gained knowledge and skills regarding HIV/AIDS care which later becomes very useful in doing their job. Having been through experiences in attending formal public assemblies, Yeni and Mia have been learning to develop their confidence and communication skills. Despite his lacking formal education background, Mia is able to show confidence in interacting with people at the hospital. Similarly, although often using Javanese in daily communications, Yeni is able to show his amazing ability in public speaking when attending public meetings such as community care forum for PLHIV.

Besides communication skills, Yeni is also known as having capabilities as a fluent Qur'an chanter and therefore s/he is frequently asked to lead the prayer. Their struggle to earn more cultural capital does not stop there. During the interview, they often used some English terms and expressions they learned from public meetings they attend showing their efforts to improve their cultural capital through language skills. Words and other terms of a discourse is a practical intervention in social life, which influences as well as explains the individual's social life (Jenkins, 2004: 239).

(4) Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is the main objective to be achieved in a social arena. However, an achievement always comes side by side with recognition of the other party (Martini, 2003). When one is expecting the culmination of their path to accomplish goals, there should be other party to verify that the process is successfully accomplished. The

recognition is gained and renewed over and over again because the human's nature is making objectives, accomplishing them, and seeking ways to maintain or to put the accomplishment to the next level, thus reproducing the other party's assessment towards the accomplishment at the same time (Haryatmoko, 2003: 15).

The recruitment of *waria* buddies at UPIPI was originally intended to embrace them who need assistance and advocacy in respect of HIV/AIDS, as well as empowering and providing *waria* working opportunity. This attempt later found as able to bring more advantages to the *waria*(s). Despite the negative labels carried by Yeni and Mia, a patient under their supervision expressed a desire to work as a buddy which is inspired by Yeni and Mia's helpfulness in giving assistance (Patient Y, June 17, 2014). Yeni and Mia have inspired others to participate in raising concerns regarding HIV/AIDS issues and helping patients. As paid volunteers, Yeni and Mia are finally able to leave their job as prostitute, therefore increasing social recognition towards their existence in society. The *waria*(s) who have been labelled with negative stigma as lower class community, marked by a lack of ownership of economic and cultural capital, is now capable to dismiss the notion through humanitarian works that brings economic, social, cultural, and symbolic advantages.

The economic capital that *waria* buddies gain, is not as higher as other medial staff, that is the reason they using cultural capital as their main strategy to maintain their existence in order to gain recognition from others, reproduce the common view regarding their circumstance and negotiate their position with other forms of capital they have.

Conclusion

The beginning of the involvement of *waria* to support public health service at UPIPI was due to the lack of human resources in carrying out polyclinic's HIV/AIDS prevention programs therefore reaching out the *waria* communities. Yeni and Mia's role as buddy to the HIV positive patients is interestingly able to restore others' perspectives regarding the *waria*'s circumstance in society. Their role as buddy prove that they can independently earn monthly income through a more acceptable way than prostitution as a form of their economic capital. Compare with majority of *waria*(s) in Indonesia, they are much luckier. Their profession becomes their medium to gain cultural capital in the form of skills regarding nursing and assistance to patients, as well as language skills. Moreover, the social capital advantage also follows as they get the chance to expand their social circle. And above all, those forms of capital obtained by Yeni and Mia as *waria* are accumulated into the symbolic capital, which contributes in the process of acceptance and recognition of their circumstance from the hospital residents in which they are acknowledged as the humanitarian workers.

In this study, it can be found that allowing more working opportunities for the *waria*(s) with HIV is one applicable act to promote restoration of labels from society. This should become a revelation of the presumption regarding hetero-normative perspective about gender and its impact on one's performance in working field. The *waria*(s) have been the victim of false labelling and misleading judgement directing attention to their extraordinary state as individual and as part of the society. Being given the opportunity, Yeni and Mia prove that they are able to fulfil their duty and exhibit the required skills needed as companion for the PLHIV. As people who work in public health service field, Yeni and Mia display the impressive humanity which is

just as normal as what those who belong to male and female gender types might display. Stigma is agreed by most people whose accuracy tends to be biased and not verifiable. More working opportunities for the *waria(s)* allow them to participate more in the normative social terms and thus prove that the stigma is a misleading common sense. Yeni and Mia are examples of how *waria(s)* gain positive impacts (the acceptance) during the process of participating in public health service which can be seen as also bringing advantages for others (their patients) as well as advantages on all *waria(s)* at large.



Bibliography

Andaya, Leonard. 2000. "The Bissu: Study of a Third Gender in Indonesia. In the Past: Women, Gender, and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia." In Boellstorff, Tom. *Playing Back the Nation: Waria, Indonesia Transvestites*. Cultural Anthropology, 19:2, pp. 159-195.

Anggraeni, Disna Puspita. 2014. "Budaya Arisan dalam Perspektif Bourdieu: Studi Kelompok Arisan Perempuan Kelas Menengah di Surabaya." (The Bourdieu Reading of *Arisan*: A Study of Middle Class Women *Arisan* Group in Surabaya) M. A. Thesis, Airlangga University of Surabaya.

Bockting, W. O., Robinson, B. E., & Rosser, B. R. S., 1998. "Transgender HIV Prevention: A Qualitative Needs Assessment." *AIDS Care*, 10:4, pp. 505-525.

Boellstorff, Tom. 2004a. "Playing Back the Nation: Waria, Indonesia Transvestites." *Cultural Anthropology*, 19:2, pp. 159-195.

----- . 2004b. "The Emergence of Political Homophobia in Indonesia: Masculinity and National Belonging." *Ethnos* 69:4 (December), pp. 465-487.

----- . 2005. *The Gay Archipelago*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bonnewitz, Patrice. 1998. "Premières leçons sur la sociologie de Pierre Bourdieu." Dalam Haryatmoko, *Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa, Landasan Teoritis Gerakan Sosial Menurut Pierre Bourdieu. (Revealing Artificial Culture of The Ruler, Basic Theory of Social Movement According to Pierre Bourdieu)*. Basis 11-12 (November-December), pp. 15.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2012. *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya. (Cultural Production Arena: A Cultural Sociology Study)* Translated by Yudi Santosa dan Inyik Ridwan Muzir (eds). Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.

----- . 1979. "La distinction, critique sociale du jugement." Dalam Haryatmoko, *Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa, Landasan Teoritis Gerakan Sosial Menurut Pierre Bourdieu (Revealing Artificial Culture of The Ruler, Basic Theory of Social Movement According to Pierre Bourdieu)*. Basis 11-12 (November-December), pp. 12.

----- . 1994. "Raisons pratiques, sur la théorie de l'action." Dalam Haryatmoko, *Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa, Landasan Teoritis Gerakan Sosial Menurut Pierre Bourdieu (Revealing Artificial Culture of The Ruler, Basic Theory of Social Movement According to Pierre Bourdieu)*. Basis 11-12 (November-December), pp. 9.

----- . 1995. "The Political Field, The Social Science Field, and The Journalistic Field." Dalam Webb, Jen. Undated. *The Logic of Practice? Art, The Academy, and Fish Out of Water*. Special Issue Beyond Practice, University of Canberra. (<http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue14/Webb.pdf>, accessed 8 August 2014).

-----, 2000. "Pascalian Meditation, R. Nice (transleted)." In Deer, Cécile. 2010. "Doxa". Dalam Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concept*. Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, pp. 120.

Crisovan, Piper Lauren. 2006. "'Risky' Business: Cultural Conceptions of HIV/AIDS in Indonesia." Ph. D. thesis., University of Pittsburgh.

Deer, Cécile. 2010. "Doxa". In Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concept*. Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, pp. 119-130.

Field, John. *Modal Sosial (Sosial Capital)*. Translated by Nurhadi dan Inyiaq Ridwan Muzir (eds). Bantul: Kreasi Wacana.

Haryatmoko. 2003. "Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa, Landasan Teoritis Gerakan Sosial Menurut Pierre Bourdieu (Revealing Artificial Culture of The Ruler, Basic Theory of Social Movement Acording to Pierre Bourdieu)," *Basis* 11-12 (November-December), pp. 4-23.

HTA. 2009. *Skrining HIV di Rumah Sakit Dalam Upaya Pencegahan Penyebaran HIV [Hasil Kajian Health Technology Assesment Indonesia Tahun 2009] (HIV Screening In The Hospital in Effort to Prevent HIV Transmission [Result of Study of Indonesian Health Technology Assesment])*. Jakarta: Dirjen Bina Pelayanan Medik Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia.

Indonesian Health Ministry. 2010. "Health Minister Regulation on Classification of The Hospital Number 340/Menkes/Per/III/2010," *Health Minister*. (http://www.hukor.depkes.go.id/up_prod_kepmenkes/KMK%20No.%20340%20ttg%20Klasifikasi%20Rumah%20Sakit.pdf, accessed 16 April 2014).

Jenkins, Richard. 2004. *Membaca Pikiran Pierre Bourdieu (Reading Pierre Bourdieu)*. Translated by Nurhadi dan Hadi Purwanto (eds). Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.

Joesoef, M. R., et. al. 2003. "High Rates of Sexually Transmitted Diseases Among Male Transvestites in Jakarta, Indonesia." *International Journal of STDs and AIDS*. In Piper Lauren Crisovan, *'Risky' Business: Cultural Conceptions of HIV/AIDS in Indonesia.*" Ph. D. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, pp. 53.

Koeswinarno. 2004. *Hidup sebagai Waria (Living As Transvestite)*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.

Kortschak, Irfan. 2010. *Invisible Poeples, Poverty and Empowerment In Indonesia*. Jakarta: The Lontar Foundation.

Maton, Karl. 2010. "Habitus." In Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts*. Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, pp. 49-65.

Moerthiko. Undated. Waria, Gangguan dan Kelainan Sex (Transvestite, Disorder, and Sexual Abnormality). Dalam Koeswinarno. 2004. *Hidup sebagai Waria*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, pp. 3.

Moore, Robert. 2008. "Capital." In Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts*. Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, pp. 111-117.

Nasronudin. 2014a. "Infeksi HIV dan AIDS di Indonesia Tahapan Infeksi, Perawatan, Dukungan dan Pinsip Pengobatan (HIV and AIDS Infection, Treatment, Support and Principle of Therapy)." In Nasronudin, *HIV dan AIDS Pendekatan Biologis Molekuler, Klinis dan Sosial (HIV and AIDS, Biological, Molecular, Clinical and Sosial Approach)*. Surabaya: Airlangga University Press, pp. 357-364.

Nasronudin. 2014b. Unit Perawatan Intermediit Penyakit Infeksi (Infection Diseases Intermediate Care Unit). In Nasronudin, *HIV dan AIDS Pendekatan Biologis Molekuler, Klinis dan Sosial (HIV and AIDS, Biological, Molecular, Clinical and Sosial Approach)*. Surabaya: Airlangga University Press, pp. 317-328.

Nasronudin, Soewandojo, E., Suharto, & Hadi, U. 2007. "Infeksi Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV Infection)." In A. Tjokroprawiro, P. B. Setiawan, & G. Soegiarto, *Textbook of Internal Medicine, Medical Faculty Of Airlangga University, Dr. Soetomo Teaching Hospital Surabaya*. Surabaya: Airlangga University Press, pp. 323-332.

Oetomo, Dédé. 2001. *Memberi Suara Pada Yang Bisu (Giving Voice to The Voiceless)*. Yogyakarta: Galang Press Yogyakarta.

Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1, pp. 1-24.

Thomson, Patricia. 2010. "Field." Dalam Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu*. Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, hal 67-81.

UNAIDS. 2011. *UNAIDS Terminology Guidelines*. UNAIDS.

UNDP, & USAID. 2014. *Being LGBT in Asia: Indonesia Country Report. A Participatory Review and Analysis of the Legal and Social Environment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Person and Civil Society*. Surabaya: UNDP, USAID.

Webb, Jen. Tanpa tanggal. *The Logic of Practice? Art, The Academy, and Fish Out of Water*. Special Issue Beyond Practice, University of Canberra. (<http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue14/Webb.pdf>, diakses 8 Agustus 2014).

Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, G. 2001. *Understanding Bourdieu*. Crown Nest: Allen and Unwin.

Wieringa, S. E. (2010). Gender Variance in Asia: Discursive Contestations and Legal Implications. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 14:2, pp. 143-172.

National and Gender Power Negotiations in Harriett Low's Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life

Chingyen Mayer, Siena College, USA

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Dictated by the cult of domesticity, American women's status in the mid-19th century remains largely the same from previous centuries: they are powerless politically and socio-economically. Harriett Low, one of the first two American women who lived in Macao in the mid-19th century, is expected to abide by the ideals of the True Womanhood in America. Colonialism, America's emerging power and her privileged role as a white woman among the racial and cultural Other in Macao have enabled her to test the boundaries of the cult of domesticity. Low establishes an authoritative self whose vestiges can be traced in her multi-volume journals that document her life as a travel companion to her uncle and aunt in Macao. As the only unmarried young white woman in the Portuguese colony, Low is invited to many fancy social functions for the rich and powerful. Though she is still governed by the rules of her gender, she is temporarily rewarded with the opportunity to align herself with both American and European colonial power in Macao. Utilizing theories of the Self and the Other from Edward Said and Chandra Mohanty, I examine how Low's Other is the antithesis of her Self and therefore serves an accentual purpose in the conceptualization of the self. I also explore how Low's gaze of the Other is conditioned by her gender, national allegiance, social class, and how she negotiates her power as a woman in a male-dominated world in colonial Macao.

Keywords: Macao, female subjectivity, travel literature, colonialism, Orientalism.

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

The advent of the Industrial Revolution in America, despite its numerous accompanying social and economic problems, has brought unprecedented prosperity to the American society, and has led to the growth and expansion of the middle class in the 19th century. The once unattainable economic and social privileges of the upper class are now well within the reach of the American middle class. With increased socio-economic status and political power, the burgeoning middle class has now joined the company of America's moral and conduct gatekeepers. In accordance with prevalent Victorian values and to mimicry the decorum of the upper class, the newly minted American middle class places significant importance on personal as well as social behaviors and manners. The publishing industry, both European and American, continue to churn out numerous conduct books instructing both men and women on how to act at home, in public, at the dinner table, and in various social functions. Particular emphasis is placed on female propriety; women who have the best manners are regarded as ideal marriage partners. In "Letters from a Father to His Daughter," dated November 17, 1830, the unnamed father writes:

Little things are everything with females. As you have no opportunity to display an extraordinary intellect in public, provided heaven has endowed you with one, as sphere of action is limited to domestic fireside, and an estimate is formed of your character from the commonest appearances. Elegance and grace and polite conversation among friends as well as in front of strangers....If it were in my power to endow my daughter with only one of two faculties, taste or genius, I would for a female select good taste. (as cited in Fortin, 2013, p. 5)

Thus, it is easy to note that despite the upward social mobility the American middle class has acquired, American women are still held hostage to the demands of the Cult of Domesticity and other female conduct manuals. Their status in the mid-19th century remains largely the same—they are still deemed inferior compared to their male counterparts.

The status and functionality of women in the 19th century are best summarized by the king in Alfred Tennyson's poem "The Princess." Tennyson (2000) writes: "Man for the field, woman for the hearth, man for the sword and for the needle she; man with the head and woman with the heart, man to command and woman to obey; all else confusion" (p.150). The mid-19th century American women are expected to be religious and pious angels of the house and moral guardians of the society. Female conduct manuals relentlessly advise women on how to transform their homes into domestic sanctuaries for the comfort of their husbands and children. Women are expected to fulfill the roles of a calm and nurturing mother, a loving and faithful wife, and a passive, delicate and virtuous silent creature. While lower class women work either in harsh industrial settings or as domestic servants, upper middle class women are treated more as prized possessions than human beings. They are expected to engage in social endeavors tied to their husbands' employment and continued social mobility. Regardless of their social statuses, the American women in the mid-19th century are still relegated to an inferior status; they remain largely voiceless and deprived of individual agency.

Caught in a quandary of Victorian ideals of womanhood and individual desires, Harriett Low captures her negotiations of national, racial, and gender identities in a

male-dominated commercial world in her nine-volume journal *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: Journals of a Travelling Spinster*. Born in 1809 in Salem Massachusetts, Harriett Low is one of the first two American women who lived in Macao in the mid-19th century. Her father is a well-to-do merchant and owner of a successful shipping business. As the second of twelve children, and one of four daughters in a large family, Low, like most women in the era, is expected to engage in many household chores. In 1829 her uncle William Low and his ailing wife Abigail Knapp Low are sent by Russell & Co. to China for a five-year stay. According to Chinese business laws, while her uncle William is managing the business affairs for Russell & Co. in Canton, which is off-limits to women, his wife must stay in Macau. Concerns over her aunt's poor health prompt Low's uncle to ask Low to accompany them to China, and to provide companionship for her aunt in his absence. Through a long sea voyage, they arrive in Macau, a Portuguese colony, on September 29, 1829. Through her uncle's connections, Low soon becomes acquainted with many of the well-known residents of Macau, all the employees of the British East India Company, and other prosperous British and American merchants in Macao.

Though at home in America, Low would be expected to follow the ideals of the Cult of Domesticity and remain in the domestic sphere. As the only unmarried young white woman in the Portuguese colony, Low is thrust into the public arena in order to cultivate business relationships for her uncle's company. She is invited to attend many fancy social functions for the rich and powerful, and is allowed to mingle somewhat freely among both genders. It is important to note that while Western women in Macao, such as Low, enjoy more freedom of movement than their Chinese counterparts, their freedom remains nonetheless limited. In addition to the Chinese ban on foreign women entering Canton, Ford points out in *Troubling American Women: Narratives of Gender and Nation in Hong Kong* (2001) that many Western male counterparts also regard them as "spoilors" (p. 27).

Low's relative freedom as a white American woman living in Macao has led to her reconfigurations of national, racial, and gender identities. Her complex sense of self, national, gender, and to a great extent, racial identities are reflected in her lengthy journals and through her often self-appointed role as a representative of the American nation. Damian Shaw suggests in "Harriett Low: An American Spinster at the Cape" (2010) that Low's identities have been "fractured" by her experience of living among people of different racial and cultural backgrounds in Macao. Her multi-faceted life experience and her simultaneously marginalized and privileged position as a white woman in Macao have shaped what Shaw(2010) refers to as her "dual or divided consciousness" (p. 300). Low's "dual or divided consciousness" often sparks conflicting views in her intertwined narratives of nation, race, and gender.

Though torn between her desire for adventure and her conscious need to conform to the Cult of Domesticity, Low's new role has empowered her to act on her own wishes, and to place herself above the Victorian code of female conduct. Dressed in the latest European fashion, Harriett Low, the once small town girl burdened with household chores and family financial strains, is now representing not only the Lows, but also Russell and Co. and even America. In Macao, Low exercises her personal liberty and becomes secretly engaged to William Wood, a young naturalist from Philadelphia. Though Low's transgressive adventure in Macao is futile in the end, nonetheless, it reflects her individuality, and her desire to defy the status quo.

Ironically, Low does not extend the freedom she awards herself to the American women back home and is quite unforgiving of their “improper” female conduct. In response to her sister’s letter about the limited freedom some Salem girls are exercising, she takes upon herself to act as the self-righteous moral gatekeeper. Steeped in the Victorian tradition of womanhood, in one of her journal entries, Low (2002) writes in a reprimanding tone:

This is the error of allowing girls and boys to be tramping about the streets evenings. They have a great deal too much liberty in Salem. I shall begin to be an advocate for French Seclusion almost. If girls have no respect for themselves, no power of controlling their evil propensities or if they will not use that power, they had much better be kept to themselves” (p. 610).

Low’s critical stance towards female impropriety back home in America is not only a reflection of her deep conviction of the Victorian Cult of Domesticity; it is also a microcosm of what Shaw referred to as her “dual and divided consciousness” (p. 300) due to her cross-cultural experience.

Throughout Low’s nine-volume journal, she continuously demonstrates her loyalty to the American nation. Her frequent displays of national and cultural allegiance to her homeland are reflections of her sense of national, cultural, and racial superiority and pride. In multiple journal entries, Low (2002) writes: “Everything we see here makes us value our own country and its privileges (p. 23).” “Then after dinner [I] read the North America Review, drank to our country’s health and prosperity” (p.167). “Not that I wished to stay in Canton any longer. Three weeks answered my purpose very well, but I could not bear to let the Chinese know they could do anything with the Americans” (195-96). Damian Shaw (2010) states that Low’s “cultural blindness demonstrates her conflation of several powerful discourses in order to justify American/European ‘stewardship’ or colonialism” (p. 296). Her self-righteous and negative pronouncements about the Chinese, the Portuguese, and to a certain degree, the British are, according to Stacilee Ford (2001), “expressions of frustration with those who make similarly negative pronouncements about America and Americans” (p. 23).

In the lengthy journals, Low (2002) expresses her determination to “fight for our country and our refinement,” and “our religious principles (p. 21).” In her defense of America, she launches a literary battle against what she believes to be British arrogance against America and Americans. She writes, “I will not pretend to say, nor do I believe, that there is as much refinement in America as in England, but I know there is decency and civility and elegance and luxury, if not to the same extent as in England” (p. 36).

Though thousands of miles away from America, Low is passionate about every aspect of American life, and discusses American national affairs openly with her circle of friends. Low (2002) writes sympathetically in her journal:

This morning we were talking of postages in America, revenue, etc. We all come to the conclusion they do not pay the government officers enough. Here our president to begin with has not so much as the Chief of the British Factory, not half the sum. ..Then the Navy officers, poor creatures. How do they ever support a family—and if they die no provision of widows. (p. 467)

Ironically, while it is admirable for Low to express her national allegiance and defend her nation in her journals, her “dual or divided consciousness” (Shaw, 2010, p. 300) prevents her from realizing that female silence is still considered golden in mid-19th century America.

Low’s frequent display of her national loyalty and pride is closely tied to America’s increasing importance in the commercial world, and her privileged exclusive membership in the powerful colonial circles. According to Foster Stockwell (2003), since the maiden voyage of *The Empress of China* in 1790, in a period of five years between 1804-1809, 154 American vessels set sail to China. Trade between China and the United States constituted “one seventh of all American imports, and provided the greatest profits of any branch of foreign trade” (p. 90). Yen-Ping Hao (1986) believes that within a short period, “American merchants assumed second place in the commercial world of Canton” (p. 27). Fully aware of America’s increasing political might in the world, Low appoints herself as a guardian and spokesperson of American national and commercial interests. As an insider to the Sino-U.S. trade circle, though Low is privy to legal and illegal trade transactions between the two nations, she makes no mention of her uncle’s involvement in the opium trade in her lengthy nine-volume journal. Damian Shaw (2010) believes that Low’s “identity as an American frequently sets her in opposition to what she views as British arrogance when it suits her, yet she often sides with so-called British values when they coincide with her own” (289). Jacques Downs (1997) echoes Shaw’s view by suggesting that though Low is at times critical of British aggression against the Chinese; her Republican-era American values were quickly jettisoned in the name of national interest and loyalty (p. 49).

Low’s conscious alignment of herself with European and American powers affirms her condescending attitude towards the Chinese and Portuguese, and her sense of racial and moral superiority as an American. Etsuko Taketani (2003) believes that Low’s “Anglophile positioning defined and delimited her relationship with the Chinese” (p. 100). Her admiration for the colonial elite circle and their lavish lifestyle, and her disdain for the Chinese and the Portuguese permeate many of her journal entries. Her objectification of the Chinese and the Portuguese as the racial and moral Other represents many of the superior attitudes of the colonial powers she identifies herself with. Low’s status as a single white woman in Macao is what Ford (2001) referred to as “an anomaly” (p. 20). The novelty of being one of the few Western women in the Macao mercantile community is a privilege for Low. Anne McClintock (1995) asserts that “the rationed privileges of race all too often put white women in positions of decide—if borrowed—power, not only over colonized women but also over colonized men” (p. 120).

Upon her first arrival in Macao which has long been regarded as a favored exotic vacation resort for Europeans, Low (2002) writes in her journal: “The streets here are intolerably hilly, irregular, and horribly paved. We met no one but Portuguese and Chinamen, who annoyed us very much with their intent gaze” (p. 69). Low refuses to view the Chinese and the Portuguese as fellow human beings capable of complex human emotions. Her appallingly racist attitudes towards the Chinese are succinctly captured in many of her journal entries. In two instances, she writes that the Chinese “certainly do not possess the sensibilities and feelings of other nations (p. 29),” and “they are a stupid set of people” (p.115). In another journal entry, she writes,

We have no sympathy with them, they appear to me to be a connecting link between man and beast, certainly not equal to civilized man. You see different grades and links in all the rest of Nature’s works, is it not reasonable to suppose that there are higher and lower orders of men?”(p. 175-76).

Aided with the Bible and canons, Western colonial powers preached to the Chinese the benevolent spirit of Christianity while ruthlessly exploit the Chinese natives and the Chinese nation. In “Colonial Violence via Opium Addiction: Harriet Low’s Macao,” Taketani (2003) succinctly dissects Low’s ambivalent attitude towards the Chinese. He states that:

Low veers between two extremes in her attitude towards the Chinese. On one hand, Low finds an unyielding belief in American Christianity and deems the elevation of the Chinese as her mission; on the other hand, she... deliberately connives at, or simply by silence sanctions, the mercantile violence of drugging the indigenous population. Drug and Christ—a destructive force and an impending millennium as much apparent in Low’s journal—coexist without warring and vying for supremacy. (p. 117)

In a typical Orientalist fashion, Low sees the Chinese Other as the antithesis of her Self. She is convinced that the Chinese need to be civilized and uplifted by the West.

It is important to note that Low’s concept of the Self and the Other is conditioned by her national allegiance, racial and gender politics, social class, and how she negotiates her power as a woman in a male-dominated world in colonial Macao. Low expresses her indignation towards the very people her uncle’s opium trading enterprise drugs and reaps maximum profits from, and those who have spared her from the household responsibilities she was shackled with before coming to Macao. The factory Low visited in Canton is where colonial powers traded opium and other much sought after merchandise with the Chinese. It is ironic and hypocritical that while Low is boasting the superiority of her lofty religious beliefs and ethics, she remains complicit in constructing and perpetuating Orientalist tropes about the Chinese. Low’s condescending attitudes towards the Chinese and complete disregard for Chinese laws are reflective of her “dual or divided consciousness,” her sense of self-righteousness, racial and national pride and superiority.

According to Qing government laws, women are strictly forbidden from entering Canton, the only foreign trading enclave permitted in China in the mid-19th century. Without seeking permission from any male authority figures, Low grants herself the freedom to move beyond cultural, legal and geographical boundaries. Defying Chinese laws and claiming what she believes to be her “right” to be in China, Low and her aunt disguise themselves as boys, and sneaked into the American factory in

Canton. When their true identities are discovered, Low and her aunt are forced to leave. Though she is the one who has broken the Chinese law, Low lashes out at the Chinese in her own defense. She writes:

I long to know what you think of our trip to Canton. I daresay you will think we were wrong to attempt it, thereby breaking the laws of even the Chinese, but I assure you there is no comparison to be drawn between the Chinese and any other nation in the world... These despicable Chinese, who are not worth our notice, have the power to disturb us all.... You have no idea of the knavery of these fellows (Low, 2002, p. 193).

Low's adventure into Canton—a male haven, can be interpreted in two conflicting ways. On the one hand, this daring move is a manifestation of her desire for active participation in the affairs of the colonial enterprise. Low's disguise as a man to enter the restricted area of Canton, an area that is reserved exclusively for male merchants, launches her into a masculine role of activity, adventure and individual agency. Acting on her own wishes, Low's venture into Canton is symbolically a way for her to force her entry into a male-dominated world, and an assertion of her individual will. Rejecting the Victorian code of female decorum, she complains that she is merely “a girl who is expected to walk in the steps of a chaperone, and because she does not happen to be married has no right to give her opinion, and indeed, is of no consequence” (Low, 2002, p. 27). On the other hand, Low's transgression into Canton demonstrates not only her attempt to change the course of Chinese commercial practices, but also her ultimate disregard for the Chinese and their legal system. She places herself on a higher moral plateau, and believes that she should be above the Chinese and the restrictions of Chinese laws.

Though Low's *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett Low, a Travelling Spinster* appears to be private letters to her sister in Salem, MA, her narratives address many aspects of the encounters between the East and the West, the trading communities and the colonial powers in China. What is latent in her private accounts is her unwavering loyalty to her nation, her “dual or divided consciousness” towards American and Chinese gender and racial dynamics, and her inner conflict between individual desires and conformity.

References

Downs, J. (1997). *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844*. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Lehigh University Press.

Ford, S. (2001). *Troubling American Women: Narratives of Gender and Nation in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Fortin, E. (2013, August). "Early Nineteenth Century Attitudes Toward Women and Their Roles Represented by Literature Popular in Worcester, Massachusetts." Retrieved from <http://www.teachushistory.org/detocqueville-visit-united-states/articles/early-19th-century-attitudes-toward-women-their-roles>

Hao, Y. (1986). *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Low, H. (2002). *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett Low, Travelling Spinster*. Alberta: Quality Color Press.

McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. London: Routledge.

Shaw, D. (2010). "Harriett Low: An American Spinster at the Cape. 12 January to 4 May 1834." *South African Historical Journal*. 62 (2), 286-302.

Stockwell, F. (2003). *Westerners in China: A History of Exploration and Trade, Ancient Times through the Present*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co.

Taketani, E. (2003). *U.S. Women Writers and the Discourses of Colonialism, 1825-1861*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Tennyson, A. (2000). "The Princess." *Tennyson's Poetry*. Ed. Robert W. Hill, Jr. New York, NY: Norton.

Contact email: Cmayer@siena.edu

© The International Academic Forum 2015
The International Academic Forum (IAFOR)
Sakae 1-16-26-201
Naka Ward, Nagoya, Aichi
Japan 460-0008
www.iafor.org