The 11th Asian Conference on Cultural Studies
JUNE 03-05, 2021 | TOKYO, JAPAN

A C C S
2021

OFFICIAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

''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

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021

Official Conference Proceedings

Table of Contents

Dulang (Death Ritual) among Maguindanaon : Its Semiotic Interpretation

Almira B. Menson, Mindanao State University, Philippines

Abstract

This paper explores the signs and symbols incorporated in the practice of *dulang*, a death ritual of the Maguindanaon. The *dulang* is a ritual of the Maguindanaon where through the use of kulintang(melodic gong music) the bpedtunong(the medium who performs pag-ipat) enters into a trance and is possessed by a spirit that facilitates healing. Pag-ipat is overlain with symbols comprising a veritable wellspring of folk expression that is at once symbolic and imbued with meaning. Semiotics, the study of meaning-making, explores the study of signs and symbols as a significant part of communication. Semiotic theory provides a vital lens through which to view ritual messages. Chandler (2011) states that signs take the form of words, images, sounds, odours, flavours, acts or objects. Umberto Eco, an Italian semiotician and novelist, claimed that every cultural phenomenon may be studied as communication(Caesar, 1999). Since all forms of ritual are communicative as stated by Dow(1986), pag-ipat, one of the imortant Maguindanaon death ritual is an interesting topic to be explored using semiotic framework and analysis. The data were comprised of the objects used in the ritual and were analyzed through Barthe's semiotic framework of connotation, denotation and myth. The study reveals that pag-ipat communicates certain belief and ideology which can be deciphered through its elements such as form, movement and pattern.

Keywords: Pag-Ipat, Semiotics, Meaning-Making, Ideology, Maguindanaon

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Maguindanao is not only famous for its beautiful and breathtaking fauna and flora, it is also known for its multi ethnicity which has more than 40 different ethnic groups including the sub-ethnic groups. This variety exists due to the variation of cultural aspects of each ethnic group. Each of this ethnic group represents their own identity which is portrayed in their behavior, lifestyle, economic activities and location, language and dialect, norms and moral values, beliefs and religion, as well as custom practiced in daily life. Uniquely, the cultural identification of the community can also be depicted symbolically through non-verbal communication.

Maguindanaon community is the second largest Muslim ethnic in Mindanao. Nevertheless, it is sad to mention that the in-depth study of the Maguindanaon culture is very limited and not prolific. The specific study of the *dulang* as one of the most interesting study on the cultural tradition and its relationship with communication is very rare.

Therefore, this article will portray and explicate the non-verbal aspects of communication in the *dulang* tradition, mainly on matters relating to the demise customs or the Kapenggay-gay ceremony, so that the cultural identity and the ethnic identification of the Maguindanaons will be known to others.

Through this study, the missing link between the unwritten meaning and practice of the Maguindanaons can help develop cultural appreciation and preservation.

Statement of the Problem

This study intends to make meaning on the death ritual of the Maguindanaon particularly the case of *dulang*.

Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:
1. What are the semiotic interpretation and perception in the *dulang* tradition?
2. What are the semiotic modification in *dulang* tradition?

Review of Related Literature

Ritual Is a Communicative Form

Douglas (1995) claimed that ritual is pre-eminently a form of communication. All forms of ritual are communicative, symbolic behaviors in social situations. They are always perform as if to be read (Rothenbuhler, 1998). Regardless of its other aspects, ritual is also a way of saying. Its movements, patterns and forms have significance or meaning, independent of whatever is physically accomplished by the body movements themselves. These ritual movements are signs of something else, and it is these signs that accomplish the goals of ritual - not the mere movements in their own right. It is these signifying, communicative aspects of ritual, then, that are primary and essential. If they do not function to communicate, they do nothing. (Rothenbuhler, 1998)

Symbolicity and Generality

All human communication, including rituals, is constructed of signs. These are things that stand for something they are not, to someone, for some purpose. Their usefulness depends on it. As this relationship between signs and what they signify is central, it is helpful to distinguish between three types of sign: indexes, icons and symbols. If the "thing which stands" is the signifier, and the "thing for which it stands" is the signified (Peirce, 1932) then indexes can be defined as signs that depend on a causal relationship between the two (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

Icons can be defined as signs that depend on a relationship of resemblance; and symbols as signs that depend on a relationship of convention between the two. Smoke is an index of fire as it is caused by it; smoke in a movie is an icon because it resembles smoke in the audience's experience; and smoke signals are signals because the relationship between the smoke patterns and the message relates to a social convention. Indexical signifiers are directly dependent on their particular signified: this smoke indicates this fire; this needle movement indicates this flow of current. Icons, however, depend on a general pattern instead of a particular relationship (Peirce, 1932). Symbols, radically more so than icons, open a world of possibilities by breaking free of all particularities.

Such distinctions are important for understanding how ritual works. The stuff of ritual is largely symbolic. Though indexes and icons are involved, symbols are the most common type of sign used and the most important. Ritual is about the general - in a significant way. Ritual action is oriented toward transcendence of the particularities of the situation and social circumstances in which it is performed. Rituals emphasize what is generally true, and, as a type of sign, the symbol both depends on generalization for its meaning and promotes generalization in its interpretation. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

Materiality and Indexicality

Rituals also always have an indexical component. Communication, including ritual, always brings together inner and outer worlds by the shaping of material to express an idea. (Rothenbuhler, 1998). The material element must work through causal mechanisms. In turn, such material elements and their causal connections can be interpreted as indexical signs.

What makes ritual special is that its performative aspect gives the essential, but ordinary, indexical element of all communication a special importance (Rothenbuhler, 1998). Because indexes do not have the arbitrariness of connection between signified that all symbols do, they are neither as flexible as symbols, nor as unreliable. Performance in a ritual is an index of relationship vis-a-vis the canon, the liturgy, the meaning of the ritual that is usually carried by symbols. The index of performance is a prop of ensurance against the potential indeterminateness of meaning, intention, belief, and other symbolically embedded phenomena. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

Ritual cannot be performed without bodily participation, nor correctly without bodily participation according to form. As the ritual is a kind of speech act, its effectiveness depends on its relatively correct or felicitous (inspired) performance. This, interestingly, allows for subtle innovations, and one way rituals can be classified can depend on their formal correctness or inspired felicity, their domination by liturgy or their contemporary circumstances. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

Because the performative aspect of bodily participation is also an index of position vis-avis the meaning and effects of the ritual, the surprising result is that a participant cannot lie in ritual, or at least not ritually. Participants may or may not believe in it, but their disbelief doesn't undo what was accomplished by their participation. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).For example, regardless of rituals, subjective doubts and questions, a wedding creates a married couple who can be symbolically held responsible to their status. Marriage can only be undone by another legal ritual. Similarly, not tipping one's head and looking downward in the presence of a person of higher status may be mistaken, but will still be read as an index of incompetence, disrespect, or both.

In a ritual, the world is lived and the world is imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world. This is a strange consequence of materiality and only possible in communicative forms because of their unique fusing of the material and the ideal. The material form becomes symbolic, according to ideas, and this is how it makes real in this world an ideal world. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

Backward and Forward References

Rituals always refer in two directions: backward to the social order and culture in which the ritual is embedded, and forward to the people performing the ritual and those with whom they will interact. The former is symbolic and offers the meaning of the ritual; the latter is more indicative and offers the soon to be realized social significance of the ritual. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

Many writers emphasize the backward reference, speaking, for example, of ritual being out of time, in a sacred space separated from this world. This has led some to dismiss ritual as impractical, maladaptive, even dangerous. Yet this is overstated as, if nothing else, ritual serves as a communicative form for display and alignment in the present.

Ritual, then, is about both position in a cosmic order and alignment in a practical world. It embeds participants, by these two logics, into an ongoing structure: by symbol and index into past and future, origins and destinations, relatively stable meanings and more changeable significances. In effect, ritual is a communication device for uniting the ideal and the material, the general and the particular, the cosmic and the ordinary, the past and the future, the structures of history and the happenings of individual lives. (Rothenbuhler, 1998).

The review of literature cited shows aspects of ritual as potentials of meaning-making and its important role in the discursive environment of communication.

Theoretical Lens

To analyse the non-verbal communication in the demise customs/death rituals of the Maguindanaon, semiotic theory is applied. Linguistics and cultural semiotics is a branch of communication theory, that is the study of signs and symbols (including human beings talk, write, sing, smell, gesture, image, music, arts, etc.) that humans use to convey feelings, thoughts, ideas and ideologies. It includes the study of how meaning which arises from the sign and symbol system is constructed and understood during the perception and interpretation of sensory data.

Cultural semiotic analysis focuses on the cultural and psychological patterns that underlie language, art and other cultural expressions that is used as a tool for representing and interpreting phenomena. Among famous semioticians are Ferdinand de Saussure, 1857 – 1913 (the father of modern linguistics), Charles Sanders Peirce, 1839 – 1914 (the founder of the pragmatism doctrine) and Roland Barthes, 1915 – 1980. There is an overlap between semiotics and communication, because both disciplines share many similar concepts such as code, symbol, meaning, process of decoding, perception and interpretation, although the emphasis is different.

Research field within within cultural semiotics attempts to define culture from semiotic perspective and as a type of human symbolic activity, creation of signs and a way of giving meaning to everything around. Therefore, here culture is understood as a system of symbols or meaningful signs. Because the main sign system is the linguistic system, the field is usually referred to as semiotics of culture and language. Under this field of study symbols are analyzed and categorized in certain class within the hierarchal system. With postmodernity, metanarratives are no longer as pervasive and thus categorizing these symbols in this postmodern age is more difficult and rather critical.

Methodology

The data of this study was taken based on the observation and interview made by the researcher. This study is conducted in Raguisi, Sultan Kudarat. The justification of choosing the district matches the context of the study because the community there has their own culture and the size of the total population of the community inhabited in that area. Raguisi is situated at the West Coast of Cotabato City. It takes about an hour journey by car to this district.

Taking of pictures and videos during the ritual was prohibited by the medium since it may offend the family of the dead. Though there were few photographs taken before the ritual, the ritual proper was not documented due to the lack of approval from the immediate family of the dead person. Qualitative design through the use of semiotic framework and analysis is employed in answering the specific research questions.

Results and Discussions

RQ1. What are the semiotic interpretation and perception in the *dulang* tradition?

For the Maguindanaon community in Raguisi, the demise customs or the death rituals are slightly similar to the demise customs of the Malay community; the ritual starts by firstly bathing the dead body, performing a prayer for the dead body, wrapping the dead body in a shroud and lastly, burying the dead body. Generally, a feast for the dead or the kenduri arwah will be held for seven days and seven nights. Besides that, a grand feast to remember the dead will also be held on the seventh, fortieth, hundredth day of the death and upon completing one year from the date the dead 'leaves' the world. Interestingly, the *dulang* ceremony will be performed during these grand feasts.

Implicitly, *dulang* symbolizes the act of feeding the dead and helping him or her to go on with the new life in the new world. *Dulang* also means the deed of alms by the family of the dead to the poor people and the people who attend the feast. The alms refer to the food called

dulang which will be given away (disedekahkan) by the family of the dead to those people who attend the feast.

Normally, *dulang* contains few traditional foods (which appear to be obligatory) such as kuih sinsim (Kumukunsi), kuih jala' (tinadtag), kuih penyaram (panyalam), kuih berate (pinipi), kalas (Puso), saging randang (banana fritters which are fried flourless), kuih wajid (wagit), inti' (sweet dish which is made of coconut and sugar cane) and also rice and dishes where each will represent something. The semiotic interpretation of these traditional foods will be explicated according to the Maguindanaon interpretation and perception of their cultural identity.

One of the famous foods in dulang is Kuih Sinsim. The shape of kuih sinsim looks like a car stering and wheel except for the color and size. It has circular shape, palm size, white color, sugary taste and solid structure. This kuih is made from flour and sugar. The white color and the solid form signifies human bone structure which means that humans have to work hard to fulfill their basic needs by using their tulang empat kerat. Therefore this kuih is made solid to symbolize the human power and strength in facing the hardships of life.

Another prominent food in dulang is Tinadtag. It has sweet taste semicircle shape, golden color and a little bit brittle. Tinadtag is made from rice flour and sugar. Impicitly, tinadtag represent human hair. The covert meaning behind the tousled structure of tinadtag visualizes the hair condition, lots of layers and disheveled if uncombed. The Maguindanaon old generation regards long hair for women as a main concern due to the belief that long hair will perform as head support if one is dead. This belief makes the Maguindanaon, particularly the old women attempt to grow their hair to make it long. Besides, the half moon and the buffalo horn shape of tinadtag can also represent the traditional task of the Maguindanaon as a farmer. It can also be considered as a symbol of strong ties among the Maguindanaons.

(panyalam) is another obligatory food in dulang. This delicacy can be found in three dominant colors; white (made from white sugar), chocolate/brown (made from sugar cane) and green (made from daun pandan/pandan leaf) and has two distinguished shape, round and samarinda. It has sweet taste because it is made from rice flour and sugar. In Maguindanaon's perception, panyalam stand for human heart based on its soft and spongy texture. Heart is one of the most precious parts in human body system because it can reflect one's personality and his/her good or bad deeds. Maguindanaon are very concerned about having good hearted or a benevolent attitude because it can bring tranquility in human relationship. Besides, panyalam also symbolizes a sun that surrounds Maguindanaons' world and thus it represents the sincerity of those people who participate in the Kapenggay-gay ceremony.

Other than those foods mentioned before, dulang also consist of Pinipi It is made from rice which firstly will be cooked, then dried out and lastly will be fried to make it fragile. The uneven and rough texture of kuih berate represents the condition in human stomach. Implicitly, kuih berate can be considered as a sign of warning to the Maguindanaon people to take great care of what they eat and their health because all consumed foods and beverages will be digested in stomach.

In addition, dulang also consist of Puso which is made from glutinous rice, and wrapped with kalas leaf. Kalas has triangle shape and salty taste. Normally it is served with fried fish. In old days, relatives who live far away have to go through a long journey to attend the *Kaligo sa minatay* ceremony. Thus they will take along kalas to feed their starving stomach because

kalas has a fulfilling and satisfying taste. With kalas on their side, they will stay out of hunger and tiredness before arriving at the feast venue. Kalas also visualizes the traditional task of Maguindanaon as a paddy planters and rice as a staple food for this community.

Inti' is another important sweetened food in duang. It is made from old coconut which is cooked with sugar cane or gula hangus and has moist taste. Inti' served as sweets to those people who attend the ngeduang ceremony so that they will only talk and story about all the good things of the dead. Symbolically, inti' means helping the dead to possess all the good deeds, from the behavior of all those people who are still alive.

Besides all those main foods stated above, dulang also consist of Kuih wajid (wagit), Saging Randang, rice and dishes such as fried fish, boiled egg and vegetables (long beans masak tumis is the popular one). In the past, normally foods in dulang can only be found during the Kaligo sa minatay ceremony but nowadays, almost all of the foods mentioned can be bought at many small markets, bazaar and tamu at Kota Belud. In addition, kalas, kuih sinsim, penyaram, kuih wajid and kuih jala are also served during ceremony, gathering and festival like marriage, feast, Hari Raya etc. Among the obligatory foods in dluang, only kuih sinsim and kuih jala can last for months whereas the rest can not be retained more than a week except for kuih penjaram and kuih wajid where both can last for about two weeks.

Importantly, during the *dulang* ceremony, the family of the dead or the host will provide plenty of dulang known as dulang ruma'. Normally the host has to prepare a minimum of 60 and maximum of 200 dulang ruma' in every *dulang* ceremony. Dulang ruma' can be further categorized into two, kepala duang/tikok duang (the main dulang) and normal dulang. There are three main dulang provided which will be given away to top three people according to their ranking/importance in the *Kaligo sa minatay* ceremony. The first main dulang will be given away to the imam or the leader of the ceremony and each of the dulang content must have three packs or items. Each pack normally has seven to ten traditional foods, for example three packs of kuih penyaram and in each pack, there are seven to ten kuih penyaram and so forth. Simply, in main duang there are about 21 – 30 traditional foods in which each are packed in three packs. Other extra foods in duang also has to be in three numbers, for example three packs of rice, three packs of fried fish, three pack of vegetables, three can or bottle of beverages, three pack of cakes etc. The second main duang goes to the head of the Surah yassin (Verse from the Quran for the Dead Person) reciter whereas the third main dulang will be presented to the head of the tahlil reciter. The content of dulang in the second and the third main dulang consists of two packs. The normal dulang will be given away to the relatives and guests.

Uniquely, the activity during the *Kaligo sa minatay* ceremony is not only limited to giving away the dulang to those people who attend the feast by the family of the dead. Besides, the ceremony is also consisted of activity nambi' dulang or activity of exchanging of dulangs between those relatives and guests who bring their own dulang to the feast. The act of bringing his own dulang to the feast means that the dulang owner wants to join the *Kaligo sa minatay* ceremony on behalf of his/her family who has already passed away. This dulang is known as duang tampu. They believe that the duang can reach the dead to feed and help him or her to go on with the new life in the new world. Besides, this activity also indicates the generosity of those people involved. Indirectly, it also reveals one's personality and creativity by looking at the content of the dulang and the way it is presented. During the event, the host will appoint one person (as the host's representative) to handle the activity of exchange of dulangs. Normally, the duang owner will make a wish and inform the representative, about

the person who she or he wishes to receive the duang. Sometimes it happens when the duang owner does not decide the dulang recipient and in this case, the representative will act as a decision maker to decide whose dulang goes to whom and vice versa.

In addition, besides fulfilling the ritual in the demise custom, there is another *dulang* ceremony which is held during the Hari Raya festival only which is called dulang raya'. The purpose for preparing dulang raya' is to celebrate the big day because in the past, there is no concept of having open house during Hari Raya like most people do nowadays. Traditionally, the Maguindanaon will bring their own dulang and gather at a mosque or surau where they will change their duang with another person. Another name for duang raya' is duang subu. The purpose is the same as dulang raya' but it is called duang subu because the duang owner do not have to go to the mosque to find the duang recipient. Instead, he or she will take the dulang at dawn to the house of the individual whom he or she has promised to give the dulang and vice versa. However, nowadays not many people still exercise the tradition.

RQ2. What are the semiotic modification in *dulang* and *Kanggay-gay* ceremony?

Interestingly, the content and presentation of *dulang* has changed over time depending on the financial status, trend and life style of the people. Traditionally, *dulang* only consists of few traditional foods (as mentioned before). However, nowadays the tradition has changed enormously in which extra foods are also included such as cakes, bottle or can beverages, can foods, snacks, biscuits, sweets and plenty of dishes (fish, chicken, meat and vegetables) which are cooked with varieties of cooking style such as *masak rendang, masak kicap, masak lemak, masak asam manis* etc.

Besides, not only extra foods and beverages are included, but the way *dulang* is presented has also changed. Traditionally, *dulang* is wrapped with *begiang* leaf. Later on, when the Maguindanaon are more creative, *dulang* is placed in a basket called tudung which is made from coconut leaf and *designed* to form a basket shape. After some time, box and plastic bag are used to accommodate the extra weight and contents of *dulang*.

Nowadays, to be more practical, dulang is placed in a plastic basket, basin, designed paper bag or other things (home appliance) that can be utilized in daily life.

The changes of the dulang, either for the contents as well as the presentation have different covert meaning, depending on the wish of the dulang owner and the interpretation and perception of dulang recipient and guests. Therefore, dulang can bring both positive and negative impact. The positive side of dulang is that it is considered as a deed of alms giving. In addition, the gathering also inculcates the spirit of neighborhood, collaboration as well as strengthens the ties (ukhuwah) among relatives. Nevertheless, dulang also has negative impact especially if someone wants to show off by adding extra ordinary contents of dulang and presenting it in the most expensive way. Thus, it can create spendthrift habit and boastful manner as well as the feeling of jealousy.

Conclusion

Dulang is one of the unique traditions of the Maguindanaon that distinguishes their cultural tradition from other ethnic groups in Mindanao. The underlying or implicit meaning behind the *dulang* is one aspect that makes it appealing and exclusive. Those embedded and covert meaning represents the world view of the Maguindanaon and their cultural identity. The

tradition is still being practiced until today but nowadays the concept of *dulang* has been modified, mostly because Maguindanaon want to adapt the current situation and lifestyle of the people. However, the basic intention of traditional foods in *dulang* are still unchangeable -- to maintain the cultural tradition. *Dulang* has both positive and negative impacts that depend much on the intention, perception and interpretation of the dulang *owner*, dulang *provider* and *dulang* recipient. The researcher believes that *dulang* will always have a big special place in the heart, life and culture among the Maguindanaon. Thus, it is a task for the Maguindanaon to promote and inform others especially the younger generation about *dulang* tradition so that it will not be forgotten.

References

Abdul Rahman Ahmad Hanafiah. 2004. *Komunikasi Budaya: Dari Alam Rahim ke Alam Barzakh*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan bahasa dan Pustaka

Asmah Haji Omar (1990). The Bajau Darat Language. *The Brunei Museum Journal* **4**(4): 11-28.

Barker, L.L., 1984. *Communication*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

E.K.M. Masinambow & Rahayu S. Hidayat. 2001. *Semiotik: Mengkaji Tanda dalam Artifak*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Em Griffin. 2006. *A First Look at communication Theory*. 6th edition. Boston: McGraw Hill.

JabatanPerangkaan Malaysia (Cawangan Sabah), 2000.*Buku Tahunan Perangkaan Sabah 2000*.

Jehom, W.J. 1999. Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity in Sarawak. *Akademika* 55: 83 - 98

Johansen, J. D. & Larsen, S.E. 2002. *Signs in Use: An Introduction to Semiotics*. London: Routledge.

Jun, A. 2005. Sama (Bajau). Dlm. Adelaar, A. & Himmelmann, N.P. *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. London: Routledge

Pallesen, A.K. 1985. *Culture Contact and Language Convergence*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Rosnah Ismail. 2001. *Interaksi keluarga Bajau*. Kota Kinabalu: Universiti Malaysia Sabah

Saidatul Nornis Haji Mahali. 2002. *Duang: Satu Tafsiran Awal Tentang Budaya Klasik Bajau*. Kertas kerja dibentangkan dalam Borneo Research Council: 7th Biennial International conference. 15 – 18 Julai. Kota Kinabalu: Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

Saidatul Nornis Haji Mahali. 1999. *Bahasa dan Alam Pemikiran Masyarakat Bajau*. Kota Kinabalu: Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

Sather, C. 1997. *The Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South Eastern Sabah*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Seiler, W.J. & Beall, M.L. 2005. *Communication: Making Connections*. Boston: Pearson

Theo Van Leeuwen. 2005. *Introducing Social Sem*iotics. London: Routledge. Umberto Eco. 1976. *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana UniversityPress.

Yap Beng Liang. 1993. *Orang Bajau Pulau Omadal: Aspek-aspek Budaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Advancing Civilian and Military Education:
The Integration of ADDIE and the Joint Planning Process in Curriculum Design

Zachary D. Unger, VetED Inc., United States
Jennifer L. Phillips, University of Southern California, United States

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
The military and education sectors' knowledge developmental goals are often similar. Literature notes it can be advantageous to integrate civilian and military design (Cai et al., 2020). Civilian sector education benefits from academic and culturally derived models for curriculum design. The military often uses its own culturally derived models of design and implementation. However, the end goals are often the same, providing knowledge to close gaps, inspire growth, or prepare for future challenges. Each group benefits from proven methods tailored to their specific requirements. How can each sector pursue evidence-based methods of curriculum design while still finding efficiencies in efforts with precision in creation? Perhaps an answer exists in the blending of the military planning processes with proven academic curriculum design models. The ADDIE model provides educators a five-step model for curriculum development that has been utilized by civilian educators since the 1970s. The Joint Planning Process provides United States military planners a set of steps and guidelines for accomplishing tasks that requires choosing courses of action and forecasting success and failure of implementation. The integration of the ADDIE model's considerations while moving through the steps of the Joint Planning Process is a synchronization of each sectors' models proposed in this study that provides both sectors with a series of best practices when engaging in future curriculum design. Furthermore, it presents an opportunity for these two sectors to examine and flourish through the use of multiple-combined best practices through a new and unique lens of understanding.

Keywords: ADDIE, Joint Planning Process, Curriculum Design

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The integration of the ADDIE (Analyze, Design, Develop, Implement, Evaluate) model and the Joint Planning Process (JPP) provides a viable methodology for curriculum design. Literature notes that design and integration thinking is not always effectively practiced with respect to education (Zweibelson et al., 2018). Therefore, the combination of the ADDIE model and the JPP process as explored in this paper posits an option for integration as opposed to advocating for the integration as the best option. This paper explores integration of the systems as an option to capitalize on the strengths each process poses while providing mutual support to each respective system's opportunities for improvement. An explanation of each model and their respective strengths, areas for improvement, and a description on methods to combine the two methods for curriculum design provide the basis for conclusions and further recommendations. Additionally, preliminary research centered on literature, diverse focus group participant input, and a beta-developed curriculum serve as background for conclusions and recommendations.

Analysis, Design, Development, Implementation, and Evaluation (ADDIE)

ADDIE, an acronym for analysis, design, development, implementation, and evaluation, first emerged in literature as an umbrella process for instructional design (Molenda, 2015). ADDIE evolved from instructional design systems research developed by the United States (U.S.) military in World War II (Allen, 2006), finds additional origins in the Interservice Procedures for Instructional Systems Development (IPSID) produced by Florida State University for the U.S. Army (Branson, 1978; Molenda, 2015), and has been adapted in the intervening time to meet the less rigid structure of civilian training methodologies. Designed with feedback loops in mind to support continuous process improvement, ADDIE as a concept allows for rapid prototyping of training and has been implemented across a wide range of industries with over 7,000 articles and books having been published on the model (Mayfield, 2011). This review covers the steps of the ADDIE model, the key strengths of the model, and opportunities to improve upon the model based on up research and literature over the past 10 years.

Overview of the Model

The ADDIE model consists of five steps: analysis, design, development, implementation, and evaluation (Ahmadigol, 2015; Moradmand et al., 2014; Taylor, 2004). Figure 1 depicts these steps along with key activities performed during each. Analysis includes project planning, including defining the instructional goals, stakeholder analysis, and content analysis. Content analysis specifically focuses on the performance solution to be addressed through the training (Labin, 2012). The second step, design, involves defining the learning objectives and organizing and preparing the content (Labin, 2012). During development the specific training content is created and refined based upon the pre-identified learning goals and objectives. The fourth step, implementation, the training takes place and initial refinement occurs. Finally, evaluation reactions and learning objectives are measured based upon the executed content. Several training evaluation approaches have become popular, including the Kirkpatrick and Kayser Kirpatrick (2016) New World Model for training evaluation, but ADDIE itself does not prescribe a particular approach to training evaluation (Allen, 2006).
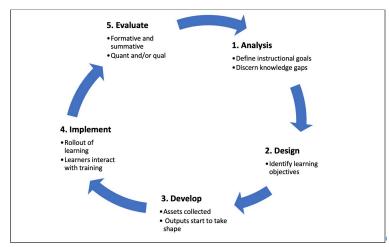
Figure 1: Steps in the ADDIE Model

Key Strengths

The ADDIE model has proven effective at achieving desired training outcomes in peer reviewed studies. Lu et al. (2016) were able to demonstrate a statistically significant impact on a population of nursing students following a training implementation using the ADDIE model. Following training course completion, the self-efficacy reported among nursing program participants significantly ($p<.000$) improved compared to pre-test, and 88% of participants passed the pragmatic exam (Lu et al., 2016). Abidin and Tho (2018) conducted experiments in which two mobile applications (TrueTone and Advanced Spectrum Analyzer) were used to support interactive teaching methodologies for physics experiments at a university in Malaysia. The experiments produced results with small error (5-14 %), and the flexibility of doing experiments at low cost increased.

Opportunities for Improvement

ADDIE presents several opportunities for improvement, including clarity in how to execute each step, inefficiencies in process sequencing, and the assumptions that drive the overall training design. A key criticism of the ADDIE model leveraged by Bates (2014), which is particularly relevant to this paper, is the model does not provide for *how* to make decisions within each step. Additionally, the model's design does not lend itself to thinking through the practicalities of instructor-student interaction during implementation (Bates, 2014), which also presents as an opportunity for further exploration. ADDIE can also be considered inefficient due to not being an iterative process. In this regard the model's design assumes the designer knows all of the requirements in advance and evaluation is designed around these pre-established criteria without opportunity for behavior change to be considered (Drljača et al., 2017).

The Joint Planning Process

The Joint Planning Process is a systematic and procedural methodology used by the United States military for planning activities. The process is a framework by which forces operate as a joint team, across the full range of joint and interagency activities (Joint Staff, 2017). Furthermore, it provides information for key leaders to attain information and make both strategic and operational decisions (Joint Staff, 2017) A keystone for senior leadership development, curriculum for Joint Planning Processes as well as joint planning systems are a

requirement for senior military officers in the United States military. (Kamarck, 2016). The Joint Planning Process enables decision-making and aids senior leaders in the application of knowledge and judgement with situational understanding as it enables problem solving (Alkire et al, 2018). Thus, the joint planning process provides an established, systematic, and repeatable method for addressing current and future problems by both planners and decisionmakers if utilized, assuming the steps are followed.

Overview of the Joint Planning Process

The Joint Planning Process consists of seven steps. In a pre-determined and repeatable order, the steps are: planning initiation, mission analysis, course of action (COA) development, COA analysis and approval, COA comparison, COA approval, and order development. Figure 2 depicts these steps.
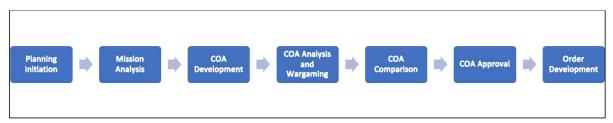
Figure 2. Seven Steps of the Joint Planning Process

In step one and appropriate authority or commander directs or explores a capability to be used in support of an objective. Subordinates and planning staffs begin planning activities in preparation for the reception of direction or guidance. In step two, the staffs review guidance, begin to develop mission estimates, and develop a mission statement focusing on the problem and an understanding of the situation with sound judgment (Alkire et al., 2018) to be addressed leading to development of a problem statement. During step three, multiple courses of action (proposed methods to accomplish an action) are developed which planners hypothesize will lead to mission success. These methods consider guidance and estimates based on mission analysis with considerations of risk and previous planning guidance. Step four consists of course of action analysis and wargaming. During this phase the validity of each COA is analyzed and the COA is wargamed against likely opposition actions and environmental conditions as well as contingencies. During step five, an agreed upon set of criteria is applied to the COA based on the COA characteristics and wargaming considerations to determine its strengths and weaknesses and lead to step sis. Step six is characterized by the selection of the overall COA that best meets the Commanders criteria and guidance, based upon earlier analysis, risk, and environmental considerations, ideally having the best chance of success (Joint Staff, 2017). The process concludes with step seven which is characterized by orders, or plans, development. This step packages and quantifies in direct statements and assignments the commanders chosen course of action and provides instructions to commence detailed planning and assignment activities to execute. The seven-step process can be iterative (Cunningham, 2020) and is ideally briefed at the end of each step to provide progress checks and prevents wasted time and regression beyond a single step. The process can maximize efficiency (Pandey et al., 2011) and can be characterized by time and regiment by a planning lead acting on behalf of the commander's authority providing a mechanism to achieve milestones in a limited time or resource environment.

Strengths

The systematic and thorough, yet simple, design of the joint planning process provides the process strength. The Joint Planning Process is a typically predetermined process, which makes it both repeatable and effective (Cunningham, 2020). Cunningham (2020) further noted that the process gives the how, with what resources, and in what amount of time a problem can be addressed. The process is adaptive and constantly evolving to make it relevant and adaptable to environmental change (Scott, 2017). The process identifies and highlights strengths and weaknesses of multiple approaches to potential problem-solving solutions (Joint Staff, 2017). As noted in Joint Publication 3-0, Joint Planning enables execution through appraisal, estimation, assessment, and integration that reduces redundancies in planning and operation (Joint Staff, 2017). Thus, by remaining simple, yet relevant by reducing redundancy, the process is potentially useful to multiple stakeholders.

The Joint Planning Process could provide the opportunity to maximize time, efficiency, and flexibility early on with other frameworks (Pandey et al., 2011). Desk-top exercises utilizing a methodology or process in conjunction with, or like, the Joint Planning Process could be suitable for development or planning workshops attempting unity of effort and agreement among various experts and backgrounds (Alkire et al., 2018). Thus, utilizing the Joint Planning Process can aid a development effort with multiple stakeholders providing curriculum development a systematic potentiality for success.

Opportunities for Improvement

The Joint Planning Process is not without its weaknesses and opportunities for improvement. The joint doctrine used for the Joint Planning Process can struggle to differentiate, or describe, the differing levels or magnitudes of problem solving (Kendrick, 2018). Kendrick (2018) further noted that the language provided in the process might not be useful or adaptable to all situations. The process can also demonstrate weakness if adequate representation of all pertinent stakeholders is deficient (Andres, 2007). Furthermore, stakeholders present in the process can find themselves trapped in the problem definition stages of analysis equally if they find themselves identifying solutions as differing perceptions of problems are often likely to present themselves (Greenwood, 2008). Additionally, should members of the planning group be unfamiliar with the steps of the process, errors or omissions during early planning stages intensify as the process proceeds (Joint Staff, 2011).

There exist opportunities for improvement to the planning process regarding familiarization training, measures for ensuring adequate subject matter expertise presence, common criteria for problem statement definitions, and baselines for terminology usage throughout the process. Andres (2007) noted that using Joint Planning Processes to its full potential requires integration of the entirety of the components in the process. When used deliberately, and early, in in planning or development, joint planning can enable overall effectiveness for a team when complimenting or integrating with a separate methodology or systematic process.

Integration of the ADDIE Model and the Joint Planning Process

Embedding the joint planning process steps throughout each component of the ADDIE model presents a potentiality to build on the research backed success of the ADDIE model with clarity on how to execute each step. By dividing the seven steps into relevant stages within

each ADDIE phase, the joint planning process reinforces ADDIE with structured, prescriptive, predictable, and repeatable steps. The sub-sections below are organized according to the integrated approach: planning initiation, analysis, design, development, implementation, and evaluation. Once the discussion of each of the integrated processes is complete, key tasks informed by the Joint Planning Process, including personnel actions, timing, and program of action and milestones, that are recommended by this approach will be discussed. Providing an entry point into the ADDIE model is the first step of the Joint Planning Process, planning initiation.

Planning Initiation

The design process posited in this paper begins when a relevant authority designates the need for curriculum development and assigns a relevant stakeholder(s) to pursue a given line of effort. It is the responsibility of the receiver to accept the tasking, identify resources and time available for planning, assess the current environment, and create an atmosphere in which to begin the first phase of the ADDIE model.

Analysis

The beginning of the ADDIE process requires the identification of goals, the specified target audience and content analysis. Similarly, the injection of joint planning process step two, mission analysis, provides specific questions for planners to ask: what it will take to accomplish, will the curriculum address the desired objective, what limitations exist, what personnel and resources are required, and how will success be defined. Planners will know they are complete when they can answer what the specific tasks required of them are in the process of the desired curriculum design, an approach to achieving the design, what potential pitfalls to success exist, and how the current environment can affect the process and the output. Successful synthesis of these concepts will move stakeholders to step two of the ADDIE model, design.

Design

The design phase of the ADDIE model includes the determination of desired learning objectives, content preparation, and delivery and evaluation strategies. These deliverables are supplemented by step three, four, and five of the Joint Planning Process (COA development, COA comparison, and Wargaming). As an example, Ahlawat et al. (2017) notes that wargaming processes in the education environment can enabled lessons learned.

Development

This phase of the model begins with step six in the Joint Planning Process: COA Approval. The outputs of this step will include the presentation of the chosen course of action for validation with modifications and a refined approval for implementation. The development phase of the ADDIE model consists of resource and content refinement. Additionally, production, testing, feedback, validation, and revision are accomplished during this phase.

Implementation

The implementation phase of the ADDIE model includes preparation and interaction or engagement with both trainers and learners. The phase of the model is supported by step

seven of the joint planning process: order development. During this stage of the joint planning process supported and supporting individuals are engaged by the convening authority and notified of mission, resources, and limitations with clear and concise guidance from the convening authority. As an output, the step identifies and designates specific groups or parties responsible for certain tasks. This allows for commencement preparation in the form of either written or verbal plans to execute.

Evaluation

The evaluation phase of the ADDIE model assesses the overall quality or efficacy of learning and resources and provides a mechanism for feedback for future improvement. This phase, although not supported by a Phase of the Joint Planning Process is the transitory step back to step one of the Joint Planning Process, initiation, providing an iterative cycle to begin the ADDIE model supported by the Joint Planning Process anew.

Personnel Duties

This paper posits that the convening authority will designate a party or parties responsible for the curriculum design. Given this assumption, the responsible stakeholder should, resource dependent, appoint an individual in charge of knowledge management. This individual is responsible for capturing, quantifying, and preparing for presentation the outputs of each phase. Furthermore, the responsible stakeholder or designee should be prepared to receive a an in-progress review, or status update presentation, at the end of each phase and determine whether to progress to the subsequent phase or refine insufficient deliverables. Lastly, the orchestrator should coordinate or delegate the task of preparing a suitable workspace or forum in which members are able to conduct the design process.

Timelines

Derived and discussed during initiation, a timeline should be developed that considers time available and splits it equitably, but not necessarily equally, among the phases. Furthermore, the timeline should be refined to include the comprehensiveness with which each Joint Planning Process step will be executed within each ADDIE phase. The notional timeline for planning derived from the Joint Planning Process provides further structure and guidelines that support the structural integrity of the ADDIE model execution.

Program of Action and Milestones

The previously mentioned individual responsible for overall orchestration of the ADDIE model and Joint Planning Process integration is enabled by developing a timeline that is modeled as a program of action and milestones. The orchestrator conveys to their respective team the notional timeline, be it hours, days, weeks, or months. They must also clearly designate the definitive beginning and ending criteria for each of the phases. This data is best presented in a one-page visual that can be displayed in multiple easily accessible and readily visible locations for the entire team.

Initial Research

In support of the posited integration method the authors pursued literature review and focus groups. They also conducted an initial beta of the integrated design process concept in

conjunction with an initial curriculum development for a newly conceived course. Literature previously denoted in the introduction section encompassed the ADDIE Model, the Joint Planning Process, Joint Planning, and systems integration. Three focus groups were utilized. Focus groups consisted of personnel from both the military as well as academia. Focus groups were representative of differing academic and military departments, backgrounds, and geo-graphic regions within the United States to solicit a diversity of thought, experience, and background. The course chosen for beta-testing the model was a three-week, 127 hour course with a student target population of 30-45.

Focus Group One

Focus group one utilized a perspective that prioritized the Joint Planning Process as the primary curriculum design method. The ADDIE model took a secondary role. Although structured, primary focus of the half-day group was centered on the process and timelines needed to complete a curriculum design. There was varying focus on the content or material resources needed to fulfill desired learning objectives. The group hypothesized a foundational program of action and milestones that provided a framework that could complete a course but was non-specific with respect to instructional goals, outcomes, or strategies.

Focus Group Two

Focus group two utilized a perspective that prioritized the ADDIE model with the Joint Planning Process taking a secondary role. Learning goals and methodologies, learning paradigms, and pedagogies were of significant discussion as was the detailed discussion and explanation of instructional systems design. The group discussed the worthiness of the ADDIE model at length. However, the group did not quantify or note techniques on how to operationalize the model itself. The group ultimately agreed on the merits of the models' considerations but was not able to quantify how the process itself would assign roles and responsibilities or direct the group in the logistical production of a curriculum moving forward beyond the discussion.

Beta-Testing

An initial beta test combining the ADDIE model with the Joint Planning Process was utilized to accomplish a newly directed course. Stakeholders with background in ADDIE as well as stakeholders with Joint Planning Process experience represented the available personnel utilized for development. Overall course development, including syllabus, digital and material resources, and lessons plans, amounted to a 3-month completion time. Although the course was approved, areas of deficiency were noted. These deficiencies included lack of direction, lack of understanding of each of the individual processes by individuals, inability to meet specified timelines, and significant variance in the differing delivery methods for the separate blocks of instruction that supported the course.

Conclusions

The combination of the ADDIE model and the Joint Planning Process provides a viable method for curriculum design. The combination of the ADDIE model and the Joint Planning Process can be a viable option, but there is more room for improvement. There is also more to be understood to determine how effective this hybrid approach may or may not be and where greater efficiencies and understanding can be gained. Culturally, there is much to be

understood between the individuals who possess deep understanding in either one of the approaches but possess little understanding of the other when working in a combined atmosphere.

The combination of the ADDIE model and the Joint Planning Process provides a viable method for curriculum design. However, although the combination of the ADDIE model and the Joint Planning Process can be a viable option, there is much room for improvement and more to be understood to determine how effective it may or may not be and where greater efficiencies and understanding can be gained. Culturally, there is much to be understood between the individuals who possess deep understanding in one of the two but possess little understanding of the other when working in a combined atmosphere towards a common curriculum.

Potential Areas of Friction

Area for potential friction exist in the future development efforts of individuals seeking to utilize the combined model. The paper's authors noted on several occasions that the process itself can stop forward progression for arguments and understanding of where certain steps best fit into the overall process when not fully utilized or seemingly signifigant dependent upon the curriculum to being designed. Although as previously noted in literature, as long as steps are acknowledged before decision made, the overall effort can be successful. Additionally, a hazard to the overall process exists should individuals invert the priorities of the joint planning process over the intent of the ADDIE model. The ADDIE model drives the educational foundation of the overall proposed method wheras the joint planning process provides a guideline by which to execute and operationalize the model providing the potential for iterative processes. Ergo, a common cultural understanding between the two knowledge bases within the stakeholders is a baseline or potential friction becomes a distinct possibility.

Resources, or lack thereof, represent a potential pitfall for successful completion. Although resources can often be a constraint on any developmental process, resources in the cse of combining the ADDIE model and the Joint Planning Process are best exemplified by personnel with the requisite knowledge of both systems and personnel available to fillt he required roles of the joint planning process itself. The authors posit that a lack of either of these resources would produce a similar result to the beta test, elongating the overall timeline and incomplete development or actuation of each individual step in ADDIE or the Joint Planning Process leading to an overall failure to fully integrate the two.

Possibilities for Improvements

Future improvements on the proposed model encompass cross-cultural understanding, resources, and iteration. Based upon the literature review, focus groups, and beta-test, the following recommendations for a better actuation of the model are made:

1-   Before curriculum development commencement, provide to all involved curriculum planners a baseline knowledge presentation by subject matter experts on each of the respective two models to level a common cross-cultural understanding between the educational and military aspects of the combined method.
2-   Appoint a singular primary stakeholder responsible with tasking authority and accountability of the timeline, deliverables, and process.

3-   At the conclusion of each ADDIE phase, brief the convening authority on the outputs of the given phase and overall progress towards completion for a progress check.

4-   Provide a dedicated workspace or forum for development and adequate job aids that, at a minimum, provide literature and visual aids on both the joint planning process and the ADDIE model as well as the proposed program of action and milestones.

5-   Ensure the stakeholder group consists of one ADDIE model and one Joint Planning Process subject matter expert throughout planning to adjudicate friction points or process and phasing questions.

Future Areas for Exploration

As this was an initial proposal and iteration of a potential model for curriculum development there exists many possibilities for future research and experimentation through iteration. This paper recommends future iterations of this model executed against varying course lengths. Although the initial course tested was a three-week course totaling 127 hours, future iterations could explore week-long workshops, an academic quarter, or a semester long course. Similar research might utilize the method to evaluate its utility when planning the entirety of a family of course. Researching the differing lengths of curriculum might yield results which demonstrate the methods usefulness only on a particular length of course or demonstrate it is useful independent of the subject course length.

Future research or study might also examine putting constraints on time available to utilize the method. This research might determine that the method is useful, or not, for certain periods of time and not others. Although in this case three months was the time used, perhaps future iterations might determine it is best used over the course of a day, week, months, or a year or perhaps might yield time available is not a distinctly significant factor.

Future iterations or research might explore shifting steps of the joint planning process into different phases of the ADDIE model. This paper's authors focused specifically on where step six of the Joint Planning Process (COA approval) best fit between ADDIE's design or development phase. Future research or iterations might find similar steps that have the potential to move on phase forward or back, so long as they are considered.

Closing

A cross-cultural understanding of utilization of the academic ADDIE model and the military Joint Planning Process provides one of many potential methods to use for curriculum design. Although only initially developed and researched and consisting of many potentials for future improvements and research, the method initially appears viable. Key strengths come from combining military and education sectors proven systems, many potentials for friction exist as well. Much is yet to be done with the need for more research and iterations but as literature and initial focus groups and testing demonstrates, systems integration and cross-cultural cooperation can yield positive benefits. Researchers and future curriculum developers would do well to explore combing the two methods given the are able to capitalize on each sectors systems strengths and minimize their weaknesses through stakeholder knowledge, cooperation, and understanding Ultimetly determining for themselves if the method presents a viable potentiality.

References

Ahlawat, A., Bakar, B. N. B. M., Barter, S., Al Subaie, F. B., O-Hara, S., & Slayton, C. (2018). Converting Theory and War Doctrine to Realistic Training to Ensure the Success of Military Campaign Planning.

Ahmadigol, J. (2015). A survey of the effectiveness of instructional design ADDIE and multimedia on learning key skills of Futsal. *Journal of Educational and Management Studies, 5*(3), 180-186.

Alkire, B., Hanser, L. M., & Lingel, S. L. (2018). *A Wargame Method for Assessing Risk and Resilience of Military Command-and-control Organizations*. RAND.

Allen W.C. (2006). Overview and evolution of the addie training system. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *8*(4), 430-441. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1523422306292942

Andres, R. B., & Hukill, J. B. (2007). *Anaconda: A flawed joint planning process*. National Defense University, Washington, DC Instutute for National Strategic Studies.

Bates, T. (2014, September 9). *Is the ADDIE model appropriate for teaching in a digital age?* https://www.tonybates.ca/2014/09/09/is-the-addie-model-appropriate-for-teaching-in-a-digital-age/

Cai, F., Zhang, P., & Ling, Y. (2020, November). Integrated military and civilian education training of military talents. In *2020 5th International Conference on Modern Management and Education Technology (MMET 2020)* (pp. 340-344). Atlantis Press.

Cunningham, G. K. (2020). Designing effective military strategies under uncertainty. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, *50*(2), 8.

Greenwood, TC. (2008). *Warplanning for Wicked Problems*, Armed Forces Journal.

Joint Staff. (2017). *Joint Publication 3-0, Joint Operations*. Washington, DC.

Joint Staff. (2017). *Joint Publication 5-0, Joint Operation Planning*. Washington, DC.

Joint Staff. (2011). *Joint Publication 5-0, Joint Operation Planning*. Washington, DC.

Kamarck, K. N. (2016). Goldwater-Nichols and the evolution of officer joint professional military education (JPME). Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service.

Kendrick, Scott. (2018). *Vice Versa: An Artistic Appraisal of Joint Doctrines's Expression of Campaigns, Major Operations, and Objectives*. Modern War Institute.

Kirkpatrick, J. & Kayser Kirkpatrick, W. (2016). *Kirkpatrick's four levels of training evaluation*. ASTD Press.

Labin, J. (2012). *Real world training design: Navigating common constraints and exceptional results*. ASTD Press.

Molenda, M. (2015, February 19). In search of the elusive ADDIE model. *Performance Improvement*, *54*(2), 40. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/pfi.21461

Moradmand, N., Datta, A. and Oakley, G. (2014). The design and implementation of an educational multimedia mathematics software : Using ADDIE to guide instructional system design. *Journal of Applied Instructional Design*, *4*(1), 37–49.

Pandey, D., Kulkarni, M. S., & Vrat, P. (2011). A methodology for joint optimization for maintenance planning, process quality and production scheduling. *Computers & Industrial Engineering*, *61*(4), 1098-1106.

Scott, J. (2017). *Joint Publication 5-0 Introduction, Joint Operation Planning*. Washington, DC.

Sprulin, Dave F. (2017). *The problem Statement, What's the Problem,* Small Wars Journal.

Contact email: zunger.veted@gmail.com

Building Resilience and Connection during the Pandemic: Using Trauma-Informed Pedagogy in the Teaching of Chinese and Italian Cultures Through Noodles

Hong Li, Emory University, United States
Christine Ristaino, Emory University, United States

Abstract
The experience of trauma, both global and personal, may inhibit learning and decrease learner motivation. This year in particular our students have experienced a myriad of hardships, isolation, uncertainty, and fear. In this paper, we argue that teachers can help students overcome the challenges of trauma and inspire learning by building empowerment and resilience into their online teaching through techniques that balance rigor, support, structure, and flexibility, create a sense of safety, and humanize online learning. We will introduce the principles of trauma-informed pedagogy when addressing the societal challenges of COVID and share our course design and activities to illustrate how these principles may be implemented.

Keywords: Trauma-informed Pedagogy, Chinese Culture, Italian Culture, Food Studies

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has dramatically altered the way we live our lives and how we teach and learn in higher education. By the time our students at Emory University enrolled in our course, Noodle Narratives on the Silk Road: A Cultural Exploration of China and Italy, in the summer of 2020, they, like many others around the world, had experienced a myriad of hardship, isolation, uncertainty, and fear, and found themselves adjusting to a new and more complex relationship with food and cooking. While some returned home early in the middle of the spring semester, and thus spent more time at the dinner table with family members, many international students had been stranded in the United States, and their meals often consisted of take-out orders from university cafeterias and local restaurants, microwavable boxes, or sometimes nameless culinary creations using the only ingredients they could manage to assemble from their cupboards. Consequently, when teaching this course under COVID conditions in the summers of 2020 and 2021, we had to make substantial changes to our course design and content so we could mitigate the impact of trauma and help our students learn. Utilizing trauma-informed pedagogy, we developed a framework for teaching and learning online in a trauma-informed way for the purpose of building resilience and connection. In this paper, we argue that teachers can help students overcome the challenges of trauma and inspire learning by building empowerment and resilience into their online teaching through techniques that balance rigor, support, structure, and flexibility, create a sense of safety, and humanize online learning.

I.   Trauma-informed Pedagogy and Our Framework

What does it mean to be trauma-informed? According to Carello and Butler, "to be *trauma-informed*, in any context, is to understand the ways in which violence, victimization, and other traumatic experiences may have impacted the lives of the individuals involved and to apply that understanding to the design of systems and provision of services so they accommodate trauma survivors' needs and are consonant with healing and recovery." (Carello & Butler, 2015) When planning our course, we turned to two sets of principles we consider fundamental in guiding our teaching during the pandemic. The first set involves the five principles for trauma-informed care, identified by Fallot and Harris in 2001. They are 1) ensuring safety, 2) establishing trustworthiness, 3) maximizing choice, 5) maximizing collaboration, and 5) prioritizing empowerment. Additionally, the eight Principles of Trauma-Informed Teaching and Learning offer important guidelines for building and sustaining a classroom environment that is conducive to coping with trauma and maximizing learning. They are: 1) Physical, Emotional, Social, and Academic Safety, 2) Trustworthiness and Transparency, 3) Support and Connection, 4) Inclusiveness and Shared Purpose, 5) Collaboration and Mutuality, 6) Empowerment, Voice, and Choice, 7) Cultural, Historical, and Gender Issues, and 8) Growth and Change.

Comparing these two sets of principles, we realized that most of what Fallot, Harris and Carello advise are things that make us more resilient, more connected, and more productive - something all of us want in our lives. How did we operationalize these principles in our classroom? First and foremost, we adjusted the course objectives to integrate trauma-informed teaching and learning principles. In addition to writing learning outcomes based on course content, we also aimed to acknowledge the impact of the pandemic on our students' mental health and learning capacities, creating an environment that was conducive to building resilience and connection among our students.

We asked a set of key questions that facilitated the use of trauma-informed pedagogy. They are:

1)   How do we create a structured, predictable, and flexible learning environment that fosters a sense of safety, respects each other's perspectives and experiences, and empowers our students to grow competence and confidence?

2)   Where and how do we give students the opportunity to connect and collaborate with each other and their own communities?

3)   What traits and behaviors should professors demonstrate in their teaching to minimize risk, nurture self-care, and foster connection?

The two sets of principles, the newly envisioned course goals, and the set of questions are the key components of our framework for trauma-informed teaching. They guided us in all domains of the course, including Canvas site design, syllabus, content and readings, assignments, policies, teaching methods, technologies, instructor behaviors, and teacher-student relationships.

II.   Teaching Chinese and Italian Cultures through Food during the Pandemic – Our Considerations and Practices

i.   Inclusive Planning - Our Course, Its Canvas Site, and Syllabus

Our course provides an interdisciplinary approach to food studies from a global perspective, comparing Italy, China, and the cultures represented and shared by our students. We teach it online every summer through Emory's Online Learning Consortium. Our course introduces students to the theoretical framework that looks at food, cooking practices, and cultural variations of shared ingredients as important and often undervalued vehicles of cultural memory and communal identification and cohesion. The histories and theories of food culture in China and Italy further place our examination of the noodle into specific discourses of food as symbols of cultures. The course then goes deep into the noodle's cultural significance to see how it has integrated itself into the literature, social context, class structure, and cultural DNA of China and Italy. The Silk Road not only provides a physical pathway that brings Italy and China together through Marco Polo, trade, silk, and food, but it also becomes a metaphor that connects Italy and China in their shared privileging of masculinist historical narratives.

When preparing the course for summer 2020 and 2021, we revisited the course materials for appropriateness under COVID conditions. Without forcing it, we made our teaching content relevant to the current COVID-19 crisis. We assigned articles and stories that examined the psychological impact of food, the importance of maintaining a balanced diet, or the human bond formed through food. We also expanded our discussions, both in and out of class, on the connections between adverse experiences, food choices, and physical/mental health, to help our students take care of their own wellbeing.

Recognizing that some students might feel anxious taking an intensive course online in the summer, we adopted a warm and motivating tone in our language for the syllabus and designed it in a clear, inclusive, and comprehensive manner. For example, the syllabus included built-in choices for students to complete assignments and participate in class. Students were given various ways to demonstrate their learning in addition to traditional high-stakes assignments. A detailed daily schedule allowed students to see how course content, learning objectives, and assignments aligned and supported one another. Additionally, a wide range of campus resources were listed to facilitate student success, including information for the Honor Code,

Office of Accessibility Services, the Writing Center, academic support from the Office of Undergraduate Education, Counseling and Psychological Services, and Testing and Learning Technologies.

Rather than distributing the syllabus on the first day of class, we made finalizing the syllabus a process of negotiation between us and our students to reduce their anxiety and apprehension about taking the course. We emailed the draft one week prior to the start of the semester to seek feedback from our students. We carefully considered their suggestions and concerns before finalizing it.

Universal Design for Learning (UDL) is a framework used to optimize learning for all types of learners. Its principles call for multiple representations of content, multiple options for expression and control, and multiple means for engagement and motivation. (Blamires, 2003) Following the UDL principles, we designed our Canvas site in a way that acknowledges differences in learner backgrounds, motivations, and learning styles. First, to ensure easy access, key operational information about the course was presented repeatedly in various areas of the site, such as the homepage and welcome module, and in different modalities, including text, table, and announcements. Secondly, the site followed a consistent and predicable design, so students knew exactly where to find information and how to collaborate. For example, weekly modules all consisted of the same pages (workflow and schedule, readings, assignments, and class recordings). Understanding that we needed to be crystal clear about what students had to do to prepare for class, we provided a weekly workflow chart (figure 1) showing both asynchronous preparation and content for synchronous sessions. A table listing the specifics of synchronous sessions (figure 2) was added right below the workflow chart on Canvas. In addition, assignments were clearly indicated and hyperlinked in multiple areas on Canvas (such as the weekly assignment page and assignment module) to ensure easy access (figure 3) with a predictable due date time (11:59pm US daylight savings time). Lastly, readings were hyperlinked on two pages: the page for weekly workflow and schedule and the page for weekly readings. We believe the predictability, consistency, multiple means of presentation built into the Canvas site helped create a sense of trustworthiness and transparency and reduced psychological barriers for students.
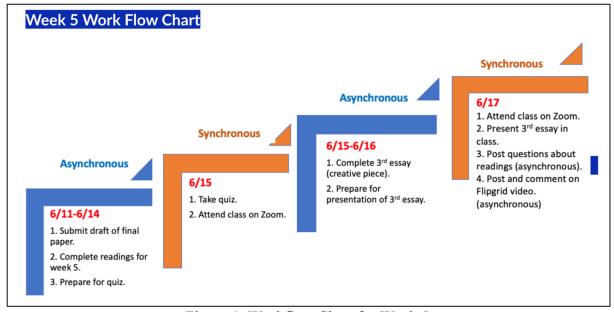
Figure 1: Workflow Chart for Week 5

Week 5 Synchronous Sessions	
Dates	**Content**
Tues. June 15	Noodles in Chinese and Italian literature and Memoirs Quiz on Shu Xi's Rhapsody on Pasta (including David Knechtges' Remarks preceding the poem) ↓ and From Scratch ↓
Thur. June 17	Presentations of noodle poems/narratives based on the third essay assignment. **Present your imitation piece to class in 5-7 minutes, including the following:** 1. Read the poem or key part of your story, 2. Explain what piece you chose to imitate and why, 3. Explain what you learned about the culture of the original author through imitating his or her style, 4. Explain what you learned about your own culture while writing,

Figure 2: Schedule for Week 5

Week 2 Assignments

Week 2 Assignments		

All Assignments are due by 11:59pm, Eastern Daylight Savings Time (EDT)
If you are not in EDT, please click here to calculate your time zone.

Due Dates	Assignments	Submission
Mon. May 24	Reflective Essay #1 Comments are due on Thur. May 27	In this Discussion Board on Canvas.
Mon. May 24	Post questions about readings on Chinese food.	In this Discussion Board on Canvas.
Wed. May 26	Post questions about readings on Italian food.	On this Discussion Board on Canvas
Thur. May 27	Post comments to your group members' reflective essays. ------------------ Group project 1: Present and lead discussions PPT slides due in folder on Google Drive	On this discussion board on Canvas ---------------------- Group Project 1 (Sec. 1 Group 1) Group project 1 (Sec. 2 Group 1)

Figure 3: Assignments for Week 2

ii.   Trauma-informed Teaching and Learning – Assignments and Policies

Students who enrolled in our class are diverse in many aspects. They came from many regions of the United States as well as countries such as China, South Korea, India, Saudi Arabia, and Peru, just to name a few. Together we have a community representing multiple traditions and experiences with food. Naturally, we tapped into this rich linguistic and cultural asset from our learners when designing learning activities, so students felt valued, connected to each other, and inspired by each other. In other words, our assignments were opportunities for students to reflect on and analyze their experiences with food while learning about the broader cultural and societal significance of food in Chinese and Italian contexts; and they could demonstrate their learning in varied ways and modalities.

First, we mixed low-stakes assignments with traditional high-stakes assignments. Low-stakes assignments included reflective essays based on readings, postings of questions about the readings, and icebreaker videos. Assigned early and frequently, they helped students keep up with the readings and reflect on their own experiences. Their reflective essays were posted on

the discussion board set up for small groups, so students could interact with their group members and bounce ideas off each other without worrying about their grades. Additionally, students were required to provide feedback to their group members' writings. According to Rusul Alrubail, "students benefit from peer feedback in that they are able to teach each other about the tasks… In seeing that their peer feedback is relevant, students will be more engaged and invested in working to complete the task successfully. Peer feedback also gives students an opportunity to have their voices heard and to listen to each other." (Abrubail, 2015) We also assigned icebreaker videos on Flipgrid (a simple video discussion website widely used in educational settings) throughout the semester on interesting topics, such as favorite dishes and travel plans. The videos were short (1-3 minutes) and light-hearted and fun, revealing interesting facts and the personalities of our students, and allowing us to grow to know each student at a much deeper level. In general, these low-stakes assignments proved to be an effective way to build connections among students and prepare them for high-stakes assignments, such as the mid-term project and final paper.

High-stakes assignments in our class constituted 75% of students' final grade. By the time students began working on their first high-stakes assignment, they had been given specific instructions on Canvas, had had the opportunity to ask questions during synchronous classes, and also had received feedback about their low-stakes assignments from their peers and professors. The first type of high-stakes assignment involved working together on a group project and preparing to lead class discussions. Following the idea of students teaching students, this assignment asked students to delve deeper into the course material and share their own insights. Using the questions posed by their peers, group members were responsible for guiding the entire class in the discussion of course materials. By placing students in the driver's seat, this assignment helped them feel more responsible for their own learning and gain a sense of agency and empowerment.

Secondly, we adopted a "plus-one" approach by simply adding alternative options to help students engage with the content in the way they preferred. For example, students could "speak up" during synchronous classes by talking, messaging in chatroom, or typing on shared Google docs. On the quizzes about readings, we included three extra questions for students to answer, allowing them to have three incorrect answers without penalty. For all writing assignments, students chose their own topics and areas of focus and we provided suggestions and feedback. We believe offering flexibility and options while maintaining course rigor is a crucial component of the trauma-informed classroom because it acknowledges learner autonomy, builds trust between teachers and students, and empowers students to learn in their own way.

One important way to build resilience is to create an environment in which one feels nurtured, connected, and trusted. We found the topic of our course, i.e., the histories and traditions of Chinese and Italian food, was a nourishing and comforting subject for our students during this challenging time. Consequently, we strove to provide multiple means for students to share their experiences and insights. Another type of high-stakes assessment involved our midterm project called *Pandemic Noodles*, an assignment and ultimately a website that shared from a multitude of perspectives what it means to make and cook noodles during a pandemic - from home, from abroad, without access to fresh food, without all the required ingredients. What would their noodle dishes look like during this new phase of life, one in which the whole world was a participant? Would our students modify noodle dishes just as our forebears had done during famine, drought, foreign invasions, pandemics, and journeys into new lands? What would the end results be? What would happen to our students, their socially distanced friends, their families, when they were asked to cook noodles for and with each other during a world-wide

event like no other? The results of our assignment were both expected and unexpected, benign and magic, simple and complex. Overwhelmingly, we discovered that making noodles connected our students with each other, with their families, with their friends, with the countries they studied, and with the countries they made them in.

With their written consent, we placed student essays and recipes on a website called *Pandemic Noodles*. Creating this website was an empowering experience for our students, since it allowed our students to become creators of content and knowledge, gave them a sense of pride, and connected them to the larger community outside our virtual class. Through this website, their work attracted media attention and has been featured in a number of publications, both nationally and internationally, such as the *AJC*, *SupChina*, CNN, and VICE.

iii.   Humanizing Online Learning – We the Professors

As expected, students who took our class in summer of 2020 were deeply affected by the global health crisis. During the six-week period of our class, some students or their family members and friends were diagnosed with COVID-19. Some international students couldn't return home because of travel bans, flight cancellations, visa issues, rising costs of plane tickets, censorship concerns, and various other personal reasons. Other students did choose to return home. They, too, were impacted. Some were placed into a hotel in isolation for a mandatory quarantine of 14 days. Of those who did go home, many were forced to wake at the earliest of hours to take classes, some in the middle of the night, because of time differences. For them, strangely enough, jet lag had yet to happen. In addition to all these challenges, they needed to adapt to the intensive nature of a summer class online. Under these unprecedented conditions, it was critically important for us as professors to demonstrate compassion and empathy, as well as be supportive and appreciative of our students. From the very beginning, we communicated to our students that we recognized the challenges of online learning during the pandemic, and that they could always count on our support. We did so repeatedly throughout the semester in different ways – in email check-ins, in synchronous Zoom sessions, in announcements on Canvas, through staying on Zoom after class to chat with students, etc. This type of communication happened genuinely and frequently, and our students took us up on our "offer" and felt comfortable reaching out to us when they struggled with personal issues or course materials.

Speaking honestly, no college student "signed up" to attend the so called "Zoom University"; however, one silver lining when it came to teaching online was that we interacted with students in their own surroundings – in their bedrooms, their cars, and accompanied by their favorite stuffed animals and pets. We were able to really see them, not just as students in a class, but as whole human beings in their own environments. This new setting offered us a tremendous opportunity to build rapport, and we embraced the idea of humanizing online teaching by building personal connections and engaging them as whole people. During every class, we utilized the first five minutes of our Zoom session to check in and connect. For instance, we asked our students about their dinners and sometimes we told them about the noodle dishes we had cooked with our families. We inquired about their current locations based on their Zoom backgrounds, which virtually took the class to residential areas in Saudi Arabia, a lake in Greece, a quarantine hotel in China, etc. We also allowed our students to leave briefly if they needed to let their dogs out or to grab a coffee or snack. These seemingly trivial gestures surprisingly had a rather significant impact on our students – they felt valued, supported, and were more prepared to stay on task and more willing to engage. One student wrote in the course evaluation, "both instructors were so friendly and accepting and inviting, it made class so much

fun and made waking up before 8am okay." Another one commented, "The instructors were very enthusiastic and encouraged participation from everyone. I also feel like we had many different methods of learning the material (projects, writing, presentations, group work, quizzes, etc.), which helped me learn the material."

As professors, we teach disciplinary knowledge and model human behaviors at the same time. To help our online summer students develop the ability to cope with challenges and adversities, we strove to promote behaviors of self-care by connecting our course content to self-care, and by disclosing aspects of our personal lives that were helpful to students. For example, some of our students struggled with mental health issues and experienced procrastination and difficulties with concentration. In addition to offering academic support and flexibility of deadlines, Dr. Ristaino shared with students that her children had been coping with similar conditions and she offered heartfelt encouragement and advice. When introducing food cultures in China and Italy, we included readings that explained the links between diet and health from diverse cultural perspectives. We engaged our students in in-depth discussions to explore principles of Chinese traditional medicine regarding the balance of Yin and Yang, cooling and heating food, the fan (starch foods, such as rice and noodles) and cai (vegetables and meats) principle, etc. Through group work and discussions, students also reflected on their own eating habits as college students and gained new ideas for improving their diets during the pandemic. The 90+ recipes on our website have inspired our students to try food from other cultures and cook healthier meals.

Conclusions

After teaching this course twice during the pandemic and circling back to our original set of key questions, we asked ourselves: what did we learn from this experience and what are we going to keep from what we've learned? In addition, what will we leave behind and stop doing? We certainly look forward to meeting and interacting with our students face-to-face. We also miss our physical classrooms, where we can move freely and hand-write on a whiteboard attached to a real wall. In the meantime, however, teaching online has been a rewarding and educational experience for us both. Through utilizing the principles of Trauma-informed Teaching and Learning in our classes, we have developed a renewed consciousness and vigilant attention to the ways we can build connection and resilience among out students. The lessons we have learned and the insights we have gained will guide our teaching as we return to campus in the fall.

When creating a structured, predictable, and flexible learning environment that fosters a sense of safety and respect for each other, we realize we must balance course structure and rigor with built-in flexibility and options for students. All aspects of a course, from the syllabus and assignments to class pedagogy and policies, should be carefully planned, keeping in mind the goal of helping all students to succeed. Specifically, we can build a predictable routine into weekly course schedules and assignments to support both student learning and their mental health. More importantly, offering flexibility in deadlines and grading is not only a necessary practice during the pandemic, but also a demonstration of our trust in our students. Every person goes through difficulty in their lives, even when there isn't a pandemic. We don't always know when one of our students is going through a hard time, but we will continue to be flexible.

To provide students with the opportunity to connect and collaborate with each other and their own communities, we as professors should strive to provide multiple ways, both synchronously and asynchronously, for students to engage with the materials and demonstrate their learning.

Even when we return to in-person teaching, we will continue to build into our classes time to simply talk to our students, do check-ins frequently, and consistently offer encouragements and support. We also believe that mixing low-stakes and high-stakes assignments and giving students opportunities to co-construct knowledge through diverse learning activities will be effective ways of engaging students in in-person classes as well.

Regardless of course content and delivery platforms, we as professors should always aim to treat students with care, respect, and appreciation. By doing so, we can build rapport and trust between professors and students, which serves as a foundation for motivating students to learn.

References

Alrubail. R. (2015, December 17). *The Power of Peer Feedback*. Edutopia.
    https://www.edutopia.org/discussion/power-peer-feedback

Blaimires, M. (2003). Universal Design for Learning: Re-establishing Differentiation as Part
    of the Inclusion Agenda? *Support for Learning, 14*(4), 158-163.
    https://nasenjournals.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9604.00123

Carello, J., & Butler, L. (2015). Practicing What We Teach: Trauma Informed Educational
    Practice, *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, *35*(3), 262-278.
    http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2015.1030059

Carello, J. Carello rational for TI definition, principles, objectives.
    http://socialwork.buffalo.edu/content/dam/socialwork/home/teaching-resources/1-1-
    Carello-rationale-for-TI-definition-principles-objectives.pdf

Harris, M. and Fallot, R. (Eds.) (2001). Using Trauma Theory to Design Service Systems.
    New Directions for Mental Health Services. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
    https://www.theannainstitute.org/CCTICSELFASSPP.pdf

Contact Emails: hli01@emory.edu
                craistai@emory.edu

Record and Reflection:
COVID-19 Pandemic Documentary in Japan, China and Korea

Sen Ni, Seoul National University, South Korea

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Documentary has always been used to characterize nature, history, and social reality. As a medium text with the spirit of realism and authenticity, it diverts our attention to the world in which we live. During the pandemic, Japan, China, and South Korea each produced documentaries on the theme of the epidemic. This paper focused on these documentaries, including "COVID-19.Fighting.a.Pandemic.2020", and "COVID-19 Pandemic: 132 Critical Days" produced by NHK, Japan, "The Frontline: China's fight against COVID-19" and "The Lockdown: One month in Wuhan" produced by CCTV, China, along with "PANDEMIC" and "Survive the Corona Era" produced by South Korea. The main body of this paper is divided into four chapters. In the beginning, I define the concept of "Epidemic Documentary" involved in this paper. And I made a general introduction to the research objects in this paper. Then I analyzes the common points of the documentaries of the three countries. It is mainly reflected in these documentaries that reflect the timeliness, integration, and information quality of the documentary narrative. Next, I compare the differences between the three countries' pandemic documentaries from multiple perspectives. Specifically, the paper analyzes the characteristics of the pandemic documentary works of different countries in terms of style, perspective, and subject matter, and looks for the patterned discourse expression in the works. Finally, I analyze the role of these documentaries in the countries' fighting against the epidemic.

Keyword: Pandemic, Documentary, East Asia

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Documentary has always been used to characterize nature, history, and social reality. As a medium text with the spirit of realism and authenticity, it diverts our attention to the world in which we live. During the pandemic, many countries have made documentaries concerning the epidemic for various kinds of reasons. In the western countries, for example, the "Panorama" column aired "Coronavirus: The Week that Changed Britain" on March 23, 2020, focusing on how the UK responded to the biggest crisis since World War II and asking the British government is there a correct strategy to contain the virus. As scientists studied and understood the virus, the documentary begins to provide a deeper scientific interpretation: Why is the new crown pneumonia so dangerous? What happens when the virus attacks our body? What do all these numbers mean? The second documentary section of the BBC "Horizon" from April 2020 The three-episode documentary "New Corona Virus Special" conducted science popularization on the new corona virus to the audience, investigated the scientific facts and data behind the biggest public health crisis in people's memory, and explored the latest medical and scientific research on the front line. In February 2021, the "Horizon" column aired another issue, "2021: Coronavirus Special-What We Know Now," showing the aspects of genetics, medicine and modeling. This breakthrough gives people hope and confidence to cope with the future pandemic. National Geographic Channel also broadcast the 44-minute documentary "Virus Hunters" in November 2020, epidemiologist Christopher Golden and ABC News foreign correspondent James Longman traveled to Libya, the United States, Thailand, Turkey and other countries to start dialogues with scientists, linking the bits and pieces of culture, disease, and the environment to discover what caused the global health crisis. The virus changed our daily life and the way of interaction overnight, and documentaries began to show the stories of the characters in the epidemic. On August 5, 2020, the first BBC broadcast, "Surviving the Virus: My Brother & Me," recording the work and life of twin brothers Chris and Alexander during the epidemic. Both brothers are doctors and the host of the "New Coronavirus Special" mentioned above. Alexander was infected with the new corona virus. Although he escaped from the dead, he suffered the sequelae caused by the virus. Chris is an infectious doctor in a London hospital. His wife, who is seven months pregnant, is nervous about his return to the battlefield. Through Chris, the audience went to the intensive care unit to learn about the frontline doctors' fight against the epidemic and the moving stories of life and death. As a result, the new crown pneumonia is no longer just a number updated in the BBC's weekly epidemic report, from a collective narrative to an individual narrative (Yu 2020).

In my paper, I focus on the documentaries produced in Japan, China, and South Korea on the theme of the pandemic during the pandemic. This paper focus on these documentaries, including "COVID-19 Fighting a Pandemic 2020", and "COVID-19 Pandemic: 132 Critical Days" produced by NHK, Japan, "The Frontline: China's fight against COVID-19" and "The lockdown: One month in Wuhan" produced by CCTV, China, along with "Pandemic" and "Fight with Virus" produced by South Korea.

Covid-19 Pandemic films in this paper are restricted to those documentaries that record the covid-19 pandemic and its relevant agendas such as the epidemic situation, people's real sufferings, and government's reaction. I incorporate mainly documentaries that concerns the topic during the pandemic, and directly about the pandemic. This criteria excludes some that deals with pandemic but not take it as the theme, such as "Post-Pandemic Era" made in China, and "Post-Pandemic: Find Our Lost Daily Life" made in Korea.

Specifically, I analyze the characteristics of the pandemic documentary works of different countries in terms of style, perspective, and subject matter, and looks for the patterned discourse expression in the works. I mainly focus on comparing the differences between the three countries' pandemic documentaries from multiple perspectives. Finally, I discuss the role of these documentaries in the countries' fighting against the epidemic.

Different Strategies

To begin with, the two Japan-made documentaries to be examined in this paper is "COVID-19. Fighting.a.Pandemic.2020", and "COVID-19 Pandemic: 132 Critical Days". Japan's pandemic documentaries can be characterized as digitalization and governmentality. The previous document, as case studies into cluster infections in Japan, offers some clues into how the pandemic began. NHK provides reports from the frontlines of the fight against the coronavirus, around the world and in the lab as scientists race to develop effective drug treatments. Interviewers in the documentary talk to experts in the studio about how long this battle will last. By inviting to the studio experts on the government's task force, including a former WHO adviser with experience of the SARS epidemic, the program communicates the steps each one of us can take in order to bring the virus under control (NHK 2020).Digital technology is being widely used in global COVID-19 prevention and control, including crowd monitoring, identification of infected persons, and contact tracing. The rapid response to the pandemic prevention and control utilizes billions of mobile phone resources, large network data sets, networked equipment, relatively low-cost computing resources, and machine learning and natural language processing technologies. In the documentary COVID-19 Pandemic: 132 Critical Days, datas on pandemic in Japan was consciously shown from a computer in one governer's office. One government officer claimed that Real-time monitoring of the distribution of the epidemic and predicting its changing trend has important reference value for epidemic prevention and control and the adjustment of its strategies. Therefore, it is very necessary to monitor the epidemic situation in real time, intuitively and in all directions, and be able to dynamically predict the changes in the epidemic situation. This abundance in data and scientific discourses in the documentary are without doubt beneficial to send signals to the audiences that the Japan is striving controlling the corona virus spreading through scientific measurements. This gave audiences a sense of security. However, what are the application scope and limitations of digital technology in response to public health emergencies? What are the obstacles to the implementation of these technologies, including legal, ethical, and privacy obstacles, as well as personnel and organizational obstacles? How to supervise, evaluate and use digital technology in the future? The documentary also invites the audience to think about these questions in regard to digital health and public hygiene.

Also another district characteristics of Japanese pandemic documentary is that they take emphasis on reflecting government's effort. In "COVID-19 Pandemic: 132 Critical Days", in interviews with more than 100 policymakers, scientists and other experts on the front lines, NHK sheds light on a key weakness in the nation's response: a lack of action on warnings issued by experts after another infectious disease outbreak a decade ago. In the first installment of NHK Documentary series, "COVID-19 Pandemic," the documentary goes behind the scenes to examine the challenges Japan faced during those 132 critical days (NHK 2020). To be specific, in the documentary, many government officers are working hard on analyzing pandemic and its trend. The documentary also includes many interviews with government officers talking about how Japanese government is dealing with corona. Also, in the second half, the documentary narrates how other countries and their government working

to fight pandemic. This shows a picture of how Japanese government constantly work on solving the problems and save lives. The new pandemic is a public health emergency. The government can achieve predictive control of the pandemic by establishing and perfecting a public governance mechanism. The documentary shows that local governments are the key players in building and operating a public health emergency governance mechanism. Comprehensive coordination and administration are required in response to the pandemic. Also in the documentary, the officers are viewed as taking core responsibility of the government, which is to provide rules for the effective interaction of multiple subjects and promote collective action in the management mechanism of public health emergencies involving multiple subjects.

China's documentaries can be characterized as Collectivism and Heroism. The lockdown: One month in Wuhan is an English-language news documentary released by CGTN (China International Television Station). It is the first English-language documentary showing the "anti-pandemic" process in Wuhan after the outbreak of the new pandemic. It took 33 minutes to review how the pandemic went from a rapid outbreak to a gradual containment in Wuhan, a city with a population of tens of millions. It fully demonstrates the major measures taken by the Chinese government to prevent and control the pandemic under the personal leadership of president Xi. It records the great sacrifice and dedication of frontline medical staff, and also tells stories about community workers, volunteers, couriers, etc. CGTN reporters have been in Wuhan since the beginning of the outbreak and continue to report the real and first-hand local situation for overseas audiences. The concepts of working together to fight the epidemic are reflected in people's behavior and emotional expression in front of the camera. These documentaries contain discourses of home and country thus elevating individual experience to the grand theme of global affair, highlighting the consciousness of one community with a shared future for mankind.

The Frontline: China's fight against COVID-19 changes its title from "Wuhan" to China. After "The lockdown: One month in Wuhan", CGTN polished for half a year and released the English-language anti-pandemic documentary. Many first-hand material, disclosed for the first time, recorded 1.4 billion ordinary people united in self-rescue under the raging virus, how to survive the pandemic, restore the touching details behind. The fighting against illness is not just a story about a certain person and a certain city, everyone in the documentary is the protagonists. The documentary features heroizing people who are struggling with corona in the frontline including doctors and nurses, medical technicians who are working on the corona medicines and vaccines, workers in the mask factories who have not slept for many days. By heroism and even deifying these normal people, the documentary seems to have a eulogy tone after the big war, even though the pandemic was not totally eradicated.

Korea's documentaries can be characterized as Ecologism and Poetic Life. Korean Pandemic documentaries use another approach to introduce the pandemic and corona virus. In Fight with Virus, which was broadcast on consecutively two days, examines the future of the virus and humanity through science, history, and the present. First of all, in Part 1 [Virus X], we look into the fundamental reason why new viruses appear more frequently as civilization develops, and predict the virus X that may come soon through virus experts and futurists. Part 2 [The Great Blockade: The World Made by Viruses] focuses on the changes in the world that the virus will bring, highlighting the economic situation that has worsened due to COVID-19 and the rapidly changing international situation. The documentary starts with a macroscopic view of nature, human being and the universe. The director tries to avoid a mundane narrative of current pandemic, but instead, use a bigger standpoint to retrospect

human ourselves. The effect is direct, leading people to think of the relationship between human and nature. This ecologism perspective attributes this pandemic to human's fault, that is human overrides the balanced relationship with nature, thus cause disasters. In the documentary, we were able to re-understand the existence of viruses in modern society: viruses, a quasi-species that broke the boundary between living and non-biological, are renewing the ontology of modern society. The virus itself is a non-living organism and does not constitute an organism system, but when it invades the host, it begins to undergo metabolism, gene replication, and energy flow as if it has life. The virus spread between animals and humans, blurring the boundaries of species, and connecting with these organisms to generate new life forms. In specific social practice, viruses, as a kind of non-human actors, continue to grow outward like tubers in time and space where human science is not easy to demonstrate. It becomes visible under a microscope in the laboratory. It is empirical and visible, but when it infects other animals unknowingly, its invisible sporadic process always threatens human life.

Second, in the Korean pandemic documentaries, directors capture individual's experiences and emotions by poeticizing normal life. The protagonist includes medical staff on the front line of fighting the pandemic as well as teachers and students working hard at home. The series uses a short and succinct genre to describe everyone who is fighting against the new epidemic, and uses storytelling and ordinary people's perspective to narrate people's mentality in response to the pandemic. The crisis structure presents the difficulty of individuals fighting the epidemic in Wuhan. It also praised the general public for their optimistic and strong survival attitude in the face of the pandemic. In the film, people use their mobile phones to record the real experience of users. People show their confidence and desire for new life with sincere words, which can move people's hearts even more.

This paper, as a comparative analysis, does not seek a perfect answer to the causes of these seemingly different narrative style. Some may argue that the difference may origin from the cultural difference, taking a Marxist standing. These discourses fail to construe the culture by essentializing culture and reifying it in the cultural product. But one possible practical explanation could be the difference in documentary making tradition. The "documentary land" composed by filmmakers, directors, and the local audience represents an alternative cultural space, where the different social actors interact and negotiate with each other. This specific documentary culture could contribute to a unique cultural product with the seemingly characteristic narrative style.

Conclusion

In this paper, I examine six different pandemic documentaries in three East Asian countries. Through a deep analysis of the narrative style and the lines, I elaborate the features in the countries respectively. Japan's documentaries expose a picture of governmental works that actively utilize digital data to grasp the pandemic situation and make decisions. China's documentaries have a homogeneous narrative mode, that is based on stories of normal people, they depict a real picture of how pandemic influence everyone. Furthermore, these normal people, especially those who fight with the viruses are applauded through the narrative strategy of "herotization". Last, Korea's documentaries take a different starting point. They reflect on human beings as part of nature, rethinking the relationship between human and the nature by introducing the origin of the pandemic. Also, they take emphasis on normal people's normal life, coined with a nostalgia tone.

Despite all the differences, these pandemic documentaries share some common values. First, they can comfort the audiences, and   provide channels for talking and record memories. The pandemic documentary provides a channel for ordinary people to talk with other survivals. The ordinary people here include both the people in the film and the audience.   "Long Time No See, Wuhan" included one interviewee who tells the story of his family's death due to the new corona virus. Among the more than one hundred applicants, few are willing to mention their family members' experience of the death of the Covid-19 virus. He said, "Although I have experienced entanglement and hesitation, he is still brave and willing to show the wound in my heart, in order not to forget it. " Thus this process of telling, recalling, and recording can comfort the mind of the interviewee to some extent, help them vent their pain and preserve their memories. If an excellent film handles the emotion of pain properly, it is easy for the audience to empathize, empathize, and even help the audience to obtain positive energy from the pain.

Second, they provide opportunity for cross-cultural communication. The director of "Long Time No See, Wuhan" uses two languages, Japanese and Chinese, and aims to tell audiences in Japan or around the world that this is a film shot by a Japanese director from an outsider perspective. The narration and other parts are in Japanese, and the director uses Chinese in interviews or speaking to the camera. The use of Japanese is to show identity, and the use of Chinese is to facilitate communication and to narrow the psychological distance with the interviewee. Japanese documentary director Takeuchi Ryo, who lives in Nanjing with his Chinese wife, filmed the documentary film in March this year that recorded Nanjing citizens' fight against the epidemic. The documentary expresses hope that countries around the world, including Japan, will pay more attention to it. To prevent and control the epidemic, learn from China's useful experience to take more comprehensive and thorough measures. This documentary was on the headline area of Yahoo Japan website at that time, and was broadcast by Japan Broadcasting Association TV, Asahi TV and many other mainstream Japanese TV stations. On June 26, he brought another new work, telling the stories of 10 Wuhan people during the epidemic period and introducing the "cured" Wuhan to the public. Ten families, ten stories, one city, simple and mundane but extremely true accounts, showing the appearance of Wuhan people or groups struggling to stand up and live under the epidemic.

Third, information and social effects. Most of the programs about the pandemic were produced by the news and current affairs departments in the initial stage, and the degree of completion may not be so high, and the main purpose is to transmit information quickly and accurately. In Japan, the Japan Broadcasting Association, a public media, responded quickly by making this documentary. On February 9th, it produced the "Emergency Report: New Coronavirus Pneumonia, How Will Infection expand" to introduce this new virus and its development trend.

The epidemic has changed people's views on the earth, the world, and life. Hopefully, this pandemic will also be a test. It will teach us how to unite and cope with a universal, global problems, inspire us to take action, give us optimism and hope.

References

NHK (2020). Current Affairs. NHK Program Finder website. From
https://pf.nhk-ep.co.jp/detail/2290

NHK (2020). Live & Program. NHK WORLD-JAPAN website. From
https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/tv/documentary/20200326/5001289/

NHK (2020). NHK (2020). Live & Program. NHK WORLD-JAPAN website. From
https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/tv/documentary/20200913/4001370/

Yu, M. (2020). Development of Documentaries in 2019. Film Art(03),105-112.
doi:CNKI:SUN:DYYS.0.2020-03-017.

Contact email: nisen@pku.edu.cn

Being an International Student in Japan 2020-2021: Impact on Their Career Prospects

Tamami Kita,Waseda Foreign Language College, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Under the coronavirus pandemic, its impact on student life and teaching styles have often been discussed worldwide inside and outside the education industry. However, in Japan, while its impact on economic relations of Japan with Asian countries has often been analyzed and discussed, its impact on Asian students in Japan and their career prospects has not been examined enough. This research discusses what difficulties and changes international college students in Tokyo have had since 2020, taking in their points of view in terms of career prospects. The participants of this research are study abroad students from Asian countries in Japan who currently belong to a language college in Tokyo. The questionnaire reveals problems they have faced inside and outside the classroom and how they changed their career prospects referring to their academic background and original plans. The support which hosting colleges and universities in Japan are expected to provide is also discussed.

Keywords: Study Abroad, Higher Education, Professional Training College, Career

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

While the hardship of university students under the coronavirus pandemic has often been focused on not only by researchers but sometimes the media, the discussion examining the impact on students in other higher education institutions, such as in professional training colleges, has been discussed much less. Moreover, under the state of emergency and the restriction of travelling, international students in Japan have been under huge stress and anxiety not only about their studies but also their future plans. In 2020, most higher education institutions in Japan moved fully online, which was the same with the college where the researcher worked. Soon after the college started full online lessons, the students started contacting teachers more than usual and shared their concerns. In the teachers' meeting, how to practice student support was one of the common concerns. Since, there were 79,598 international students studied in professional training colleges in Japan[1], there are a number of people in higher education institutions who felt the necessity of getting these students' voices. This paper firstly overviews the position of professional training colleges in Japanese higher education, then focuses on a particular college in Tokyo and international students there, and analyzes their major concerns from students' points of view and discusses the possible solutions.

Higher Postsecondary Education Enrollment Rate

According to the report published by OECD in 2019, over half of Japanese adults between 25 and 64 years old have attained higher education, which is higher than the OECD average. Focusing on 25-34 years old in Japan in 2019, about 60% of them enrolled in higher education[2]. This is the second highest rate in Asia, with South Korea in first place with 70%. This high percentage has been one of the characteristics of Japan's higher education. In 2020, over 80% of secondary school graduates in Japan progressed into higher education, which may result in the fact that having higher education degrees is not considered something special but a requirement for participating in the Japanese labor market. In 2020, nearly 55% of secondary school graduates went to university while over 16% went to professional training colleges.

Professional training colleges are classified as higher education institutions and are called "senmon gakko" in Japanese. Students in these colleges generally study for particular skills and practical knowledge for 2 years or more and get a diploma when they complete the course. This study focused on a college which has been offering language education and has both an English department and a Japanese department. Besides the foreign language college at which this study was conducted, there are different types of professional training colleges such as the ones offering vocational training programmes for nurses, mechanics, chefs, animators, designers and professionals in the hospitality industry.

However, due to the declining birth rate in Japan, the proportion of the population aged 18 is declining, and according to the data published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), as a result, the expected number of 18-year-olds who progress into higher education institutions including universities is decreasing and expected to continue declining[3]. The shrinking market size is one of the triggers for the government to

---

[1] The data cited from "2020（令和 2）年度外国人留学生在籍状況調査結果"
https://www.studyinjapan.go.jp/ja/statistics/zaiseki/data/2020.html (accessed 03.06.2021)
[2] The data cited from "Population with tertiary education" https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm (accessed 03.06.2021)
[3] The data cited from "将来構想部会 第 13 回配付資料 大学への進学者数の将来推計について"
https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo4/042/siryo/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2018/03/08/1401754_03

promote university reforms. It has been proposed since the 1970s and the recent proposal revealed that the government shared the vision of improving Japanese universities focusing on financial support for students, quality of education, research environment, and governance[4]. Besides the top-down education reform, universities and colleges have conducted their own structural reforms and introduced not only new courses and curriculums but established new student supporting systems focusing on student welfare and career support. Thanks to the increasing number of career supports and the recovery of Japanese economy, according to data by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (MHLW), the rate of university graduates before the pandemic was 98.0% and 96.8% for professional training college graduates. However, the rate on February 2021 went down to 89.5% and 76.7% for each in 2021[5].

Being Homogeneous

Another thing which OECD reviews pointed out about higher education in Japan was how "homogenous" it is. The report stated that Japan has a relatively low share of adult and international students there, which the government is currently working to improve through the university reform plan and to have more diversity.

Despite the promotion of university reforms, the homogeneity in Japanese universities and moreover, the homogeneity in the recruiting system for expected graduates has stayed the same. For example, the day when the major companies can release the recruiting information and start interviewing new expected graduates has been decided through discussions between the Japan Business Federation, universities, and the government. In 2021, March 1st was the day that the major companies were allowed to start posting the hiring information and June 1st was the day they can start interviewing.   In Japan, the academic calendar starts in April and ends in March next year. Therefore, most of Japanese university students who enrolled in April 2017 started applying for jobs in the spring of 2020, and got offers, and then graduated from universities in March 2021. They directly started working in April 2021.

The number of international students in Japanese higher education institutions was increasing until the coronavirus pandemic happened in 2020. In 2021, Japanese higher education institutions still have nearly 300,000 international students, and as it is previously mentioned, more than 79,000 are in the professional training colleges. The biggest group of international students is Chinese students, which makes up more than 40% of the total, followed by Vietnamese, Nepali, Korean, and Taiwanese students. The students from these Asian countries make up nearly 80% of international students in Japan.

The report published by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) described that about 65% of international students in Japanese universities wish to get jobs in Japan. Although the number of international students who got jobs after graduating from Japanese universities were constantly increasing[6], only 35% of international students got jobs in Japan in 2018.

.pdf(accessed 03.06.2021)

[4] The data cited from "Reform of Higher Education and Research（Shibayama Initiative）〜 Integrated promotion of education and research reform at institutions of higher education〜"
https://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/other/detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2019/08/201413322_03.pdf (accessed 03.06.2020)

[5] The data cited from "令和２年度大学等卒業予定者の就職内定状況調査（令和３年２月１日現在）"
https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/11804000/000752873.pdf (accessed 03.06.2021)

[6] The data cited from MEXT (2019) ."外国人留学生の就職に係る現状"
https://www.meti.go.jp/press/2019/02/20200228007/20200228007-2.pdf (accessed 03.06.2021)

Japan's employment rate for new graduates marked the highest in both 2019 and 2020. However, the national target of international students' employment rate was 50%. Considering these facts, the problem of lack of career opportunities for international students is not fully caused by the coronavirus pandemic but has been an existing problem in Japan. A recruiting agency DISCO, which also provides the recruiting service for expected university and graduate school graduates from overseas in Japan, conducted the survey among the users and showed that about 30% of them managed to get job offers in July 2020[7]. Considering the fact that more than half of the samples were graduate school students, we can imagine how much international students struggle to get jobs in Japan.

Participants

The participants of this study were international students in the English department of a professional training college in Tokyo. The department had about 100 students and more than 10% of students were adult students who had already had job experience before enrolling in the college. About 20% of students were from overseas although the percentage changes every year. The curriculum was designed to focus on developing students' communication skills in English. After students complete a 2-year course and get a diploma, about half of them directly transfer to universities and continue studying.   The other half get jobs such as in hotels, travel agencies, airlines, or private language schools, or as receptionists in the office. These jobs do not need a university degree but need high communication skills in English.

The first questionnaire was designed for 30 students in the final year, both international and local, and to get the information about the percentage of the employment rate. The department conducted a survey about job hunting for final year students whose plan after graduation was getting full-time jobs in February 2021, which was a month before their graduation.

The other questionnaire was for students in a Japanese language class aimed at collecting more detailed information about their difficulties. There were a variety of topics including online lessons, assignments, life outside school, future plans, finances, visa, family and homeland. These topics are not always independent but related to each other. In order to support these students, firstly two questionnaires were conducted in February 2020 and then the researcher interviewed the participants for research and counseling purposes. The information collected was sorted to figure out what difficulties the international students are facing under the pandemic. The participants for the second questionnaire were 13 international students who registered in a class preparing for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, which is an international Japanese language exam and often called "JLPT." JLPT has five levels from N1, the most advanced level, to N5, the beginner. Many higher education institutes put an N1 certificate as one of the required documents for application. The class in which participants were all registered was designed for pre-N2 to N1 level students and it was not a compulsory class. It could be stated that the participants were motivated students who study not only English but also extra Japanese for getting N1 or N2 certificates. According to the JLPT website, N2 certificate shows the ability to understand Japanese in everyday situations, and to a certain degree[8]. It is also true that a number of job advertisements for international students state "N2 is required." In fact, the college which the participants belonged to requires all the international

---

[7] The data cited from 株式会社 DISCO "外国人留学生の就職活動状況" https://www.disc.co.jp/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/fs_2020-08_chosa.pdf   (accessed 03.06.2021)
[8] The data cited from JLPT "N1-N5: Summary of Linguistic Competence Required for Each Level" https://www.jlpt.jp/e/about/levelsummary.html   (accessed 03.06.2021)

students to pass N2 exams before they graduate.   In the classroom, there were 4 students from China, 4 from Vietnam, 2 from Korea, 2 from Uzbekistan, and 1 from Bangladesh. More than half of participants had already graduated from higher education institutions in their homeland before they came to Japan. The academic backgrounds were as follows: 5 students with secondary school certificates, 4 with diploma, and 4 with bachelor degrees. The youngest participant was 19 years old and the eldest one was in her 40s. For job experience, 5 students had already had full-time working experience in their homeland while 4 students had part-time job experiences in their homeland. 4 students did not have any working experience before they came to Japan. Almost all of them have had part-time jobs while they were studying in the professional training colleges in Japan.

Findings: Questionnaire 1

The data collected from 30 students showed that only 63. 3% of them got job offers. As described before, the graduates often get jobs in hotel, travel, and airline industries, all of which were under the serious recession due to the pandemic. This may be one of the major reasons for the lower employment rate of the graduates this year. Among these 30 students, there were 11 international students: 6 from China, 3 from Vietnam, 1 from Korea, 1 from Myanmar, and only 3 got job offers before they graduated. It should be noted that all these international students were over 20 years old who had already completed their secondary education in their homeland and 6 of them had completed their undergraduate programmes in their homeland before they came to Japan. The three students with job offers were the ones who came to Japan as college graduates with working experience. On the other hand, other international students who did not get offers were various: not only the ones who came to Japan as high school graduates with no job experience, a high school graduate with full-time job experience, but also college and university graduates with working experience. Considering the situation and their background, it may be obvious that the job hunting was severe regardless of their academic and career background.

Findings: Questionnaire 2 & Interview

The questionnaire was conducted in Japanese and was designed to figure out what changed and affected their life significantly in 2020. Their concerns were categorized in the following five topics: school, social life (life outside school), future plans, finances, family and homeland. For example, the concerns labeled "school" included the ones related to online lessons, assignment, and learning, which 11 out of 13 students mentioned and were the most popular topics. Even though the questionnaire was conducted during the final exam period, these topics were the main concerns for students. Also, once school closes and moves fully online, it is so easy for international students to miss opportunities to have daily and casual chats in Japanese and talk to Japanese classmates.

The second most popular concern was the ones related to life outside school including their part-time jobs. In the interview, most participants mentioned the fact that they lost their part-time jobs under the state of emergency since the most popular part-time job industry among students was restaurants. For most participants, part-time jobs were the only places where they could form relations with Japanese people outside school and can directly feel Japanese society and customs. Losing part-time jobs under the state of emergency and economic recession means losing a connection with Japanese society.

In the interview, the participants described their plans after graduation. Regardless of their English and Japanese proficiency level, age, and class, most participants described how they needed to change their initial plan. Changing their career plan is not just changing the type of jobs. It is sometimes about scholarships, further education, and leaving Japan. For example, as it was previously mentioned, the most popular career path for this college's graduates used to be getting a full-time job in the travel and tourism industry or airlines. However, one student from Korea said "The diploma from the English Department or English skills do not help me get jobs much."

Many participants mentioned the financial difficulties due to the loss of part-time jobs and economic recession in their homeland. It was not just the participants but students all over Japan regardless of nationalities who suffered a sudden financial difficulty. In May 2020, under the pandemic, the government decided to support students with financial difficulties through the Emergency Student Support. These situations surely affect their plan for further education. For example, having fewer part-time job shifts in the restaurant, a student faced financial difficulty and considered applying for a scholarship, which she never thought of as an option before the pandemic hit. Without scholarships, she said she needs to think about getting a job and giving up further education. Another student stated that, due to the coronavirus pandemic in his home country, he cannot ask for financial support from his parents. He changed his mind about progressing into university and started job hunting to get a full-time job in Japan as soon as possible. One student from China with a bachelor degree had been initially planning to work in Japan after graduation. However, she decided to go back to her country and get a job in which she can use the Japanese language.

Discussion

Now two major problems are examined. One is the uniqueness of the job hunting system in Japan and the difficulty of making the information and the knowledge visible for international students. As described above, Japanese job hunting itself is very homogenous and unique. People who grow up in Japanese communities may not realize and see because it is too obvious. But international students have less background knowledge and need to be taught about preparation, scheduling, language, and behavior. Also, the fact that only 35% of international students got the offer even before the pandemic may tell us that the information arranged for international students is originally less and more improvement should be discussed.

The other problem is the connection with Japanese society. Although there are a lot of research such as Darvin (2016) conducted to examine the change of identity and communication of people with the development of the digital technology, one of the things the pandemic showed was how easily international students lose their connection with Japanese society once the school is closed and they lose the opportunities of having face-to-face communication. The problems became visible through their concerns about life outside school. When the pandemic is over and schools get back to the in person lessons on campus, they might be able to have more opportunities to have a connection with classmates and teachers more easily. Also, the students have more chances to get involved more in Japanese society once the economy is back and they get part-time jobs. However, the fact that the international students tend to lose their social life and career opportunities once the school closes or they lose their part-time jobs does not change. Moreover, the fact that their financial status is less secure under the terrible economy when we compare them to our local students does not change regardless of their academic background. Considering that these problems have been there for many years even since before the pandemic occurred, we could say that the pandemic made these existing

problems more visible.

Therefore, how the school can provide the support should be discussed. Following are the comments from students and things the international student office or teachers can help. These questions can be solved when they find the right person to ask in the school. However, once the school closes, it is difficult to find contacts. Schools should be aware of this.

> *"I would like to know whether a school can provide career support service even after I graduate."*

> *"I wanted to have more chances to study in the real classroom on campus. I could more casually talk and visit people to talk about job hunting. But during a full online period, we are losing the chances for casual chat. Now I want to visit the school office and get information about job hunting in Japan."*

> *"I lost my part-time jobs. So now I only talk with my roommates. They are from my country. So I lost the chance to speak in Japanese."*

> *"My question is about how to renew my visa. My friends who graduated last year said the visa would be sponsored by the company. But I do not have a job offer yet. And I do not know who I should talk with about this problem."*

In order to tackle these problems, the school should be aware of firstly the fact that the school is the place for learning not just subjects but also Japanese society for international students. Although the international office and the admin office were the professionals of students' registration and support, once school closed and moved fully online, teachers were the only adults for students who could share their concerns. As many researchers such as Richards (2020) pointed out, language teachers can often play the key roles of sharing experiences and emotions with students in the classroom. This close tie may result in making students easier to share about their concerns with language teachers rather than other teachers and staff. Also, how easily international students lose the connection to the society once they close.

Conclusion

The tendency of being homogeneous can be seen not only in higher education in Japan, but also very much in the process of job hunting for expected university graduates and their career perspectives. How to hunt jobs is quite different in each country, even in neighboring countries, and this may be a worrisome problem for students, especially for the young students who try to get their first full-time job. Moreover, these difficulties caused by cultural homogeneity cannot be visualized for local people. Teachers in higher education institutions do not often commit students' job hunting and just focus on teaching. However, teachers are the ones who have opportunities regularly to talk to students even during the online period. Considering these facts, the system which supports international students' lives should be developed by school, teachers, and the recruitment professionals sharing the issues. More and more studies focusing on international students and their whole career path should be conducted.

References

Darvin, R. & Norton, B. (2014). Social class, identity, and migrant students. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 13 (2), 111-117.

Darvin, R. (2016). Language and identity in the digital age. *The Routledge handbook of language and identity*, 523-540.

Japan Student Services Organization (2021) Gaikokujin Ryugakusei Shinro Jokyo Gakui Juyo Jokyo Chosa Kekka [Survey results of the career pathways and the degree of international students in Japan 2019]. Retrieved from https://www.studyinjapan.go.jp/ja/_mt/2021/03/date2019sg.pdf (Accessed: 03.06.2021)

Hennings, M., & Mintz, S. (2015). *Japan's measures to attract international students and the impact of student mobility on the labor market. Journal of International and Advanced Japanese Studies, 7,* 241-251.

Liu, Y. (2016). To Stay or Leave? Migration decisions of foreign students in Japan. *RIETID Discussion Paper Series 16-E-097.*

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. (2018), 2040 nen ni muketa koutou kyouiku no gurando dezain toshin (Grand Design for Higher Education toward 2040 - Report), Central Council for Education, Retrieved from https://www.mext.go.jp/content/20200312-mxt_koutou01-100006282_1.pdf (Accessed: 03.06.2021)

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Project Team for Employment of International students and Empowerment after Hiring (2020) Handbook for the Employment of International Students and Empowerment after Hiring ~12 Key Points Learned From Company Practices~. Retrieved from https://www.meti.go.jp/english/press/2020/pdf/0228_004b.pdf (Accessed: 03.06.2021)

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

OECD (2018), Education Policy in Japan: Building Bridges towards 2030, Reviews of National Policies for Education, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264302402-en.

OECD (2019). Education at a Glance 2019: OECD indicators, OECD Publishing, Paris, Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/education/education-at-a-glance/EAG2019_CN_JPN.pdf   (Accessed: 03.06.2021)

Richards, J. C. (2020). Exploring emotions in language teaching. *RELC Journal*. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0033688220927531 (Accessed: 03.06.2021)

Opportunities and Challenges of Korean Politics with B-class Culture: A Case Study of Pengsoo's Political News

Cai Wantong, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Abstract

For a long time, politics and popular culture have been intertwined and inseparable. In America, this connection has reached an unprecedented height in the Trump era. For this reason, press and social media seized the interest of the audience and published a large amount of content that combined politics and popular culture during the US election and the coronavirus pandemic. In South Korea, the combination of politics and B-class culture has also become mainstream. When politicians want to seek the support of young voters, they will advertise themselves as B-class figures. This trend reached its peak during the 2012 election. The combination of politics and popular culture uses entertainment to disrupt serious politics and attracts new voters, especially the younger generation. It becomes a way to increase the approval ratings of a leader or domestic support for a government, especially during the 2020 legislative election. However, entertaining politics also has side effects. Too much entertainment will be counterproductive and arouse public resentment. In the paper, the author will explain how politics and popular culture work together by analyzing B-class representative character, Pengsoo's political news from 2019 to 2020. Through sentiment analysis, Koreans are increasingly dissatisfied with the combination of Pengsoo and politics. Based on this analysis, this entertaining Korean politics is now facing both opportunities and challenges under the influence of the Covid-19 pandemic and the dual contradictions of B-class culture itself.

Keywords: Korean Politics, B-class Culture, Pengsoo, The Covid-19 Pandemic

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

For a long time, politics and popular culture have been intertwined and inseparable. In the United States, entertainment magazines often report on the political news. "Rolling Stone" and "Playboy" always integrate politics and popular cultures. Since Obama became president, this connection has continued to strengthen. Bonnie Fuller, editor-in-chief of HollywoodLife.com, said: "The Obama family recognizes that in order to connect with ordinary Americans, they must use popular culture. They push the connection between politics and popular culture to a new level." (Bonnie, 2008)

In South Korea, the trend of politics combined with B-class culture has been growing, targeting potential young voters. This trend reached its peak during the 2012 election. Politicians are using B-class culture to disrupt serious politics and make them closer to young voters. The Korean National Assembly approved an electoral reform bill in late 2019 that lowered the voting age from 19 to 18 and enabled high school students to vote. Wining supports of these young generation plays an important part in increasing the approval ratings of a leader or domestic support for a government. However, every coin has two sides. Entertaining politics accompany opportunities as well as challenges.

The research used the narrative method to explain how popular culture and politics work together, with sentiment analysis to find Korean attitudes towards political news combined with popular culture.

South Korea and The MZ Generation

South Korea, officially the Republic of Korea (ROK), is an East Asian country constituting the southern part of the Korean Peninsula. It is a developed country that ranks as the world's tenth-largest economy, that has the most advanced democracies in Asia, and that has been famous for its globally influential pop culture, particularly in music (K-pop), TV dramas, and movies, a phenomenon known as the Korean Wave. However, there are lots of social problems that lie in this country as well. One critical issue is increasing social inequality. According to an International Monetary Fund study in 2016, Korea has the highest income gap in the Asia-Pacific region. (Jae-won, 2016) The gap between rich and poor is widening these days. The poorer half of the population own only 2 percent of the country's assets. This gap is not only economical but also in all aspects of society. In Korea, all social interaction is dictated by the Confucian value of hierarchy, which has exacerbated social class inequality and education inequality. Thanks to growing social inequality, the new generation of South Korea has become victims, struggling to survive in a high-pressure society. They are the MZ generation, or those in their 20s and 30s, are known as the desperate generation, as their life savings are not enough for them to buy a single home and prepare for retirement.

The term "Hell Joseon" becomes the best description of their lives in South Korea. The term "Hell Joseon" is a term to describe the Korean dynasty of Joseon (1392–1897), during which society was highly structured in a feudal, class-based system. In Joseon society, the gap between the rich and the poor was extreme. For poor people in Joseon society, it was like living in hell, which resonates with many young people these days. It is widely said that those born wealthy get the best work and education while those born poor stay poor. Many young people suffer from high unemployment, challenging working conditions, and growing inequality in South Korea, making their days a "living hell." No matter how hard they try, it is difficult for them to step into the upper-class society. These severe living conditions caused them

dissatisfied with the existing social system and sought a culture speaking up for them. The MZ Generation are crazy about B-class products like "Gangnam Style" and Pengsoo, which resonates with their lives, making them the major consumer of B-class culture.

B-class Culture in South Korea

B-class culture is a unique type of South Korean culture, gaining massive popularity among the MZ generation. The content of B-class culture is a blend of satire, retro, criticism, and humor, moving away from the minstream culture. Although it is difficult to define what a B-class culture is, it has its core feature. That is a strong sense of individualism, anti-authoritarianism, enthusiasm for popular culture, and dissatisfaction with the existing social system. Psy's song "Gangnam Style" is one of the best B-class productions in recent years. Gangnam is one of the wealthiest and most glamorous places in South Korea. It symbolizes upper-class life with considerable wealth and power. In the "Gangnam Style" music video, the cheesy "riding-horse" moves and the scenes in the music video, like streets, metro stations, and stables, are nothing like the Gangnam Style. Just like the singer Psy said: "Being like Gangnam style is not the point. The point is to mock the popular phenomenon of South Korean society advocating upper-class life." (ETtoday News, 2012)
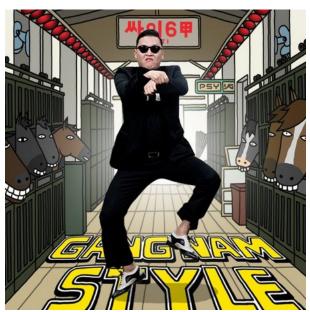
Figure 1: Gangnam Style's Album Cover, Photo from Internet

Not to mention our case study subject-Pengsoo, a giant penguin character, came to attention in 2019, created and produced by the Korea Educational Broadcasting System (EBS). It is gaining attention among children and young adults as an "anti-hero" and relatable character. Many assume that its "substitute behavior" is the secret to its success. Pengsoo says and does just what it wants to say and do, making dissatisfied young people feel happy and relaxed. Pengsoo's most memorable moment is openly calling its boss's name, Kim Myung-joong, an action considered unacceptable and impolite in hierarchical Korean society. Age-based hierarchies play a significant role in social settings, schools, and workplaces. If Pengsoo is unhappy with the working conditions, it will refuse to work and greet others with "Peng-ha!" Young people are excited about the appearance of Pengsoo, who proudly rebels against "Kkondae Culture" (Kkondae is a term used in South Korea to denote a condescending person) and pursues a diverse culture.

Despite having a deep, rough voice that people often compare to a middle-aged male, Pengsoo Pengsoo is a child with no gender. It expresses a mixture of non-traditional identities. Pengsoo, according to Jeon (the editor of Nylon magazine), is pushing the limits of gender. She made a December 2019 edition of Nylon magazine, in which Pengsoo – who is often misidentified as male due to his short, rough voice – was seen wearing lipstick, skirts, and nail polish. (Jimin, 2020). When asked about gender issues, Pengsoo's response, "what is so important," is especially meaningful in the current social atmosphere. A growing backlash against conventional gender norms and gender conflict has emerged as an important social problem in Korea. Pengsoo inspires people to think about gender issues in a dichotomous way and dresses up in whatever they want. Many people say that Pengsoo has been a leader by defying societal standards. Regardless of the criticism, Pengsoo continues to break down these hierarchies and forge a new path for itself.

Figure 2: Pengsoo's Magazine Photo, Photo from NYLON Magazine

B-class Culture and Korean Politics

In recent years, Korean politicians have put a greater focus on being "B-class." They are referred to as "Gangnam leftists," and they have a high social and economic status, as symbolized by "Gangnam" (Gangnam is one of the wealthiest and most glamorous places in South Korea). Meanwhile, they are politically progressive. When they want to win the supports of the 20s and 30s, they appear to mark themselves as supporters of B-class culture. Before the 2012 presidential election, "Park Geun-bikini hye's selfies" and "Moon Jae-abs in's photos" went viral on the Internet. Park Geun-hye appeared on the SBS talk show "Healing Camp" and showed photographs of herself in a bikini when she was younger, jokingly praising her figure, which later became a hot topic on social media. She was said to have used "nudity" on purpose to grab people's attention and achieve considerable popularity. Park Geun-hye once said that people were more interested in her bikini images than her political views.

Figure 3: Park in Bikini by Sea, Photo from Internet

During the 2012 presidential campaign, South Korea's president, Moon Jae-in, drew on comedy from various sources to attract voters. His abs photographs were revealed to the public during the filming of "Healing Camp," emphasizing his physical charm and challenging conventional political figures' images. In his novel, Lee Hyung-suk (Hyung-suk, 2013) wrote, "the gentlemanly Moon was once also a handsome man and an idol with wild muscles." His remarks represented Moon's B-class tactic in the election. However, every coin has two sides. Politics with B-class culture can be counterproductive and even arouse public resentment sometimes.

Figure 4: Moon Jae-abs in's Photo, Photo from Internet

Sentiment Analysis of Pengsoo's Political News

Sentiment analysis is the most common text classification tool which analyzes an incoming message and determines if the underlying sentiment is positive, negative, or neutral. It has been applied as a Natural Language Processing task at different granularities. It began as a document-level classification tool (Turney, 2002), but it has now been used at the sentence level (Hu, 2004) and, more recently, at the phrase level (Wilson, 2005). With the fast development of social networks, microblogging applications, and forums, the role of sentiment analysis has grown substantially. Microblog data can be found on different social platforms, such as Twitter, where people exchange real-time responses and write comments on anything. Understanding collective human behavior can be aided by mining these opinions. Go et al. (Go 2009), Carvalho and Plastino, (2021, Carvalho) and others have published early and current sentiment analysis of Twitter data.

In this paper, the author presented a sentiment analysis of comments related to Pengsoo in political events. The author selected the most relevant four news and divided them into three groups, meeting with political figures, election propaganda, and congress proposals.

Meeting with Political Figures

The author gathered 150 comments on two linked news articles on Naver and chose the top 100 comments. Two articles got 197 Likes and 124 Dislikes in total. The Hankkook Ilbo (Park, 2019) published an article titled "The triumph of Pengsoo in government offices has led to sickness." The other is from the Busan Ilbo (Jan, 2019) and is titled "Pengsoo paid a surprise visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." Kang Kyung-wha, the Foreign Minister, burst out laughing." Both pieces are pretty pertinent to the meeting between Kang Kyung-WHA and Pengsoo. The image below shows Kang Kyung-wha, South Korea's Foreign Minister, greeting Pengsoo, who visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to advertise South Korea and ASEAN's special meeting on June 6, 2019, at the Daoliandong building in Chung Lu District, Seoul.

Figure 5: Kang Kyung-Wha Said Hello to Pengsoo, Photo from Internet
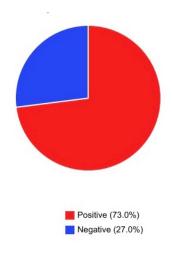

Positive (73.0%)
Negative (27.0%)

Table 1: Polarity of the News Comments of Meeting with Political Figures

According to the sentiment analysis results, the comments of this picture received a positive average of 73% and a negative of 27%; most of the comments were supportive and proud of it, only a few negative comments.

Election Propaganda

SBS News published a new article titled "Pengsoo models for the Central Electoral Affairs Commission, assisting 140,000 younger voters" on February 5, 2020. It had 146 replies, 67 likes, and 223 dislikes. The author collected the top 100 comments on this article. Pengsoo was recognized in the news as a PR model for the Central Electoral Affairs Commission. According to an Electoral Affairs Commission officer, the voting age was lowered to 18 for the first time in 21 parliamentary elections. As a result of the collaboration with Pengsoo, the comprehension level of high school students' voters on the election has increased, and election precautions have been successfully communicated. After the start of the school year, the official Pengsoo campaign will begin. Social media, such as YouTube, which is easily accessible to youths, is aggressively organized. (SBS News, 2020)
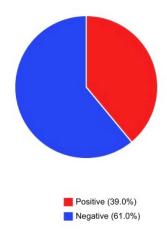
Table 2: Polarity of the News Comments of Election Propaganda

The relevant news sentiment results show that it received a positive average of 39% and a negative of 61%. The top 10 comments on the news were all negative, believing that the leftist politicians were using Pengsoo for their political purpose of attracting young voters, while others supported Pengsoo and believed that it was an excellent way to encourage teenagers to exercise the right to vote.

Congress Proposals

On September 24, 2020, The Chosun Ilbo published an article headlined "Are you overworked, Pengsoo? Pengsoo was called to audit by the National Assembly ". It had 1780 likes, 42 comments, and 3855 dislikes. The author collected the top 100 comments on this article. Pengsoo, a genderless penguin who first debuted on the public television station EBS in April 2019, was asked to audit his company, South Korea's Educational Broadcasting System. According to the article, Pengsoo will be permitted to attend the court in character. Hwang Bo Seung-hee, a lawmaker with the main opposition People Power Party, stated that the National Assembly summoned Pengsoo to ensure that the penguin was not "exploited in the work environment." (Kim, 2020)
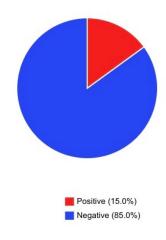
Table 3: Polarity of the News Comments of Congress Proposals

Based on the sentiment analysis results, the news received a positive average of 15 % and a negative of 85%. It also received 2855 dislikes with only 42 likes. The top 10 comments were showing strong negative attitudes towards the National Assembly, such as "The official is insane!", "Do not touch Pengsoo!" and "We people are not stupid!".

Through sentiment analysis above, Koreans are increasingly dissatisfied with the combination of Pengsoo and politics.

Opportunities of Korean Politics with B-class Culture

While the rest of the world is keeping a careful eye on the latest coronavirus epidemic, the South Korean government has been able to keep the disease under control without paralyzing the country's health and economic systems. Compared to other nations, Korea's quarantine performance produced a positive change in people's attitudes toward the government, resulting in a substantial political triumph for the ruling party in the legislative election. South Korea held National Assembly elections in April, setting a clear example of holding a safe election during a pandemic. The outcome was the most remarkable turnout for legislative elections in over 30 years and a clear victory for President Moon Jae-in's Democratic Party. As people's support for the government increases, it creates a more inclusive ambiance for political entertainment to grow.

Furthermore, public figures have a significant societal impact as well as behavioral demonstration effects. International experience has demonstrated that using celebrity impacts to raise public awareness of the pandemic and undertake epidemic prevention and control is a successful method of advertising. If the government can use public figures to relieve people's anxiety or increase people's health awareness during the epidemic, they will receive a better response.

Pengsoo, as a young people's idol, has a calming and encouraging influence to some level. Pengsoo posted a video on YouTube about preventing the Covid-19, which received millions of views and 40000 likes. In the comments area, netizens passionately support epidemic preventive efforts and express thanks for its encouragement, providing comfort and a sense of security.

Figure 6: Giant Pengsoo's TV, Photo from Internet

The COVID-19 epidemic has also had a significant impact on our lives. Many of us are confronted with situations that may be stressful, overwhelming, and trigger strong emotions in both adults and children. Public health measures, such as social distance, are required to slow the spread of COVID-19, but they can make us feel alone and lonely, as well as raise stress and worry. Severe limitations imposed by coronavirus have harmed the mental health of the South Korean population. In an online survey conducted by the Seoul Metropolitan Government between July and August, 40% or 1,489 respondents indicated their mental health has worsened since the COVID-19 outbreak. (Timothy, 2020)

Because of the COVID-19, the number of video plays and duration of watching videos has grown due to individuals staying at home for long periods. (Jang-won, 2021) As a result, consumption of programs such as Giant Pengsoo's TV has soared. Giant Pengsoo's tv is closely associated with the ideas of "social integration," "self-dignity and rational individualism," "anti-authoritarianism," and "gender equality," which people need in the post-Covid-19 period. Exciting and pleasant material provides those under enormous stress joy and laughter.

In the post-Covid-19 era, communities or governments can employ these well-known public figures to promote public awareness of the epidemic's risks. Simultaneously, they may use social media to engage with lonely people at home, relieving mental tension and providing spiritual comfort. They help to reduce social conflict, coordinate social relations, and maintain solidarity to some level.

Challenges of Korean Politics with B-class Culture

However, not everyone is pleased with how the government has handled the coronavirus outbreak. Many medical professionals went on strike to protest the government's decision to hire more medical students rather than raise salaries. Furthermore, the South Korean government frequently publicly announces people who test positive, which some see as an invasion of personal privacy and an incitement to public bullying. Similarly, a recent study of South Koreans revealed that 40% felt the strict COVID-imposed limitations are detrimental to their mental health. Some organizations, such as the Sarang Jeil Church, are suspected of being responsible for thousands of COVID-19 cases in South Korea, have taken part in anti-government rallies. (Timothy, 2020)

Furthermore, studies have indicated that the public in South Korea deeply distrusts prosecutors, who are frequently perceived as doing the political bidding of whoever is in power. The South

Korean people felt gloomy in various ways, according to the Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Approximately six in ten (62%) disagreed with the statement "most elected officials care what people like me think," and over half (49%) disagreed with the statement "the state is run for the benefit of all people." Approximately seven out of ten South Koreans (68 percent) were pessimistic about the political system's functioning. There were ideological differences in these viewpoints: those on the right were 33 percentage points less positive about how the political system works than those on the left (15 percent vs. 48 percent) (Jeremiah, 2020). People's dissatisfaction with the government and politicians, which is not conducive to political entertainment development. Politics with B-class culture can be counterproductive and even arouse public resentment quite often under this environment.

Last but not least, B-class culture is a time bomb due to the duality of B-class culture's consumers- the MZ generation who dreams of possessing wealth and high social status in society while being dissatisfied with the existing social system led by wealth and power. Therefore, they are always on the edge of being divided. If young people find that politicians use B-class culture to show their empty political propaganda or hypocritical politics to gain popular support, it may exacerbate the MZ generation's internal division, making their anti-authoritative tendency more obvious. The stronger people counter authority, the stronger the anti-authority of B-Class Productions is, which will continue to deepen people's dissatisfaction with authority. It is a vicious circle.

Conclusion

B-class culture is a unique type of South Korean culture, with its core features such as a strong sense of individualism, anti-authoritarianism, enthusiasm for popular culture, and dissatisfaction with the existing social system. Korean Politicians use B-class culture, including labeling themselves as B-class figures and cooperate with B-class productions to disrupt serious politics and make them closer to young voters. Due to the quarantine performance of Korea under the background of the Covid-19 pandemic, it induced a positive change in people's attitudes toward the government. If people's support for the government increases, people's tolerance of politics with B-class culture may increase. Moreover, if the government can use these B-class figures in proper political occasions like promoting public health awareness, it can improve the government's image and increase its approval ratings.

However, those dissatisfied with the government's COVID-19 response may take part in anti-government rallies. The public profoundly mistrusts prosecutors in South Korea who have corruption and political scandals quite often. Besides, B-class culture is like a time bomb. If politicians or governments use it wrong, then it makes it more anti-authoritative. These are the opportunities and challenges that Korean politics with B-class culture is facing.

Reference

Bonnie, F. 2008. Bonnie Fuller on team Obama's tabloid strategy. AdAge. Retrieved from https://adage.com/article/campaign-trail/bonnie-fuller-team-obama-s-tabloid-strategy/129913

Carvalho, J., & Plastino, A. (2021). On the evaluation and combination of state-of-the-art features in Twitter sentiment analysis. Artificial Intelligence Review, 54(3), 1887-1936.

ETtoday News. (2012). What does Gangnan Style talk about? Irony Korean society advocating vanity. Retrieved from https://star.ettoday.net/news/98940#ixzz6txX3GNgO

Go, A., Bhayani, R., & Huang, L. (2009). Twitter sentiment classification using distant supervision. CS224N project report, Stanford, 1(12), 2009.

Hyung-suk, L. (2013). B-class Culture Raids Korea, Bug-Osyeon Press.

Hu, M., & Liu, B. (2004, August). Mining and summarizing customer reviews. In Proceedings of the tenth ACM SIGKDD international conference on Knowledge discovery and data mining (pp. 168-177).

Jae-won, K. 2016. Korea worst in income inequality in Asia-Pacific". The Korea Times. Retrieved from http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/biz/2020/06/488_200524.html

Jang-won, L. 2021. Korean image ambassadors Baby Shark and Delphine O shine light on Korea's future. The Korean Herald. Retrieved from http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20210114001109

Jang, H. (2019). Pengsoo made a surprise visit to the Ministry of Foreign affairs. The Foreign Minister, Kang Kyung-wha was full of laughter. Busan Ilbo. Retrieved from https://n.news.naver.com/article/082/0000955486

Jimin, K. (2020). Why a giant fictional penguin could be the cure for millennial burnout. The Guardian. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/dec/02/pengsoo-penguin-south-korea

Kim, M. (2020). Pengsu, have you been abused? The National Assembly invited Pengsoo to audit. The Chosun Ilbo. Retrieved from "https://n.news.naver.com/article/023/0003564377

Timothy, R. 2020. What Do South Koreans Think of Their Government's COVID-19 Response? The Diplomat. Retrieved from https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/what-do-south-koreans-think-of-their-governments-covid-19-response/

Turney, P. D. (2002). Thumbs up or thumbs down? Semantic orientation applied to unsupervised classification of reviews. arXiv preprint cs/0212032.

SBS News. (2020). Pengsoo models for the Central Electoral Affairs Commission, helping 140,000 youth voters. Retrieved from https://n.news.naver.com/article/055/0000790575

Wilson, T., Wiebe, J., & Hoffmann, P. (2005, October). Recognizing contextual polarity in phrase-level sentiment analysis. In Proceedings of human language technology conference and conference on empirical methods in natural language processing (pp. 347-354).

Contact email: c13211147636@163.com

Measuring Growing Heritage Ability in the City Competitive Advantage: A Case Study of Pekalongan Creative City, Indonesia

Eko Nursanty, University of 17 Agustus 1945 (UNTAG) Semarang, Indonesia
Indah Susilowati, University of Diponegoro, Indonesia

Abstract

Measuring the resilience of heritage is related to the value that is often difficult to measure. The tangible side of heritage is often considered unattractive, dull, and challenging to use, and it needs to be built to be able to adjust to the development of the times. On the other hand, the intangible value of heritage becomes very high when we find the uniqueness of incomparable, accumulating the time travel time that the heritage has owned. This study tried to measure both above interests using a Butterfly-Mamoli method based on the human left and right brains' ability to understand each object's power of value in a place. Pekalongan city, a heritage city and gained recognition as a Batik Creative City from UNESCO since 2014, has a heritage that appears in the form of Batik both tangible and intangible need to be done efforts to increase the values in it. This study found that the increase in the value of authenticity in heritage can foster the ability to compete and raise the city's level of resilience, where the factor of place as a container of uniqueness is located. Ultimately, the paper aims to measure the growing heritage ability of the city to find itself through various elements found there and its role, in terms of place, community, and culture, including the process in it.

Keywords: Heritage Ability, Heritage Management, City Competitive Advantage

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The meaning of heritage is a type of legacy that is for the most part as property that can be acquired. Significant things, for example, recorded structures that have been passed down from past ages are identified with chronicled or social qualities that have the right to be protected. The accentuation on legacy and protection is huge here, zeroing in on property, items, or structures (Vecco, 2010). Until now, the qualities identified with legacy, by and large something that is practically like each other as spots that are typically viewed as deserving of safeguarding to have the option to turn into their verifiable relationship as notable individuals or occasions, their tasteful/compositional characteristics, and their actual relationship to the encompassing setting (Déom & Thiffault, 2013).

Heritage can be given starting with one age then onto the next, which can be acquired and has recorded or social worth. Legacy is frequently perceived as an actual article, for instance, property, building, or spot that can be claimed and given to other people. In any case, different kinds of legacy can be passed down or passed down starting with one age then onto the next notwithstanding these actual articles and legacy locales. For instance, language is a fundamental viewpoint for us to comprehend the climate and ourselves. It is taken in and given from grown-ups to kids, from one age to another. These immaterial legacy rehearses, like language, culture, mainstream melody, writing, or dress, are similarly as significant in assisting us with understanding who we are as the actual articles and structures we all the more frequently consider as 'legacy' (Uzzell & Uzzell, n.d.).

Another part of these legacy rehearses is the way we have tried to protect the need things we made about what to save from an earlier time and what to discard; which recollections to keep, and which to neglect; which is an admonition to safeguard, and which permits it to be obliterated; which structures to save, and which ones to expand on. Acquired pursues are customs and routines that, while elusive, tell who we are as a group and help make our aggregate social memory. We use legacy objects (curios, structures, destinations, scenes) close by legacy rehearses (language, music, local area commemoration, protection, and conservation of articles or recollections from an earlier time) to shape our thoughts regarding the past, present, and future (Harvey, 2008).

Another opinion concerning the contrast between acquired items and legacy rehearses is to consider the alternate points of view where legacy is seen. Every legacy object additionally has a legacy esteem and the practices in it. In any case, one gathering of individuals here and there react to another's heritage. In some cases they react in an unexpected way. Hence, there might be decisions of significant worth around legacy objects dependent on characteristics that occasionally assume a definitive part in assigning objects and saving them. All things considered, once in a while different qualities support the utilization of articles in relationship of individual or public personality, relationship with history, recreation, and so forth Legacy objects are installed in encounters made by various kinds of clients and individuals who try to deal with these encounters (Labadi & Sophia, n.d.).

The research question is, to pursue the need for harmony between nature, sustainable development, and conservation efforts on a heritage object, is there a measurement context that is considered appropriate in conducting the evaluation? For example, in content that contains the meaning of traditional values such as batik heritage, can this definition continue to grow and expand in order to be able to achieve sustainability values and provide sustainable economic benefits?

Currently, environmental change and social emergencies are wonders that we as a whole need to confront together. To alleviate their effect, numerous financial areas have the standards of economical improvement coordinated into their training. This is particularly evident in the space of legacy arranging and protection. A few investigations have uncovered the endeavors that have been made by the legacy protection area to help feasible turn of events, including: (I) make progress toward natural manageability by lessening the utilization of development materials and the energy needed to move them; (ii) by partaking in financial improvement through the travel industry areas, the inventive economy, etc; (iii) keep up conventional social practices as a type of social commitment (Pereira Roders & van Oers, 2011).

Heritage and Identity

Heritage is a term that is additionally utilized frequently to depict a bunch of qualities or standards identified with the past. Thus, for instance, an organization utilizes explicit terms in its name. It is putting forth attempts in advertising that business sectors and sells the legacy property as well as all the while re-communicates a progression of implications about customary qualities that are viewed as alluring once more. In this sense, we can likewise consider the qualities certain in choosing what to monitor and what not to moderate, in the decisions we make about what we decide to name 'legacy' and view what is 'old' or 'obsolete'. These are values implied in the administration of social legacy (Dicks, 2000).

Who are we, what ties us together, and what makes us not the same as others? What is our past, and where is our future? How would we make a spot for ourselves on the planet? What are our practices, and how would we respond to new things? The inquiries above are fundamental things that start the significance of character in a spot, area, or city. How would we address ourselves, and what is essential to us? These are exemplary inquiries regarding social character. Such issues have arisen in friendly hypothesis throughout the most recent twenty years in conversations of scenes, spots, and legacy. Globalization, the quick improvement of multicultural metropolitan social orders, the expanding impact of worldwide companies and the development of 'adaptability', and going with weakness, in the work market, diaspora and huge scope developments and development of individuals, the travel industry and travel, the Web, and the deficiency of feeling of reality, these and numerous different elements cause individuals to pose inquiries about character. A piece of this is simply the craving to discover and a spot for oneself in our current reality where societies have progressively taken cross breed structures with one another (Muthukrishna et al., 2013).

Figure 1. Heritage Hierarchy in the Formation of Place Identity.
Source: Nursanty, 2021.

Based on research that has been done in the city of Surakarta, it was found that several levels/hierarchies form the strength of identity in a place, which is depicted diagrammatically in Figure 1 above, namely: assets, viability, and ability. These three hierarchies form an extended force throughout history and carry out various ups and downs in maintaining the lives of their people.

Indonesian Batik Heritage

The procedure, imagery, and culture encompassing the hand-colored cotton and silk pieces of clothing known as Indonesian Batik pervade Indonesian life from start to finish: children are conveyed in batik slings beautified with images intended to bring the youngster best of luck dead are covered in a batik pipe. Apparel of straightforward plans is worn routinely in business and scholastic settings. Simultaneously, novel varieties are fused into wedding and pregnancy festivities and manikin theater, and other artistic expressions. The garments even assume a focal part in specific ceremonies, for example, the stately regal batik turning into a fountain of liquid magma theme. Batik is colored by a pleased specialist who draws the plan on the texture utilizing hot wax dabs and stripes, which holds different materials and colors and thusly permits the expert to specifically color by inundating the texture in one tone, eliminating the wax with bubbling water and rehashing if numerous tones are wanted. The wide assortment of examples mirrors a wide scope of impacts, from Arabic calligraphy, European wreaths, and Chinese phoenixes to Japanese cherry blooms and Indian or Persian peacocks. Frequently passed down in families for ages, the art of batik is interlaced with the social personality of the Indonesian public and, through the representative importance of its tones and plans, communicates their imagination and otherworldliness (Steelyana, 2012).

The word batik is thought to have come from "ambatik," which is meant signify 'material' with little dabs. The postfix 'tik' signifies a bit, a drop, a spot, or to make specks. Batik can likewise be gotten from the Javanese word 'tritik,' which portrays an oppose to-pass on measure in which an example is given on the material by restricting and sewing the region prior to biting the dust or shading locking. Another Javanese stage for the otherworldly experience of batik making is "mbatik manah," which signifies "drawing a batik plan on the heart". A few researchers feel that batik was at first saved as an artistic expression for Javanese blue-bloods. Obviously, the illustrious nature is clear since explicit examples are saved for wearing simply by the aristocrats of the King's royal residence. Princesses and aristocrats may have enlivened to draw out the extremely inconspicuous feeling of plan apparent in customary examples. In spite of the fact that it is profoundly improbable they will be engaged with the wax application measure in any case. The humble work of resulting coloring and waxing was in all likelihood left to specialists who might work under their watch. Javanese respectability was an incredible benefactor of human expressions and offered the important help to foster numerous fine arts, like silver ornamentation, shadow manikin, and gamelan ensembles. Different researchers differ that batik is just planned as a fine art for the blue-bloods since they likewise feel its utilization is imparted to normal individuals. It's anything but a fundamental piece of a young lady's achievements to deal with inclining (a pen-like instrument used to apply wax to material) with a sensible measure of ability. It is viewed as vital as cooking and other housewife expressions for her Javanese ladies.

The advancement of the batik business in Indonesia can't be isolated from the financial business' job. In a few mechanical areas, banking has consistently been an in the background figure. Indonesian banks have put forth a few attempts to support the advancement of batik,

some financial items, for instance, microfinance credit, internet banking, credit for batik business people, help the batik business become quicker, remembering the development of conventional batik for Pekalongan City. Existing financial improvement can be alluded to as quantitative and subjective changes in the economy. Such activities can include a few regions, including human asset improvement, basic foundation, provincial seriousness, ecological maintainability, social incorporation, wellbeing, security, proficiency, and different drives. Monetary improvement is not the same as financial development. Fundamentally, financial advancement is an approach intercession exertion that intends to improve the monetary and social government assistance of the local area, monetary development, which is a wonder of market efficiency, and an increment in neighborhood own-source income. Fundamentally, financial development is one part of the cycle of monetary turn of events. Consequently, monetary development and human advancement are a critical two-way relationship.

Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) are the foundation of the public economy. Batik Pekalongan, Solo, and Lasem are instances of fruitful SMEs that invigorate the nearby economy while making cutthroat items at public and worldwide levels (Haryanto et al., n.d.).

Albeit Indonesian batik has been announced a social legacy by UNESCO since October 2, 2009, a few examinations have shown that this condition can't affect neighborhood batik business visionaries better. Indeed, even some skilled workers don't react by any means. Aside from the way that purchasers don't see the value in batik, the batik business people themselves don't exploit this force since they have not yet profited with the assignment of Pekalongan as the World Batik City. Truth be told, there are as yet many batik business visionaries who have not expanded their present turnover. It is appalling since this is a fantastic open door for batik business people. In light of the underlying writing audit, it was discovered that there was a decrease in the batik market, particularly its portion of the overall industry close by made and stepped batik. A few reasons are the absence of mechanical advancement being applied, troubles in expecting and knowing business sector needs, discovering purchasers, and difficulties in creating organizations.

Alongside the inexorably extreme rivalry among batik business people, for example, contest from both homegrown and unfamiliar (e.g., Malaysian batik), batik business people then, at that point need to expect the future in all fields, for instance, in the fields of work, crude materials, models and plans, innovation, and so on.

Figure 2 below summarizes the 9 (nine) largest batik-producing cities in Indonesia according to the Republic of Indonesia's Department of Trade and Industry. The distribution map below shows that most batik-producing cities are located in Java island, Indonesia, where Pekalongan is one of them and has succeeded in becoming a UNESCO World Batik Creative City. Anticipation that needs to be done in the future is to manage customer perceptions of all activities carried out by manufacturers trying to provide solutions to customer needs and requirements(World & 2013, n.d.).
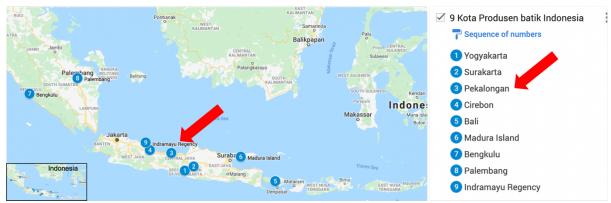
Figure 2. Pekalongan City among the Nine Largest Batik Producing Cities in Indonesia

Figure 3. The Core Village Area of Pekalongan Batik City (Nursanty, 2021).

Data on the distribution of batik craftsmen in the city of Pekalongan found that the number of batik craftsmen and traders is currently concentrated in the heritage area in the old town of Pekalongan, as seen in figure 3 above. The distribution, as well as the formation of the authenticity of the urban spatial framework, appears based on the time timeline and the characteristics of the users of each existing urban space, namely: (1) Kauman Village; (2) Arab Village; (3) Chinatown Village and (4) European Village.

Measuring the Ability of City Heritage

Assessing a heritage city is a fundamental advance in protection activity as it will prompt the recognizable proof of qualities that help comprehend the significance of a property. Shockingly, assessments are normally completed at crucial points in time, either when the task changes the spot of birth. Thus, its legacy potential is compromised with eradication or allowed a legacy assignment. The subsequent worth assertion (otherwise called an explanation of importance) sets up the gathering of intentions and interests related with a spot at a given second (Florek et al., 2019).

At the point when anthropologists recognize societies in regards to their relative intricacy, they don't utilize the expression "complex" in its standard thing, exacting, or word reference

sense. All things being equal, ty infer, all the more definitely, their status versus each other by reference to at least one classificatory measures that have been proposed to associate with various levels or stages in social turn of events (Vaesen et al., n.d.).

Archeological and ethnohistorical proof shows a connection between populace size and structure and their variety or innovative complexity. In light of these examples, some transformative models foresee that populace size and social interconnections may add to its social intricacy. A few models likewise demonstrate that an unexpected loss of sociality or populace will bring about an ensuing loss of important abilities/innovation. People might be remarkable among species in creating combined social transformative cycles that bring about complex conduct abilities and innovations. A developing class of hypothetical models proposes that the rise of unpredictable and 'hard to learn' social qualities (apparatuses, strategies, and abilities, for example, a large number of the innovations utilized by tracker finders, is unequivocally impacted by the capacity of students to get to a more broad informal organization than others (Sackmann, 1997).

On the functional side, field proof predictable with these models has started to arise. This proof incorporates examination of tool compartment intricacy among populaces and nitty gritty investigations of explicit archeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical cases. Subsequently, mechanical refinement can rely upon sociality, populace size, and interrelatedness. This has driven some to recommend that the fundamental contrasts between the predecessors of people and different primates could lie in the space of sociality and populace or organization structure. In any case, obviously, there is each motivation to speculate that different factors additionally impacted combined social development in a generous manner (Research & 2004, n.d.).

In view of the components of the genuineness of legacy, this examination discovers perspectives that are considered as DNA in a spot. Each bearable city has its novel character, communicated in its engineering and plan of streets and open spaces. A city's DNA is portrayed in the design and spatial qualities that are generally adored by city inhabitants that contribute the most to its feeling of personality. This normally comprises of specific structure material and shading, a common game plan of engineering scale and structure, building part size, roofline, size of public and semi-public spaces. To find a way into the metropolitan setting, new structures should regard these "hereditary" codes, reflect probably a portion of the current examples, or decipher them in contemporary idioms (*The DNA of a City | International Making Cities Livable*, n.d.).

Just as there was in the past where there was consensus about community values, there was consensus about what materials, architecture, and spatial forms represent the unique character of a city. Everyone in the community recognizes and understands this unique character and works within its control. However, there is considerable variation in the choice of colors and materials, details, levels of elegance, and the architectural expression of the city's various functions.
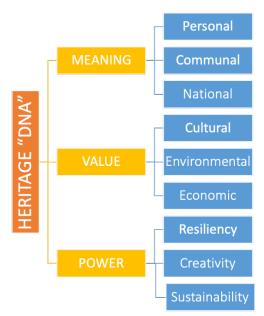
Figure 4. The Values of Authenticity that Make Up the DNA of the City.
Source: Nursanty, 2021.

Figure 4 above illustrates the composition of the elements that make up the uniqueness of the city obtained based on the results of research on users of heritage city space in the Pekalongan city, namely: (i) meaning which consists of personal, communal, and national; (ii) value which consists of cultural, environmental, and economical; (iii) power which consists of resilience, creativity and, sustainability.

Growing Heritage and The DNA of City

The development of a heritage, both tangible and intangible heritage, is always through the growth of 3 (three) elements in it, namely: Value, Meaning, and Power, as illustrated in the figure 5 diagram below.
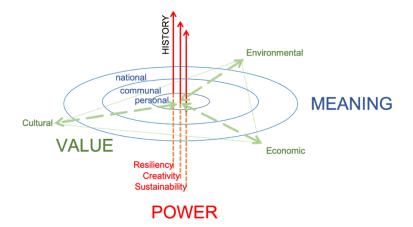
Figure 5. Components of City DNA and Its Role in the Growth of Batik Heritage Development.
Source: Nursanty, 2021.

The forces that work as depicted in the diagram above are:
1.   Heritage Ability is the unity of three main elements: environmental, culture, and economy. The three complement each other and compile a place to grow and develop throughout its long history.
2.   Some processes in history can last for a long time if the process can provide exceptional value for a better life for the people.
3.   In the growth and development of a heritage place, the driving force is the money community making efforts: resilience, creativity, and sustainability.
4.   The problem we are facing in Heritage Ability is that the uniqueness of each other is increasingly blurred because the place is only seen as an outer shell in the form of physical developments that are expected to satisfy tourists who come to increase regional income
5.   How to grow the Heritage Ability is by introducing a creative heritage "product". It must be done in an integrated way, by introducing the community and activities in places where history has occurred. Respecting heritage values cannot be done using only quantitative standards of production results. Still, they must be understood as a product with specific "qualitative" values.

Conclusion

Limitations and Moving Forward:
This preliminary research has developed a Heritage Ability Model that shows the relationships between three main components (Value, Meaning, and Power) and their respective parameters. The following research step will be directed towards developing the measurement methods and tools for policy development and implementation strategy.

This research contributes to:
The city competitive advantage, creative city, and economics of heritage academic discourses, and the urban managers in developing holistic conservation-, development-, and economic policies

References

Déom, C., & Thiffault, M.-A. (2013). Thoughts Towards a New Definition of Heritage. *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, *4*(1), 62–74. https://doi.org/10.1179/1756750513z.00000000025

Dicks, B. (2000). *Heritage, place, and community*. http://orca.cf.ac.uk/id/eprint/135958

Florek, M., Herezniak, M., & Augustyn, A. (2019). You can't govern if you don't measure: Experts' insights into place branding effectiveness assessment. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, *12*(4). https://doi.org/10.1108/JPMD-10-2018-0074

Harvey, D. C. (2008). The history of heritage. In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (pp. 19–36). Ashgate Publishing Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315613031-1

Haryanto, J., World, S. P.-R., & 2013, undefined. (n.d.). Recent future research in consumer behavior: A better understanding of Batik as Indonesian heritage. *Academia.Edu*. Retrieved June 16, 2021, from https://www.academia.edu/download/38627901/Paper_04.pdf

Labadi, & Sophia. (n.d.). *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value*.

Muthukrishna, M., Shulman, B. W., Vasilescu, V., & Henrich, J. (2013). Sociality influences cultural complexity. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *281*(1774). https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2013.2511

Pereira Roders, A., & van Oers, R. (2011). Editorial: bridging cultural heritage and sustainable development. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, *1*(1), 5–14. https://doi.org/10.1108/20441261111129898

Research, T. D.-C.-C., & 2004, undefined. (n.d.). Cultural complexity revisited. *Journals.Sagepub.Com*. Retrieved June 16, 2021, from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1069397103257895

Sackmann, S. (1997). *Cultural complexity in organizations: Inherent contrasts and contradictions*. https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1997-08472-000

Steelyana, E. (2012). "BATIK, A BEAUTIFUL CULTURAL HERITAGE THAT PRESERVE CULTURE AND SUPPORT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA." In *BINUS BUSINESS REVIEW* (Vol. 3, Issue 1). https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2193017

The DNA of a City | International Making Cities Livable. (n.d.). Retrieved June 16, 2021, from https://www.livablecities.org/articles/dna-city

Uzzell, D., & Uzzell, D. L. (n.d.). *Interpreting our heritage: A theoretical interpretation Interpreting Our Heritage: A Theoretical Interpretation 1*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234167135

Vaesen, K., Collard, M., … R. C.-P. of the, & 2016, undefined. (n.d.). Population size does not explain past changes in cultural complexity. *National Acad Sciences*. Retrieved June 16, 2021, from https://www.pnas.org/content/113/16/E2241.short

Vecco, M. (2010). A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, *11*(3), 321–324. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2010.01.006

World, M. C.-I. and the M., & 2013, undefined. (n.d.). The politics of heritage: Indonesia-Malaysia cultural contestations. *Taylor & Francis*. Retrieved June 16, 2021, from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13639811.2013.804979

Contact email: santy@untagsmg.ac.id

International Circulation of Newspaper Novels:
British Empire, Japan, and the Yubin Hochi Shimbun

Mika Baba, University of Tsukuba, Japan

Abstract

Japanese newspaper novels emerged as an important genre in the latter half of the 19th century. The *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* (hereafter YHS), under the editorship of Shiken Morita, played a key role in shaping the development of newspaper novels through translation. The YHS ran many novels whose authorship was—and still is—unknown. More than half of these novels were translated from English newspaper novels that had been widely reprinted in England, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. I argue that the YHS contributed to fashioning newspaper novels as an international genre. This paper examines the two characteristics that distinguish Shiken's translations for the YHS readers: his *shu-mitsu* style and his deliberate selection of first-person novels. Shiken sometimes turned some third-person novels into first-person works during the process of translation. In the end, through translation, Shiken also invented a new genre in modern Japanese literature, arguably helping to shape the "I-novel" genre.

Keywords: Newspaper Novels, First-person Novels, Verbatim Translation, Shiken Morita, Meiji Era

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

Japanese newspaper novels emerged as an important genre in the latter half of the 19th century. In 1886, the *Yubin Hochi Shimbun* (hereafter YHS), a hitherto primarily political newspaper, announced that it would print novels in order to internationalize its readers. The editor Shiken Morita had translated popular Western novels, including works by Jules Verne and Wilkie Collins, for the YHS readership.

The YHS ran many novels whose authorship was—and still is—unknown. Through extensive archival research I found that more than half of these novels were translated from English newspaper novels, mostly unsigned miscellaneous pieces and curious stories. Despite their obscure or even anonymous authorship, they had been widely reprinted in newspapers in England, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. I would argue that the YHS took part in the international circulation of newspaper novels beyond the British Empire, thereby contributing to fashioning newspaper novels as an international genre.

This paper examines the two characteristics that distinguish the editor Shiken's translations for the YHS readers: first, *shu-mitsu* style, verbatim translation traditionally used in translating Chinese works, which he applied to English, and second, his deliberate selection of first-person novels. Shiken sometimes turned some third-person novels into first-person works during the process of translation. As he later explained, Japanese literature did not have the genre of first-person novels, so "we needed it." In the end, through translation, Shiken also invented a new genre in modern Japanese literature, arguably helping to shape the "I-novel" genre.

Shiken Morita and YHS's Newspaper Novels

Shiken Morita, a literary editor for YHS, had visited Europe and America to learn how to run and edit newspapers. He was famously called the "translation king" because of his unique translation style that had a great impact on the modernization of Japanese literature. What is interesting about him, however, is that Shiken often chose obscure or anonymous English novels for translation, many of which were published exclusively in YHS. I have conducted an extensive survey using archival data on English newspapers, [1] and discovered that most of these novels were never published in book form but appeared as newspaper articles and were mostly unsigned (Table 1). Genres ranged from adventures and mysteries to historical novels, but most of them were set in London and Paris and depicted social life and culture while providing Western scientific knowledge.

---

[1] National Library of Australia and Trove Partners, "Newspapers & Gazettes,"
https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/?q=. National Library of New Zealand, "Papers Past,":
https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers. British Library, "The British Newspaper Archives,":
https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/british-newspaper-archive. Ancestry, "The Newspaper.com,":
https://www.newspapers.com.

LIST OF SHIKEN'S TRANSLATIONS IN YHS

From 1888 to 1889   * = First-person novel

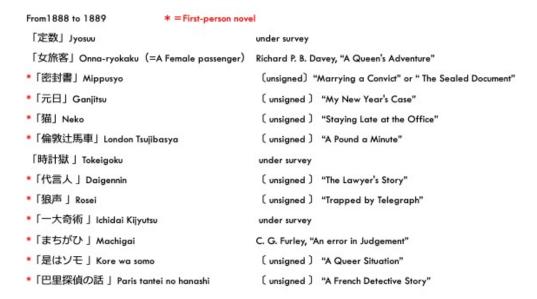|	
「定数」 Jyosuu	under survey
「女旅客」 Onna-ryokaku (=A Female passenger)	Richard P. B. Davey, "A Queen's Adventure"
*「密封書」 Mippusyo	〔unsigned〕 "Marrying a Convict" or " The Sealed Document"
*「元日」 Ganjitsu	〔unsigned〕 "My New Year's Case"
*「猫」 Neko	〔unsigned〕 "Staying Late at the Office"
*「倫敦辻馬車」 London Tsujibasya	〔unsigned〕 "A Pound a Minute"
「時計獄」 Tokeigoku	under survey
*「代言人」 Daigennin	〔unsigned〕 "The Lawyer's Story"
*「狼声」 Rosei	〔unsigned〕 "Trapped by Telegraph"
*「一大奇術」 Ichidai Kijyutsu	under survey
*「まちがひ」 Machigai	C. G. Furley, "An error in Judgement"
*「是はソモ」 Kore wa somo	〔unsigned〕 "A Queer Situation"
*「巴里探偵の話」 Paris tantei no hanashi	〔unsigned〕 "A French Detective Story"

Table 1: List of Shiken's Translations in YHS

Providing stories along with news from overseas was YHS's editorial strategy to capture the interest of readers during a period in which Japan underwent Westernization. At the same time, precisely because of this strategy, YHS selected novels from English newspapers for translation and disseminated them, thereby participating in the international circulation of the genre of newspaper novels beyond the British Empire.

Shiken's "A Female Passenger" and Davy's "A Queen's Adventure"

To illustrate this, let us consider the example of the newspaper novel, translated and published in YHS, entitled "A Female Passenger." Set within the context of the royal flight to Varennes—the unsuccessful attempt by King Louis XVI of France, Marie Antoinette, and their family to escape Paris during the French Revolution—the newspaper novel "A Female Passenger" is a comedy centered on an actress who resembles the queen and is hence suspected of being the undercover Marie Antoinette. At a time when Japan had been forced at gunpoint to conclude unequal treaties with the Western powers, the French Revolution and the American Revolutionary War were events inspiring to the Japanese readership due to the themes and ideals of independence and democracy that they embodied.

I discovered that the Japanese newspaper novel "A Female Passenger" was a translation of Richard Patrick Boyle Davey's "A Queen's Adventure," published in 1874. While Davey, an English writer who studied in France and Italy and who also stayed in New York City, is now consigned to relative oblivion, the ways in which his work "A Queen's Adventure" was circulated beyond the British Empire and the United States to reach the readership of YHS warrants scholarly attention particularly since the novel was transformed into an unsigned and obscure work of fiction as it was reprinted and translated.

"A Queen's Adventure" first appeared in the February 1874 issue of *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature & Science*, published in Philadelphia. Subsequently it was reprinted in various newspapers across the United States (Table 2). As far as I have been able to ascertain,

at least 10 different newspapers including *The Belvidere Standard* in Illinois reprinted "A Queen's Adventure." According to Charles A. Johanningsmeier (1997), prior to 1860, American newspapers reprinted novels from domestic and British sources without permission, until newspaper syndicates appeared. The newspaper syndicates then began to sell short stories and serialized novels from British and American magazines and newspapers, and the editors of each newspaper purchased the works that they wanted to publish.

NEWSPAPERS THAT REPRINTED "A QUEEN'S ADVENTURE" AFTER *RIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE*, 1874

The Belvidere Standard (1874.2.3) Illinois / Belvidere

Wood Country Reporter (1874.2.5) Wisconsin / Wood

The Chicago Dairy Tribune (1874.2.21, Appendix1874.02.22)Illinois / Chicago

The Rutland Dairy Globe (1874.3.14) Vermont / Rutland

The Donaldsonville Chief (1874.3.21)Louisiana / Donaldsonville

The Herald and Mail (1874.4.3) Tennessee / Colombia

The Vermont Farmer: An Agricultural and Family Newspaper(1874.4.24) Vermont / Newport

The Elk County Advocate (1874.6.4)Pennsylvania / Ridgeway

The Brooklyn Dairy Eagle (1874.6.6)New York / Brooklyn

The Indiana Progress (1874.8.27) Pennsylvania / Indiana

Table 2: Newspapers that Reprinted "A Queen's Adventure" after *Rippincott's Magazine*, 1874

Nine years after its publication in *Lippincott's Magazine*, "A Queen's Adventure" was reprinted in the September 1883 issue of *The Theater*, a British magazine, followed by reprints in newspapers. However, there was a new development at this time: namely, "A Queen's Adventure" began to be reprinted in the settler colonies of the British Empire, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (Table 3). Shiken's translation, retitled "A Female passenger," for YHS also appeared around this time.

NEWSPAPERS THAT REPRINTED "A QUEEN'S ADVENTURE" AFTER *THE THEATER*, 1883

Leeds Times (1883.9.8) UK / West Yorkshire

Steuben Republican (1883.12.5) USA / Illinois

The Queenslander (1883.12.8) Australia / Queensland

The Auckland Evening Star (1884.2.9 Appendix) New Zealand / Auckland

Te Aroha News (1884.2.16) New Zealand / Waikato

The Daily Telegraph (Appendix 1888.11.10) New Zealand / Hawke's Bay

The Yubin Hochi Shimbun (1888.11.25,27,28) Japan / Tokyo

Western Star and Roma Advertiser (1889.8.28) Australia / Queensland

The Evening Telegram (1897.3.5) Canada / Newfoundland

Table 3: Newspapers that Reprinted "A Queen's Adventure" after *The Theater*, 1883

Graham Law and Norimasa Morita's study (2003) shows that during the latter half of the 19th century local newspapers were launched in Britain, and short stories and serialized novels began to appear in weekly newspapers. Moreover, a newspaper novel syndicate called Tillotson & Son was established in England, and from the early 1880s, the market expanded overseas to encompass the United States, British colonies, and continental Europe. In this milieu, "A Queen's Adventure" gained an international route to sale and subsequent reprinting. However, Japan was outside of this supply network. Law and Morita (2003) point out that the influence of the international novel supply industry was almost none in Japan. And yet YHS made inroads into the international circulation of the newspaper novel "A Queen's Adventure" through translation. We should not downplay the sort of translation-mediated relationships that YHS created.

The era of newspaper syndicates and newspaper novels ended in the United States and Britain during World War I. By contrast, newspaper novels have been published in Japan for the past 150 years without interruption. Many popular Japanese writers have written them, and amongst them can be found important works in the history of Japanese literature. The close relationship between newspapers and literature in Japan does not seem to have changed even during the modern day when newspapers have transitioned into a digital format.

Verbatim Translation and First-Person Novels

This, I would argue, is partly because of the translation style that Shiken successfully established for the YHS readers—a style that is marked by two practices. First was the creation of a unique style called *shu-mitsu*, verbatim translation, which was originally a technique of translating Chinese sentences into Japanese but which Shiken applied to English translation. Such a direct translation of English was rare in Japan, but Shiken's translation style gained support because of his sophisticated use of Japanese. There was a minor caveat, though: he translated the subject I (= "Yo") every time as it appeared in the original English, though in Japanese, it is more natural to omit the subject I.

The second practice developed by Shiken was the dissemination of Western first-person novels in Japan (Table 1). For this purpose, he resorted to an extreme measure. A case in point is "The Story of Prince of India Djalma" (1886) by the French writer Eugène Sue (1844), which Shiken translated into Japanese from an English translation and published as a newspaper novel. Though a third-person novel, "The Story of Prince of India Djalma" was changed to a first-person novel as Shiken rewrote it from the perspective of one of the main characters, Djalma. In his essay "Self-Written Description of Novels" (1887), Shiken explained why he was interested in first-person novels. As he described it, first-person novels were widespread in the West but were rarely found in Japan and China. First-person novels are superior to third-person novels as they express feelings such as happiness and sadness directly to the readers allowing the readers to feel these emotions. As such, he felt that Japan was in need of first-person novels.

One could reasonably speculate from Shiken's remarks that YHS published Western first-person novels to enable readers to sympathize with the main characters of stories from abroad and experience different cultures in a simulated manner. In addition, the emergence of first-person newspaper novels had a significant bearing on the creative methods of Japanese writers, arguably paving the way to the establishment of a unique genre called "I-novel." Shiken's declaration that Japan needs first-person novels was significant.

Conclusions

As I have discussed, YHS and its editor Shiken played a significant role in internationalizing newspaper novels and introducing the same genre into Japan through translation. The close relationship between newspapers and literature in Japan would not have been possible without YHS's ingenuity. YHS and Shiken were also instrumental in shaping first-person novels in Japan, a literary genealogy that can be traced down through the works of Soseki Natsume, Osamu Dazai, and Haruki Murakami. In the end, Shiken's influence was unpredictably immeasurable.

Acknowledgements

References

Johanningsmeier, C. (1997). *Fiction and the American Literary Marketplace: The Role of Newspaper Syndicates, 1860–1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Law, G. & Morita, N. (2003). Towards an International History of The Newspaper Novel. *Bungaku*, 4(1), 34–55.

Contact email: baba.mika.ge@u.tsukuba.ac.jp

Cultural Formation of the Expo in Japan: The Case of Producer Shinya Izumi

Mitsunori Eto, University of Tsukuba, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
The Japan World Exposition Osaka 1970 was the first expo to be held in Japan and in Asia. The planners of the Osaka Expo not only struggled to express the uniqueness of the first expo in Asia, but also revised and reinterpreted its significance and format so that it would be accepted by Japanese society. It famously established a model that subsequent expos, large-scale expositions, and even theme parks followed. Despite this, little attention has been paid to producer and designer Shinya Izumi (1930-), who was involved in conceiving the idea of the Osaka Expo and went on to participate in all Bureau International des Expositions (BIE)-certified events held in Japan, thereby shaping the direction of expos in Japan. This paper seeks to examine the kinds of expos Izumi created through an analysis of his writings and activities, personal connections, and the influence of preceding expos. Specifically, I focus on two key concepts: *matsuri* (festival) and *kankyō* (circumstance/surroundings/environment), which I suggest played a crucial role in Izumi's (and by extension, Japan's) formation of expo images. Additionally, this paper suggests that the understanding and idea of the expo, originating in Osaka, eventually spread internationally until the 1994 BIE resolution.

Keywords: World Exposition, Postwar Japan, Cultural Studies

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The history of Japan's expos would not have been what it is without the presence of Shinya Izumi. A graduate of Tokyo University of the Arts, Izumi worked for Canon Inc. as an industrial designer from 1955 to 1962. After that Izumi landed a job at the *Kankyō Kaihatsu Sentā* (Environmental Development Center) established by the architect and city planner Takashi Asada. Asada himself had been a former staff member in the laboratory of the famous architect Kenzo Tange at the University of Tokyo. Asada gave inspiration to young architects in Tange's Laboratory who would later become involved in the "Metabolism" movement. Their collaboration spread beyond genres and across professions to include artists, designers, and critics.

In this milieu, Izumi also began to expand his career network through collaborative projects. He joined the editorial staff of the quarterly magazine *Design Criticism* (1966-70), which featured an exhibition review and other Expo-related articles.[1] Izumi also visited the New York World Fair twice in 1964 and 1965, an experience that motivated him to participate in the planning of the Osaka Expo's entertainment district and transportation.[2]

Izumi's Engagement in World Expositions in Japan

Izumi also took part in the Okinawa Ocean Exposition, planning the government exhibition and the Sumitomo Pavilion. Planning for this started well before the opening of the Osaka Expo in anticipation of the return of Okinawa to Japanese sovereignty in 1972. Kotaro Ikeguchi (also known as Taichi Sakaiya), a bureaucrat at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, who had planned the Osaka Expo, and many others involved in it similarly participated in the Okinawa Expo.[3] Indeed, the staff members of the Osaka Expo, e.g. architects, designers, painters, and writers gradually became a consolidated group that would engage in the planning of subsequent projects. The Port Island Exposition opened on a newly created artificial island in Kobe in 1981. In other words, following the Osaka Expo large-scale expositions were held in Japan almost every five years.

The Tsukuba Science Expo in 1985 marked an important watershed moment as two prominent expo characteristics emerged. Firstly, the process of planning exhibitions was stylized and oligopolized by advertising agencies that had wide networks not only among architects, exhibition companies, producers, designers, and artists, but also in government offices and the mass media. In particular, the advertising agency Dentsu undertook 18 out of the 28 private pavilions. The second shift was caused by the transformation of Japanese society. In the wake

---

[1] Twelve issues were published by the publisher *Fūdosha* as a quarterly magazine. It started under the joint editorship of Kiyoshi Awazu, Shinya Izumi, Noboru Kawazoe, Hiroshi Hara, and Ichirō Hariu, and from the 10th issue, was edited only by Awazu. In the second issue, under the title of "Play Concept and Design," (March 1967) Akira Tamura, who was one of the authors of the "Survey Report on the Amusement Area of the Japan World Exposition," explained the same concept as the report "Structure of Play." This issue printed the exhibition review of *Kūkan kara kankyō he* (From Space to Environment) by Ichirō Hariu. The 6th issue, under the title of "Expo and Anpo (Japan-U.S. Security Treaty), EXPOSE, 1968 All Records," (July 1968) was a detailed report of the 5-day event planned as a response to the expo. It shows the width of Izumi's network and the relation between this network and the expo.

[2] Izumi, S. (1988). *Kaku Heiki to Yūenchi [NuclearWeapons and Amusement Parks-Now, the Age of Intellectual Resonance Society]*. Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten., Chapter 5, "The Road to Expo Producers" is the most detailed piece about his career during this period.

[3] Sakaiya, T. (2018). *Chijyō Saidai no Gyōji Bankoku Hakurankai [The Biggest Event on Earth : The World Expositions]*. Tokyo: Kōbunsha., 204-206.

of postwar rebuilding and rapid economic growth, Japan was changing into a consumer society where the demand for leisure increased and companies became aware of their corporate identity (CI). Advertising agencies took advantage of these trends.

Izumi, who had connections with Dentsu that began with the Osaka Expo, understood the value of entertainment in a leisure society and was conscious of the importance of CI in terms of media strategies; hence many companies adopted his plans at the Tsukuba Expo.[4] Thereafter, Izumi worked as a general producer on various exhibitions such as the Seto Big Bridge Expo (1988), the Yokohama Expo (1989), the Nagoya World Design Expo (1989), and the Osaka Flower Expo (1990), which were all held at the height of the bubble economy.

From the latter half of the 1980s the local expo boom spread nationwide, culminating in the aforementioned Osaka Flower Expo (1990). Yet many became stereotyped and some ended in failure.[5] For example, Izumi was nominated as the general producer of the Tokyo World City Expo, which was scheduled to be held in 1996, but one year before opening, a candidate who stood on a platform against the expo was elected as Governor of Tokyo, resulting in the expo's cancellation. This event symbolized the end of the bubble period and the virtual demise of the expo in Japan.

An Analysis on Izumi's Philosophy and Strategies

In what follows, I want to reexamine Izumi's philosophy and strategies. It is important to note that while Izumi was deeply committed to developing expos in Japan, he also visited many expos overseas and was therefore familiar with international trends. He served as the general producer of the Japan Pavilion at the Knoxville International Energy Expo (1982) and an adviser at the Daejeon International Expo in Korea (1993). He was aware of the differences between domestic and international expos and even the drawbacks of Japanese Expos.

Izumi's ideas are encapsulated in two terms: *matsuri* and *kankyō*. *Matsuri* was one of the key words at the Japan World Exposition Osaka 1970. The main stage was named *Omatsuri-Hiroba* (Festival Square), where not only foreign festivals but also domestic *matsuri* from across Japan were presented. Almost half of Japan's population visited the venue, so this expo has been remembered as a collective festive experience. Izumi seemed to learn the importance of urban *matsuri* and citizens' *asobi* (play) as spectacles and entertainment, and for consumption, while working for the Osaka Expo and planning an amusement park (Expo-land). The "Survey Report on the Entertainment Area of the Japan World Exposition" (1967) that Izumi coauthored defines the essence of entertainment/play as the epitome of the three elements: *Miru (Kiku)* (Watch (Listen)), *Suru (Do)*, and *Yasumu (Taberu)* (Get rest (Eat)).[6]

The second and much more important key term for understanding Izumi's idea of the expo is *kankyō*, which was a relatively new and unfamiliar concept when Izumi experimented with it. Izumi was involved in the Environmental Development Center (*Kankyō Kaihatsu Sentā*) in his early career. The center was a pioneer for private planning companies that were tackling the

---

[4] According to *News Material Science Expo-Tsukuba '85* (published by the International Science and Technology Expo Association in December 1984), Izumi participated in the Matsushita Pavilion, Fujitsu Pavilion, Steel Pavilion, Sumitomo Pavilion, and Japanese government's History Pavilion.

[5] Kuwata, M. (2017). *Hakurankai to Kankō [Expo and Tourism-Tourism Strategy for Reconstruction and Regional Revitalization]*. Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha., 177.

[6] The report was commissioned by the Japan Expo Association to the committee chaired by Yonezo Kobayashi, Kēhan Express President, and was prepared mainly by Awazu, Izumi, and Tamura.

issues of explosive population growth and rapid city-expansion. At that time *kankyō* meant the urban space itself, including the objects that could help to make human beings' lives more comfortable.

When McLuhan's media theory became popular in Japan in the latter half of the 1960s, his theory also influenced the artists involved in the Osaka Expo as it was mediated through the interpretation of art critics.[7] The term *kankyō* began to take on new meanings, referring to the state surrounded by mass media and to information space or electronic space. The art exhibition *From Space to Environment* (*Kūkan kara kankyō he*) (1966), to which Izumi submitted his work, was a response from the field of art, which saw *kankyō* as a place of dynamic collision between artists and audience.[8] The Osaka Expo was the last and largest place where these avant-garde artists gathered.

As exploitation went hand in hand with environmental development, resulting in the destruction of nature, there emerged a shift in the concept of *kankyō*, and this was not lost on Izumi. At the time of the Osaka Expo, pollution had already become a serious social problem. The Okinawa Expo visibly revealed its own contradictions. Large-scale development was carried out to make Okinawa a leisure venue, at the same time that the image of an uninvaded natural paradise was being given a central role in PR campaigns.[9] What inspired Izumi at this critical juncture was the 1974 World Expo held in Spokane, USA, which featured the theme of "Progress without pollution." Subsequently, Izumi organized the "World Environmental Exhibition" in Harumi, Tokyo in 1976,[10] and served as a member of the Natural Environment Conservation Council, an advisory body to the Environment Agency.[11] In fact, Izumi was one of the first in Japan to set the conservation of *kankyō* as the theme of an exhibition.

This shift in focus from development to conservation, however, was not reflected in the Tsukuba Science Expo '85, despite the fact that Izumi participated in it as a basic concept committee member. Its theme "Dwellings and Surroundings-Science and Technology for Man at Home" was first conceived in English, and then translated into Japanese. The word "Surroundings" was translated to mean "*kankyō*," but the basic concept of "Surroundings" alluded to extreme environments not suitable for life such as outer space or polar regions. A complex optical fiber system was constructed underground at the venue and the expo was conceived as an advanced information city. *Kankyō* still inherited the implications of the Osaka Expo era.[12]

At the Tsukuba Expo, many pavilions presented the optimistic hope that science and technology would bring a bright future. They projected films on wide screens to emphasize

---

[7] For more information on McLuhan's influence on the environmental art, see: Yutaka Iida, "McLuhan, Environmental Art, Osaka Expo (Chapter 1)." In Iida, Y. (2020). *Medyia Ron no Chisō [The Geological Layers of Media Theory-From the 1970 Osaka Expo to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics]*. Tokyo: Keisō Shobō.

[8] Tsuji, Y. (2014). From Space to Environment" Exhibition (1966). *Journal of architecture, planning and environmental engineering, Vol. 79, No. 704,* 2294.

[9] This is also reflected in the basic philosophical construct of this expo, which advocates soft development. Tada, O. (2004). *Okinawa Imēji no Tanjyō [Birth of Okinawa Image-Cultural Studies of the Blue Sea]*. Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai., amazon kindle Position No. 1466.

[10] Izumi, S. (2005). *Izumi Shinya no Banyū Banbutsu Hakuran-E [Shinya Izumi's Universal Expo]*. Nagoya: Chūnichi Shimbun., 306-307.

[11] International Science and Technology Expo Association (Eds.). (1981). Kagaku Mange Chō [Science Kaleidoscope Note-From the Mystery of Life to Space Colonies]. Tokyo: Mizuumi Shobō. 88.

[12] Eto, M. (2021). Pavirion wo Yomu-Tsukuba Kagakuhaku niokeru Kankyō [Reading the Pavilions- Kankyō at Tsukuba Science Expo]. *Journal of modern languages & cultures, Vol. 22, 18.*

spectacle as entertainment. This trend could be traced back to Disney's EPCOT Center, which opened in Florida in 1982, and to Tokyo Disneyland, which opened in 1983. Many of the creators of the Tsukuba Expo visited these facilities and searched for new ideas.

Izumi was aware of the divergence between principles and practices. As he understood it, playfulness, entertainment, and *matsuri* elements had to be marginal, in principle at least, and commercialism should be avoided. This divergence was, as Izumi later acknowledged, caused by the fact that the Osaka Expo, a prototype for Japanese expos, was modeled after the New York World Fair, which was not certified by BIE and contained strong themes of commercialism.[13]

Criticism against the Seville Expo '92 as overly entertainment-oriented led to the 1994 BIE resolution that "Expos must address crucial problems of our time and tackle the challenge of environmental protection." In response, at the 2005 Aichi Expo, the meaning of *kankyō* changed radically from the one that the Tsukuba Expo had upheld. Conceived in 1988 and adopted at the 1997 BIE General Assembly, the plan for the Aichi Expo was reassessed many times because of concerns over conservation. The spirit of environmental conservation and citizen participation was emphasized in the final plan, which was highly evaluated by BIE. Izumi, as a general producer, created a huge green wall called "Bio-Lung," which symbolized a shift from modifying the natural environment for the sake of comfortable living to conserving it as indispensable for comfortable living.

Conclusion

Scholars have hitherto neglected the role that Izumi played in the history of Japan's expos. However, as I have discussed, Izumi's ingenuity significantly shaped Expos. During the decades that Japan transitioned from postwar rebuilding into a consumer society and then to the beginning of the era of sustainability, he reinvented new values such as leisure, festival, CI and ecology, relevant to each time and context.

Acknowledgement

---

[13] Izumi, S. (1992). Private View: World's Fair Exposition's Genesis. In Izumi, S. and Terazawa,T.(Eds), *DISPLAY DESIGNS IN JAPAN Vol.3 Expo & Exhibition*. Tokyo: Rokuyōsha, 9.

References

Awazu, K., Izumi, S., Kawazoe, N., Hara, H., Hariu, I. (Eds). (1966-70). *Dezain Hihyō [Design Criticism].Vol.1-12*, Tokyo: Fūdosha

Eto, M. (2021). Pavirion wo Yomu-Tsukuba Kagakuhaku niokeru Kankyō [Reading the Pavilions- Kankyō at Tsukuba Science Expo]. *Journal of modern languages & cultures, Vol. 22*, 1-23.

Iida, Y. (2020). *Medyia Ron no Chisō [The Geological Layers of Media Theory-From the 1970 Osaka Expo to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics]*. Tokyo: Keisō Shobō.

International Science and Technology Expo Association (Eds.). (1981). *Kagaku Mange Chō [Science Kaleidoscope Note-From the Mystery of Life to Space Colonies]*. Tokyo: Mizuumi Shobō.

Izumi, S. (1992). Private View: World's Fair Exposition's Genesis. In Izumi, S. and Terazawa,T.(Eds), *DISPLAY DESIGNS IN JAPAN Vol.3 Expo & Exhibition*, (pp.6-13). Tokyo: Rokuyōsha.

Izumi, S. (1988). *Kaku Heiki to Yūenchi [NuclearWeapons and Amusement Parks-Now, the Age of Intellectual Resonance Society]*. Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten.

Izumi, S. (2005). *Izumi Shinya no Banyū Banbutsu Hakuran-E [Shinya Izumi's Universal Expo]*. Nagoya: Chūnichi Shimbun.

Kuwata, M. (2017). *Hakurankai to Kankō [Expo and Tourism-Tourism Strategy for Reconstruction and Regional Revitalization]*. Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha.

Tsuji, Y. (2014). From Space to Environment" Exhibition (1966). *Journal of architecture, planning and environmental engineering, Vol. 79, No. 704, 2291-2298.*

Tada, O. (2004). *Okinawa Imēji no Tanjyō [Birth of Okinawa Image-Cultural Studies of the Blue Sea]*. Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai.

Sakaiya, T. (2018). *Chijyō Saidai no Gyōji Bankoku Hakurankai* [*The Biggest Event on Earth: The World Expositions]*. Tokyo: Kōbunsha.

Contact email: eto.mitsunori.gf@u.tsukuba.ac.jp

A Maid in the U.S. House: Architecture, Occupied Japan, and Tokyo Joe

Nominerdene Enkhbayar, University of Tsukuba, Japan

Abstract

This paper aims to shed light on the hitherto understudied relations between Japanese women and architecture in the post-war Hollywood film *Tokyo Joe* (1949), starring Humphrey Bogart. Set in Japan during the post-war U.S. military occupation, the film features a well-equipped example of dependents housing designated as a "U.S. House" and a nursemaid who works there. In historical actuality, U.S. Houses were upper-class residences requisitioned from Japanese owners for Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) officials' residences and were looked after by a retinue of Japanese kimono-clad maids whose salaries were paid for by the Japanese government. In *Tokyo Joe*, SCAP lawyer Mark Landis, his wife, Trina, and a daughter, Anya, live in one of those U.S. Houses. What this paper seeks to examine is not the nuclear family at the center of the U.S. House, but a Japanese nursemaid, a seemingly marginal and dependent character. Specifically, I focus on Nani-San, a sympathetic nanny turned villain who works for the Landises in order to spy and kidnap their child. As I demonstrate it, Nani-San is a mediator who connects the U.S. House and its exterior world that is occupied Japan, thereby propelling the narrative forward. By situating *Tokyo Joe* at the juncture of two converging histories, the cultural history of architecture and the social history of dependent Japanese women, this paper examines the imbricated relationship of the nursemaid and the U.S. House in occupied Japan and argues that this relationship significantly complicates the narrative of *Tokyo Joe*.

Keywords: Film Studies, Occupied Japan, Architecture, Japanese Women

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

This paper aims to shed light on the hitherto understudied relations between Japanese women and architecture in the post-war Hollywood film *Tokyo Joe* (1949), starring Humphrey Bogart. Set in Japan during the post-war U.S. military occupation, together with backdrop shots of streets of post-war Tokyo, the film features a well-equipped example of dependents housing (DH) designated as a "U.S. House" and a nursemaid who works there. In historical actuality, U.S. Houses were upper-class residences requisitioned from Japanese owners for Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) officials' residences and were looked after by a retinue of Japanese kimono-clad maids whose salaries were paid for by the Japanese government. The SCAP officials and their families lived in U.S. Houses. In *Tokyo Joe*, SCAP lawyer Mark Landis, his wife, Trina, and a daughter, Anya, live in one of those U.S. Houses surrounded by Japanese servants and maids.

What this paper seeks to examine is not the nuclear family—the Landises—at the center of the U.S. House, but a Japanese nursemaid, an ostensibly marginal and dependent character. Specifically, I focus on Nani-San, a seemingly sympathetic nanny turned villain who works for the Landises to spy on them and kidnap their child. As I discuss below, she is a mediator who connects the U.S. House and its exterior world that is occupied Japan, thereby propelling the narrative forward.

By situating *Tokyo Joe* at the juncture of two converging histories, the cultural history of architecture and the social history of dependent Japanese women, this paper examines the imbricated relationship of the nursemaid and the U.S. House in occupied Japan and argues that this relationship significantly complicates the narrative of *Tokyo Joe*.

Occupied Japan and *Tokyo Joe*

Set in Japan during the post-war U.S. occupation, *Tokyo Joe* differs from most other productions about the far east because it includes first-hand footage of occupied Japan ("Tokyo Joe," n.d.).[1] In this film, Humphrey Bogart plays Joe Barrett, an ex-Air Corps, who returns to Tokyo and the life he walked out on before the war, believing that his White Russian wife, Trina, had died in a Japanese concentration camp. The story of Joe and his former wife, Trina, unfolds against the backdrop shots of life in post-war Tokyo–shots that give the film both an authentic and exotic touch.

Newspapers at that time, as well as the film's producer, commented on *Tokyo Joe*'s originality and unfamiliar feel to Western audiences by highlighting its raw footage. *The Goulburn Evening Post* reported that the "most interesting thing about this drama is some excellent background shots of life in post-war Tokyo" (Ritz, 1950), and *Variety* noted, "This authentic touch serves as an excellent background for the unfolding of the plot's meller elements" (Variety Staff, 1948). Moreover, one article in *Shin-eiga*[2] sounded a positive note saying how the footage would enable the film to show the world "true Japan" ("Tokyo Joe to wa donna eiga ka?" 1949). Robert Lord, the producer who shot the on-site footage in Tokyo said, "The background will be fascinating to people who have never been here. The kids will interest American audiences as much as they did me" (Falk, 1949).

---

[1] Robert Lord shot the footage with the help of the occupation army in Japan, and this was the first time after World War II that an American company was allowed to film in Japan.

[2] *Shin-eiga* (New Film) was a Japanese magazine which focused on films, published by Shin-eiga-sha.

U.S. House and Architecture

One significant, though often neglected element, of the background in *Tokyo Joe* is the architecture. The film, for instance, features a traditional Japanese-style house with tatami rooms, and a Japanese garden, which is the residence of Baron Kimura, the chief villain in the story. Kimura's mansion houses several of his servants, while interiors such as traditionally painted Japanese sliding doors and hanging scrolls emphasize the architecture's exoticness and character difference between Joe and Kimura.

Tokyo Joe features not only traditional architecture like Kimura's mansion, but also the "U.S. House," a unique architecture that was distinctive to occupied Japan. After World War II, in Japan, the U.S. Army implemented the construction of DH for the occupation army forces in Japan (Koizumi, Takayabu, & Uchida, 1999a, 1999b; Akio, 2011). Dependents housing is a family residence for occupation military personnel stationed in Japan after the war. Western-style houses that survived wartime bombing were also requisitioned to be used as army officers' family houses (Koizumi, Takayabu, & Uchida, 1999a, p. 57). In *Tokyo Joe*, we can see similar architecture depicted as the "U.S. House," and it is in this house that we first see Nani-San, the seemingly sympathetic nursemaid.

Contrary to the traditional style of Kimura's house, the interior of the U.S. House is Western in its aesthetics. After finding out his wife is alive, Joe goes to the Landises' house, a Western-style two-story mansion with a garage and a nameplate that says, "MARK LANDIS U.S. HOUSE 714." The house has a spacious entrance, and at the end of the entrance, we can see a large staircase, characteristic of a modern Western house. Next to the entrance is a big spacious living room decorated with glass windows, a coffee table, a fireplace, and a grand piano at the center. A maid and a gardener, both Japanese, are seen to be taking care of the house. The geisha dolls and bonsais on the fireplace and the Japanese-style paper sliding doors give the interior a Japanese touch. Upon entering the house, Joe finds out Trina has divorced him and is now married to Mark Landis, an American SCAP lawyer, and there is also a girl, Anya, Joe's daughter.

In the film, the U.S. House is home to the Landises, a nuclear family of Mark, Trina, and Anya, which displaces the original nuclear family of Joe, Trina, and Anya. Joe, the biological father, is replaced by Mark. This displacement of a family member is the result of Trina's remarriage to Mark. During the occupation era, DH and the U.S. House became home to American nuclear families like the Landises. Requisitioned houses were rarely used as DH in the state that they were found; most of them underwent some kind of renovation work. The goal of the renovation was to add *openness* to the interior, which was more characteristic of modern American houses than Japanese homes (Koizumi, Takayabu, & Uchida, 1999a, p. 58). Furthermore, DH usually had modern electric home appliances such as electric stoves, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines (Koizumi, 2012, p. 134). A lot of American families enjoyed a lavish material lifestyle that would not necessarily have been available in their hometowns, let alone having maids similar to Nani-San.

Nani-San as a Mediator

Although Nani-San is not part of the nuclear family, as she is a maid working in the U.S. House, her character has a deeper connection to the architecture than it initially appears. During the occupation, DH was important not only for American families but also for Japanese women who worked there as maids. In a way, their livelihood was dependent on the salaries they made

from working in DH. Maids for American families were a new type of job created in the wake of the construction of DH (Koizumi, 2012, p. 126). Although working in DH was a relatively high-paid job and may have been a desirable job to impoverished Japanese women who had a longing for American culture and wanted to learn English, DH was also a site of racial and class struggle (Koizumi, 2012, p. 142).[3] In the film *Tokyo Joe*, the U.S. House should not only be read simply as a privileged space but also as a site/space where Japanese women's tension-ridden stories unfold.

The story of Nani-San, a putatively marginal Japanese nursemaid character, unfolds in and out of the U.S. House, the residence of the Landis family, complicating the main plot of *Tokyo Joe*. She is the only maid in the narrative who is given a name, and she is the sole Japanese female character to function as a mediator.

Nani-San is a mediator in the sense that she is a meaning-maker, rather than a meaning-carrier in the narrative of *Tokyo Joe*. According to Bruno Latour, mediators are defined by their unexpectedness (Latour, 2005, p. 39). Trina initially introduces Nani-San as Anya's nanny, but as the story progresses, contrary to her initial image as a sympathetic nanny, her identity is revealed as a double agent working for Baron Kimura while disguising herself as a maid in the U.S. House. Through her, we can see the dualism of the U.S. house—a house requisitioned from a Japanese owner by the U.S. occupation forces—which informs and is informed by Nani-San's double identity as a nanny and a spy, working at the same time for the Japanese baron and the American SCAP lawyer.

The imbricated relation of the nursemaid and the U.S. House is the prime subplot that complicates and subverts the narrative of *Tokyo Joe* simultaneously. The U.S. House is a haven for Trina and her daughter, Anya, and it is also the only place where the protagonist Joe gets a chance to rekindle his marriage to Trina and strengthen his family bond with Anya. However, with Nani-San's double identity as a spy, her existence opens the door for Kimura to take a course of action against Joe. With Nani-San's cooperation, Kimura's scheme penetrates the walls of the U.S. House, transforming the house into a vulnerable site for both Joe and his family. Being in close contact with both the U.S. House and Kimura's mansion, Nani-San propels the narrative forward by pushing Joe and his family into the next great danger, which is the kidnapping of Joe's biological daughter, Anya.

One major turning point in the narrative is this abduction. By order of Kimura, being the mother-like figure to the child, Nani-San initiates the kidnapping. In the scene where the kidnapping happens, Kimura's men ambush Anya and Nani-San during their walk outside. Nani-San quickly reassures the bewildered child by introducing Kimura's underlings as her friends. This sequence is important in the film because it prevents the narrative from halting and compels it to move forward. Before this scene, the film's story was destined to end when Joe agreed to cooperate with the occupation forces to arrest Kimura. However, the kidnapping triggers Joe to confront Kimura and save his daughter all by himself, which ultimately leads to the reconciliation of the protagonist and his ex-wife, Trina.

---

[3] Kazuko Koizumi pointed out how Japanese maids were victims of sexual violence at the hands of male employers. This situation was caused by the power relationship between the employer and the maid, and disparity in social position. By highlighting the maid's sexuality, Japanese magazines at that time criticized maids for having a relationship with American soldiers.

Conclusion

As I have discussed, in *Tokyo Joe*, the U.S. House functions not only as a background for the displaced American nuclear family, the Landises, but also as a site/space where the stories of occupiers and occupied, inflected by race, gender, and class, in post-war Japan are negotiated, creating complex subplots. In the film, the architecture itself emerges as a site for Japan and America's negotiations of power. In the end, *Tokyo Joe* significantly affords an insight into the importance of architecture in cinematic space.

References

Akio, S. (2011). *Washington haitsu: Jieichikyu ga tokyo ni kizanda sengo* [Washington heights: Dependents housing area]. Tokyo: Shinchosha.

Falk, R. (1949, January 30). Tokyo backgrounds. *The New York Times*, X4.

Koizumi, K., Takayabu, A., & Uchida, S. (1999a). *Nihon no seikatsu sutairu no genten to natta dependento hausu* [Dependents housing: The origin of Japanese lifestyle]. Tokyo: Sumai no Toshokan Shuppankyoku.

Koizumi, K., Takayabu, A., & Uchida, S. (1999b). *Dependento hausu ga nokoshita kenchiku kagu juki* [What dependents housing left: Architecture, furniture, and fixtures]. Tokyo: Sumai no Toshokan Shuppankyoku.

Koizumi, K. (2012). *Jochu ga ita showa* [Showa where there were maids]. Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lord, R. (Producer), & Heisler, S. (Director). (1949). *Tokyo Joe* [Motion picture]. United States: Columbia Pictures.

Ritz, H. (1950, August 7). Tokyo Joe. *The Goulburn Evening Post*, p. 8.

Tokyo Joe. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.tcm.com/tcmdb/title/16018/tokyo-joe#notes

Tokyo Joe to wa donna eiga ka? [What kind of movie is Tokyo Joe?]. (1949, February). *Shin-eiga*, *6*(2), 24–25.

Variety Staff. (1948, December). Tokyo Joe. *Variety.* Retrieved June 12, 2021, from https://variety.com/1948/film/reviews/tokyo-joe-1200416088/

Contact email: nr_2411@yahoo.com

A Forest Shamans: The Sacred Tree and Narratives of the Folk History

Aki Tokumaru, University of Tsukuba, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
This paper examines the oral narratives of a female shaman and the people involved in her religious practices in modern Japan. Narratives are told and retold, ultimately becoming traditional oral histories that are closely related to local people's lives. This paper discusses the ways in which such narratives make and can be read as folk history. As a case study, I consider the narratives of female shaman in a village in Yamaguchi Prefecture, where a small hermitage called Chigusu-An (千楠庵) was built and in which hundreds of carved wooden dolls were housed. I collected the narratives of the female shaman and other locals who were involved in the construction of this hermitage. Focusing on the multidimensional structures of their narratives, I will probe into the ways in which the traditional worldview centered on the sacred tree is linked to the people's lived experience and even their "pre-life," that is, the time of their ancestors.

Keywords: Folk History, Narratives of the Informant, Life History, Lived Experience, Pre-Life

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

This paper examines the oral narratives of a female shaman and the people involved in her religious practices in modern Japan. Narratives are told and retold, ultimately becoming traditional oral histories that are closely related to local people's lives. This paper discusses the ways in which such narratives make and can be read as folk history [Miyata 1990]. As a case study, I consider the narratives of a female shaman in a village in Yamaguchi Prefecture, where a legendary, 1,000-year-old tree is said to be the burial place of warhorses that fought for the local lords in the 16th century. In the early 1990s, a small hermitage called Chigusu-An was built and hundreds of carved wooden dolls were housed in it. Made by a female shaman (Mrs. A), these wooden dolls were regarded as children in which the souls of dead samurai warriors dwell. I have described the connection between the informants' traditional view of the world and the understanding of the story as a narrative about Morigami elsewhere.[1] I conducted intermittent surveys in the village for 10 years starting in 1990 and collected the narratives of the female shaman and other locals who were involved in the construction of this hermitage. Focusing on the multidimensional structures of the narratives, I will probe into the ways in which the traditional worldview centered on the sacred tree is linked to the people's lived experience and even their "pre-life," that is, the time of their ancestors. I will argue that this linkage creates the practice of concrete actions.

Kusun-no-Mori and the Female Shaman

Figure 1: Kusu-no-Mori　（楠の森）

In folklore studies, an oral narrative given by an informant is a considered to be a text. Such a text is malleable, influenced by contexts, both narrow and broad. It is a text shaped partly by the context [Dundes 1980] in which the informant speaks and converses with the researcher, which can be called a synchronic context [Fish 1992]. It is also shaped by the broader, diachronic context of the informant's personal history—biological and psychological—which is in turn informed by inherited tradition.

---

[1] Morigami (森神: Forest God) are enshrined in forests which are understood as sacred places in various areas of Japan. In folklore studies, Morigami are understood as a primitive form of Yashikigami (屋敷神: Residence God). They have also been discussed as part of a reconstruction process of the traditions related to the folk gods involved in the rituals of the founders and spirits [Tokumaru 2002].

Figure 2: Shiroyama （城山）

As a case study, I will consider the narratives of a female shaman in Dai Village (台集落) in Yamaguchi Prefecture, where a legendary, 1,000-year-old tree called Kusu-no-Mori (楠の森), is said to be the burial place of warhorses that fought for the local lords in the 16th century. In the early 1990s, a small hermitage called Chigusu-An (千楠庵) was built and hundreds of carved wooden dolls were housed in it. Made by a female shaman, these wooden dolls were regarded as children and places where the souls of dead samurai warriors dwelt.

I conducted intermittent surveys in Dai Village for 10 years starting in 1990 and collected the narratives of the female shaman and other locals who were involved in the construction of the hermitage. Focusing on the multidimensional structures of the narratives, I will probe into the ways in which the traditional worldview centered on the sacred tree is linked to the people's lived experience and even their "pre-life," that is, the time of their ancestors.

Figure 3: Kusu-no-Mori's Child

Figure 4: Inside of Cigusu-An（千楠庵内部）

Dai Village is famous for a Shiroyama-legend (城山伝説) about the fall of the lord, Ouchi Yoshitaka (大内義隆 1507~1551), who ruled the area in the 16th century. The legend goes that the lord's fallen warhorses[2] and samurai were buried at Kusu-no-Mori, a large camphor tree. This legend, as I shall demonstrate, has been significantly reconstructed by a modern female shaman. Since childhood, this woman has possessed mythic power or shamanic qualities, predicting, for instance, the occurrence of fire. She has gone through a number of spiritual experiences, but she did not become a professional preacher.[3] Instead, she married and became the mother of two children. At the time of my fieldwork, she was a housewife and engaged in non-profitable religious activities. She visited Kusu-no-Mori in 1986, where she saw the spirits of the dead who were killed in battle. Subsequently, she cut off twigs from the camphor tree and began carving wooden dolls. She named them "Kusu-no-Mori's Children," and enshrined them. She regarded the act of making dolls out of the camphor tree as an act of giving a form to the dead spirits.[4]

---

[2] The names of two beloved horses are Ikezuki (池月) and Surusumi (磨墨). It is said that a camphor tree was planted on the tomb to mark where the horses were buried. However, every night, the spirits of the horses appeared and afflicted the villagers, so they enshrined the spirits of the horses as gods.

[3] Later, Mrs. A visited the Tendai Sect Temple (狗留孫山修験寺: Kurusonsan Suzenji) and practiced religious acts related to the sacred mountains, shrines, temples, Morigami, etc. in the surrounding area.

[4] Mrs. A was always conscious of the history of the region. In Mrs. A's perception, the spirits of the samurai who died in the fall actually existed and had a strong influence on herself and the families living here. She was born outside of Dai Village and lives her daily life, but sees herself as a servant, so to speak, of Kusu-no-Mori. The reason for her calling is also linked to the the "Innen"b(因縁: Fate) shouldered by the ancestors of her family. The reasoning for religious behavior in Mrs. A's real life is interpreted retroactively to the time her ancestors lived. The living time of her ancestors is also deeply related to her perception of the history of the region.

Figure 5: Jijin Moso（地神盲僧）

One day, when she exhibited Kusu-no-Mori's Children, a couple came to visit it. At that time, the husband (Mr. C) of the couple was inexplicably suffering from ill health, which even a doctor could not cure. Curiously, the woman noticed that Kusu-no-Mori's Children were all staring at the couple. The wife (Mrs. C) asked the woman about the cause of her husband's illness who interpreted that it was due to the spirits of the dead at Kusu-no-Mori, which was located close to their home. She proposed a memorial service for the dead spirits as a solution. The couple agreed and built a small hermitage called Chigusu-An, which was dedicated to Kusu-no-Mori's Children. In due course, the woman had a spiritual vision of the tree bleeding sap down onto the ground and chose this spot as the place to build the hermitage. She also had a vision of the Earth God, Jijin Moso（Mr. B:地神盲僧）,[5] who had performed a ritual for Kusu-no-Mori . She had a vision of this monk giving his Kesa (袈裟: his robes) to her. Such visions made her realize that she had been granted the qualification to enshrine Kusu-no-Mori. She thus became a shaman. I happened to participate in the ceremony of the establishment of this hermitage, and began to interview this female shaman, the couple and other people in the community intermittently for 10 years to collect their narratives about Kusu-no-Mori.

Kusu-no-Mori's Children were enshrined in the hermitage, where the shaman routinely performed memorial services with the assistance of the couple. The husband regained his health, and a strong bond of trust developed between them and the shaman. Subsequently, other residents in the village who experienced tragedies such as family suicides and accidents came to the shaman for help. They all participated in religious practices at Kusu-no-Mori, and with the shaman and the couple at the core, a religious group was formed, and a stable relationship

---

[5] Jijin Moso (地神盲僧: Blind Monk), is a religious figure who once played the biwa and chanted Butsusetu Jijin Kyo (仏説地神経: Sutras for Jijin). Enshrined Kenro Jijin(堅牢地神: the god of earth) and Uchi Kojininn (内荒神: the god of fire enshrined in the fire place) were also thought to be active in this area. One Jijin Moso also lives in the Jijin Do (地神堂: a hall dedicated to the god of earth) in Dai Village. Jijin Moso was an acquaintance of Mrs. C and Mrs. C's husband, but did not know Mrs. A. At Jijin Sai（地神祭: a festival of the god of earth） dedicated to Jijin Moso, the "Chu-Ou" (中央: center of the world) was set up at the root of Kusu-no-Mori, and the place was envisaged by god's blind monks and Dai villagers as the center of the settlement. Figure5 is Jijin Moso who was active in another area (2004).

continued thereafter for 6 years.[6] However, following the deaths of the couple, this religious group disbanded, and the shaman suspended her rituals in the hermitage.
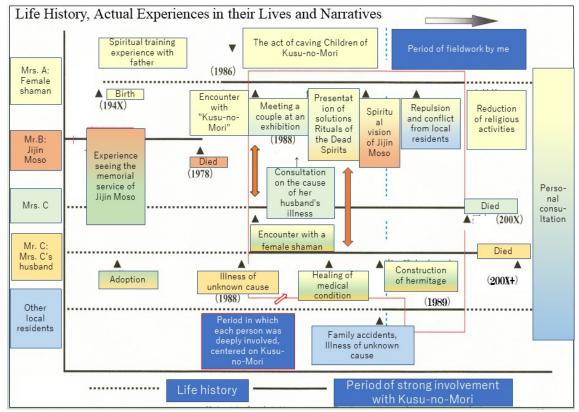

Figure 6: Life Histroy, Actual Experiences in their Live and Narratives

The narratives about the origins of Kusu-no-Mori, which I collected, were informed by different interpretive frameworks that different storytellers—the shaman, the couple, and others—each had. The framework that the shaman had was based on a worldview related to a war in the 16th century. Her act of carving and giving birth to Kusu-no-Mori's Children out of the dead twigs of the camphor tree was a religious act – the purification of the impurities of the earth. The camphor tree was at the center of the village, and the dead in the ground would be raised up into the tree and purified by being given the form of a wooden doll. In her framework, the spirits of the dead samurai warriors from the 16th century did not disappear into thin air but remained and had a strong influence on both the region and her own personage in the present world. The couple understood Kusu-no-Mori to be the god of the entire village, and they decided to enshrine the god on their property for the well-being of the husband. The shaman identified the cause of the husband's inexplicable illness, which was karma from the dead spirits of the women in the grounds of the couple's house. Building the hermitage was an important event for the couple, and Kusu-no-Mori had an impact on their family life.

---

[6] Mrs. C, said at the time of the construction of Chigusu-An, "My ancestors also wanted me to build a hermitage. I think my ancestors are pleased with this. Muen-Sama (無縁様: a spirit without a shrine) in the forest will also be delighted". Mrs. C believes that the memorial service for the unsung dead in Chigusu-An was what her ancestors spirits wanted, and linked the living time of her ancestors with the founding of Chigusu-An. In other words, the history of the castle, its legends, and the murder of samurai that once occurred in this land are not seen only as old events that ended in the past. They are still regarded as a "living" events that are directly related to the events of linked to living individuals and families.

The historical legend behind Kusu-no-Mori is related to the demise of Lord Ouchi, who ruled the region almost 470 years ago. By contrast, the personal and family narrative of the couple—the illness and recovery of the husband and their building the hermitage—is about their life story in the present time. Nevertheless, events that occurred in the life of the couple are linked to the history of Kusu-no-Mori across time.

Although the events surrounding the demise of Lord Ouchi took place in the past, they were regarded as "living" events that were directly related to the personal and familial events that were taking place in the present. Such understandings of the connection of otherwise seemingly unrelated events were informed most obviously by the shaman but also by the process of the couple's interactions with other residents living in the village.

Conclusion

Finally, I want to chart the three elements that are important in the creation of the oral narrative history of "Kusu-no-Mori's Children."

The first is the process of joint interpretation and reflective understanding. Initially, a crisis emerged in the life of the couple, followed by their encounter with the shaman, resulting in their re-interpretation of their life experience against the backdrop of traditions related to local history and in a reflective understanding of it [Oyama 1987].

The second is the subject-formation of the housewife into the shaman who reigns in Kusu-no-Mori and practices religious rituals for people in the village.
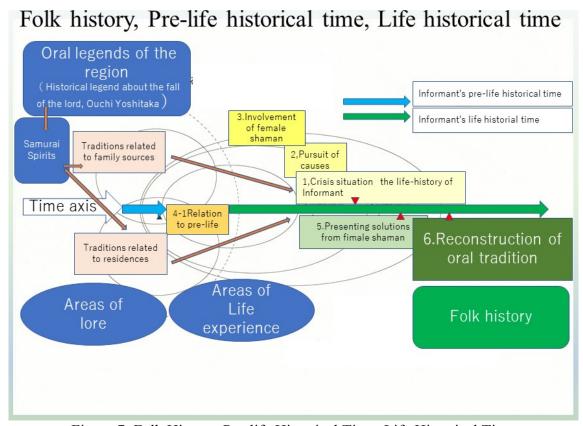

Figure 7: Folk History, Pre-life Historical Time, Life Historical Time

The third is the negotiation between narratives, time frames, and contexts. The life experiences of local people are mutually related and are integrated into the oral legend of Kusu-no-Mori. The actual experiences in their lives are woven into the events that occurred in a time period before they were born, and they are connected to this pre-life historical time. The spirits of the dead are seen as existing in this world and as working within the temporal dimension of the world of the living (a life historical time). The past that exists outside of the perception of the informant is imagined as being actual and real in the context of the region, inviting the informant to negotiate with the existence that is the past. Memorial services are practiced, and the life experiences of the informants are further accumulated. Even if it is a story told by a single informant, its composition is multi-voiced, and its tense goes back to the past before the informant is born.

Through such a process, a close link is formed between the internal world of the individual informant and the historical and collective consciousness of the family and the community. In the end, the story of the informant is an expression of the folk history transmitted and inherited while integrating the life experiences of the informant and others across time.

References

Aki, Tokumaru. (2002). *Historical and Folklore Studies of Morigami.* Tokyodo Publishing Co. Ltd.

Dundes, Alan. (1980). Texture, Text, and, Context. *Intrpreting Folklore.*

Noboru, Miyata. (1990). Trends in Folk History Theory. *National History and Folklore Museum Research Report* Vol. 27, National Museum of History and Folklore.

Nobuyoshi, Oyama. (1987). History of Life as a Theory of Reflection. *Contemporary Sociology* Vol. 24.

Stanley, Fish. (1992). There is a Text in this Class? . *Mizu Shobo.*

Contact Email: tokumaru.aki.fb@u.tsukuba.ac.jp

Reading Kenji Miyazawa after 3.11: Region, Utopia, and Modernity

Michael Larson, Keio University, Japan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2021
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Interpretations of Miyazawa Kenji's work have gone through several iterations since his death: from virtual obscurity, he was recovered as an author of children's literature and poetry, and, in the postwar, his writing was appreciated for its incorporation of Buddhist themes and Miyazawa himself became synonymous with provincial Japan. After the 3.11 earthquake, tsunami, and resulting nuclear accident devastated northeastern Japan, Miyazawa's work took on renewed importance, and his fiction and poetry were taken up in new readings both in and outside Japan. These included popular appreciations of the poem "Strong in the Rain," scholarly investigations of his work's relation to place, and examinations of his anti-modern and utopian themes. A decade after the tsunami it is worth asking which readings of Miyazawa's works have endured in the culture and which readings have dissipated or proven inert in the intervening years. We might also question which readings of his work we might privilege in order to better envision a resilient future for a region still on the road toward recovery. This presentation will briefly discuss Miyazawa's standing in Japanese literature before taking up several of the most prominent interpretations of his works that appeared after 3.11. In a final turn, these different approaches will be evaluated and new readings will be proposed, with special attention paid to Miyazawa's story "Matasaburo of the Wind."

Keywords: Miyazawa, Kenji, Ihatov, Matasaburo of the Wind, Modernity, Region, Tohoku, Japan, Literature, Taisho, Showa, Great Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami, 3.11, Ecology, Modernization

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

I. Introduction

I should begin by saying that I am not a scholar of the late-Meiji, Taisho, or early-Showa periods, during which Kenji Miyazawa lived and composed the works that we know him for today. The subjects I am primarily interested in have to do with utopia and literary theory, and my approach to Miyazawa's work centers these concepts. On a personal level, I am also quite familiar with the Tohoku region, especially Aomori and Miyazawa's native Iwate. Thus, while it may seem far-fetched to many readers, who think of those provinces as representing distant areas of Japan, lacking the distinction of Hokkaido or Okinawa, I take seriously Miyazawa's idea of Ihatovu, a utopian world that is contiguous with Iwate.[1] Of course, in some sense utopia can be located in nearly any place where there is a will for it, but I find a particularly compelling case for Iwate in the landscape, the local culture, and the historical circumstances which have shaped both of these.

II. Reading Kenji Miyazawa Post 3.11

Today, Kenji Miyazawa is synonymous with the literature of Tohoku or northeastern Japan. His works have been the basis for popular anime films, manga series, and even stage plays; his writings have been referenced in the names of theme parks, actual trains, and even locally brewed beers. Thus, it was not surprising that after the Great Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami and the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Disaster devastated the region in 2011, one of his poems was adopted as a kind of mantra for the recovery effort. The verse, which some scholars take to be a written prayer as much as a poem, was found in one of Miyazawa's notebooks with the only date November 3rd in lieu of a title and is usually known by its first line, "Ame ni mo makezu" or "Strong in the Rain" (Sato, 2007, p. 45). After the disaster, this poem was read by actor Ken Watanabe in a YouTube video that was viewed nearly a million times (Pulvers, 2011, p. 2).

This swell in appreciation for Miyazawa's work was only the latest wave in the rising tide of Miyazawa's popularity. The remarkable flourishing of his literary legacy is well-known in Japanese literary circles: in 1933, when the author died of pneumonia at the age of 37, he had only published a single volume of poetry and a single volume of *dowa* or children's stories. However, a group of the author's friends came together and put out a three-volume edition of his collected works. The poem "Ame in mo makezu" was eventually published in an anthology of Japanese poets in 1936 and was included in an anthology of patriotic poems published in 1942 by the Taiseiyokusankai or Imperial Rule Assistance Association. As Hiroaki Sato (2007) notes, this poem was also taken up in a 1944 lecture by the philosopher Tatsuzo Tanikawa titled "Konnichi no kokorogamae" or "What we must be prepared to do today"; in 1945, in the last, desperate days of Japan's war effort, this lecture was reprinted in a booklet and 20,000 copies were made, in an attempt to prepare the nation for further sacrifices in a war that was already lost (pp. 47-48).

Likewise, in the wake of 3.11, the sentiment of the poem was widely cited by the media and the English translation of the poem's title became the title of a nonfiction book on the disaster by a pair of Western journalists.[2] This ethos of self-sacrifice and endurance was echoed by

---

[1] In his lifetime, Miyazawa was a champion of his home region, even seeing within Iwate a utopian potential captured in his concept of Ihatovu, which, as Melissa Anne-Marie Curely (2014) notes, shares many similarities with the Buddhist conception of the Pure Land .(p. 113).

[2] Birmingham and McNeil *Strong in the Rain: Surviving Japan's Earthquake, Tsunami, and Fukushima Nuclear Disaster* (2014).

the slogan *Ganbare Tohoku!* or Keep Fighting Tohoku! which became ubiquitous after the disaster. And yet, as Melissa Anne-Marie Curley (2014) has noted, this deployment of "Ame ni mo makezu" by media outlets that were almost exclusively based in Tokyo, cuts against Miyazawa's invocation of self-sacrifice. She writes: "It is one thing to urge self-sacrifice when addressing the self, and something else to urge self-sacrifice when addressing others" (p. 116). In the same vein as the wartime leadership of Japan, who asked the nation to endure every hardship even as they refused to face their own mistakes, it was often grating to hear the national press and government ministries asking the people of Tohoku to fight on, despite the fact that their problems could often be traced back to decisions taken in Tokyo. Moreover, the use of "Ame ni mo makezu" to encourage a kind of stoic acceptance does not mesh with Miyazawa actual life experience, in which he actively tried to improve the conditions of agriculture and labor and created programs that placed his locality in a central position. As Curley notes, when Miyazawa and his work are presented as emblematic of the saintly virtues of the rural north it is often "to the effect of valorizing self-sacrifice in order to avoid questions about the structures within which such sacrifices take place" (2014, p. 116).

All this is to say, readings that interpret Miyazawa's work in ways that allow the hegemonic forces of Japanese society to meet moments of national crisis without any examination of the contradictions underpinning their position should be rejected as insufficiently critical. However, self-interested interpretations of Miyazawa's work have not been without their fortunate byproducts. One of these is that the attention paid to Miyazawa has brought to light his archive, much of which went unpublished during his lifetime as a result of similar dynamics of capital and power.[3] Another benefit of the promotion of Miyazawa's work is that today, he enjoys an audience that includes most of the Japanese public and readers around the world; a readership far beyond what the author could have conceived of when, as Hoyt Long (2011) reports, Miyazawa on his deathbed told his father that his manuscripts were "the traces of disillusionment" that "should be disposed of accordingly" (p. 1). The popularity of Miyazawa's writings presents an opportunity in that if the subversive and oppositional elements within his work were better appreciated it might have an impact far beyond most acts of literary interpretation.

Indeed, much recent scholarship, including publications by Eric Siercks (2016) and the aforementioned Curley and Long, has been dedicated to recovering this other Miyazawa. I will attempt to further this project by examining the territory which Miyazawa sewed most densely with stories that work against narratives of modernity and its dominant class: the utopian world of Ihatovu. In particular, one of his Ihatovu stories, "*Kaze no Matasaburo*" (1934) or "Matasaburo of the Wind," playfully subverts ideas of centrality and progress. Reading these elements in Miyazawa's works transforms them into a guidebook for the future of Tohoku, which does not attempt to simply use up regional resources for the gain of the metropole or nation. Rather, this reading allows us to recover a symbolic version of Tohoku, which shows how the local might contribute to a larger discourse in a way that is not exploitative or sacrificial.

III. Local Knowledge in "Matasaburo of the Wind"

As Ge Yu (2008) notes, this story includes revised forms of several pieces Miyazawa wrote around the same time as the stories included in *The Restaurant of Many Orders* (1924). The

---

[3] Miyazawa's exclusion from growing *dowa* literary industry, which was centered in Tokyo during the Taisho period, is recounted by Sato (p. 40).

three pieces that Miyazawa synthesized into this story are "Saikachibuchi" "Taneyamagahara," and another short piece that is also titled "Kazenomatasaburo," although written using different kanji characters (p. 61). This last piece is featured in Long's illuminating monograph, *On Uneven Ground: Miyazawa Kenji and the Making of Place in Modern Japan*.

In his chapter about the story, Long demonstrates how Miyazawa's text, which the author read aloud to his students at Hanamaki Agricultural High School, served an educational purpose similar to a science reader, which was a popular form at the time (p. 105). The narrative of the earlier "Kazenomatasaburo" revolves around a mysterious transfer student, who is actually a wind spirit, and the story is woven together with references to the wind patterns of Iwate and explanations of the crucial role wind currents play in the ecosystem, such as clearing smoke and fog and pollinating plants (pp. 108, 111). As Long notes, Miyazawa's earlier, educational text shows the rural locality as a contested space: the unnamed town in Iwate is not a passive landscape, submissive to the knowledge of the metropole, but exists in-between the larger project of Taisho-era modernism, which included both a rationalized regime of institutional education and "local ways of knowing and engaging with the phenomenal world" (p. 119).

Miyazawa's revised and expanded version of "Matasaburo of the Wind" also chronicles a few days in the life of a young boy who transfers from Hokkaido to a rural one-room schoolhouse near the Kitakami Mountains in southeastern Iwate. Saburo Takada arrives in the area because the mining interest his father works for is considering exploiting a local source of molybdenum, a mineral used to harden steel. At first, the local children, including Ichiro, Kasuke, and Kosuke, take Saburo to be an exotic element—literally speculating, "*Aitsu ha gaikokujin da na*" or "He must be a foreigner" (Miyazawa, 2021, p. 8). Observing the way the wind rattles the classroom doors when they first see him, they deem him Matasaburo of the Wind, a reference to a wind spirit common in folk beliefs across Tohoku (Long, p. 108).

Yu observes how certain revisions to the earlier story remove the emphasis on Saburo as the main character, so that the narrative point of view becomes free-floating, often focusing on one of the local children and showing the way they see Saburo (p. 73). One example is the way "Matasaburo of the Wind" removes the explicitly magical aspects of Saburo's character, allowing the story to strike a more open posture. However, due to his red hair, strange clothing, and outsider status, an air of otherworldliness still lingers about Saburo in the minds of the younger students, such as Kasuke, who gets lost in a thicket at one point and imagines seeing Saburo flying into the sky in a glass cloak and shoes (Miyazawa, 2021, p. 36-37). This episode is clearly shown to be a daydream, and Saburo's sojourn in the town can otherwise be read as a realist account of a new student adapting to life in rural Iwate. However, even without any supernatural aura, Saburo is still an avatar of the forces of modernity that the centralized, Taisho-era Japanese nation was attempting to foment and control: his speech is rendered in standard Japanese, contrasting with the Iwate dialect of the other students, and his reading skills are far beyond the others in his grade level. This marks him as a representative of the powers that are reconfiguring the local society and increasingly able to reach into formerly remote areas; such powers include the mining company his father works for, which has the potential to transform the town's economy and reshape the landscape itself. However, following their teacher's instructions and despite their initial apprehension, the other students include Saburo in their adventures, such as exploring the countryside, climbing trees, and going swimming.

Like many of Miyazawa's stories, the narrative contains moments of reversal that deftly push against the contradictions that exist within modernity. In "Matasaburo of the Wind," we can see this most clearly in section titled "September 7," when the children, including Saburo, go swimming in a river near the schoolhouse. After diving for stones under the instruction of Ichiro, the oldest of the children, they encounter a group of adults carrying a fishing net. In her aforementioned study, Yu notes one major difference between the earlier "Saikachibuchi" and the revised version of this story that appears as the swimming section in "Matasaburo of the Wind": in the later story a clear distinction is made between the children and the adults (p. 63). Indeed, the children, who have been cooped up in their stiflingly hot classroom for much of the day, run to the river, strip off their clothes, and dive into the cold water. Meanwhile, the adults come strolling up the banks and slowly prepare to fish the waters.

This feeds into one of the themes that Takao Hagiwara (1992) notes in Miyazawa's work, when he observes that the author's writings are "a matter of the 'marginal,'" and within them "innocence [is] related most fundamentally to the issue of center-periphery"; he goes on to say that "children represent marginal existences insofar as they do not play the central power roles that society reserves for 'mature adults'" (p. 243). Indeed, in the swimming hole scene in "Matasaburo of the Wind," after the adults arrive, the children lurk downstream as the adults take up a central position and prepare to fish. One of the adults, a man named Sosuke who works at the mine (presumably the same one Saburo's father has come to search for precious metals), takes a stick of dynamite from his belt, lights it with his tobacco pipe, and throws it into the river. After the reverberations of the explosion die down, the men move in with their net. However, unbeknownst to them, the children have carefully positioned themselves just downstream of the blast area, where they are able to scoop up a good portion of the catch: "*Sore kara minna totte waa waa yorokobimasita*" (Miyazawa, 2021, p. 53). The adults haul in their nets, and one of the men remarks that they didn't get many fish: "*Sappari inai na*" (p. 53). In a gesture that demonstrates the degree to which Saburo has come to identify with the other local boys, and also makes use of his social standing as the son of an educated outsider, Saburo approaches the miner Sosuke and throws two fish at his feet, saying he can have them back. Sosuke, remarks, "*Nan da kono warasu, kitai na yatsu da na*" or "Who are you kid? Quite the little devil" (p. 53).

Here, the children's knowledge of the river allows them to take advantage of the adults' indiscretion, although they remain marginal actors, unable to prevent the miners' destructive use of dynamite, which we later learn is actually an illegal method of fishing. This impulse to privilege the marginal is echoed in the following scene, after the miners depart, when an official from the Monopoly Bureau appears on the riverbanks. During this period, the state-owned Monopoly Bureau, which had originally only held a monopoly on tobacco leaves, had expanded to include all tobacco business, as well as salt and camphor, in order to help fund the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 (Vries, 2020, pp. 107-108). Even more so than the miners, who are local people working for larger, national interest, the Monopoly Bureau represents the increasing power of the Japanese state in the provinces. Much like Saburo himself in the first scene, the Monopoly Bureau man is marked as an outsider, having a pointy nose and wearing Western-style clothes. But unlike Saburo, this man is an adult, and a powerful one at that. In an earlier episode, the children become quite scared when Saburo unknowingly picks a tobacco leaf, saying, "*Wai. Senbaikyoku de, kono happa ichi mae zutsu kazoete chyomen sa tsukederu da*" or "Don't you know the Monopoly Bureau count every single leaf in a book?" (p. 43). As outside observers, readers can see the absurdity of the idea that the Monopoly Bureau is able to keep track of every single tobacco leaf being grown, and yet, in the minds of the children, that is just how far-reaching the powers of the central state are. Thus, when

the Monopoly Bureau man appears on the banks of the river, they think he has come to punish Saburo. Unsurprisingly, the man takes little notice of the children and instead walks through the water to clean the dirt off his shoes and leggings. Seeing this, the children, who have all climbed into a tree, begin to shout at him: "*Amari kawa wo nigosu na yo, itsu de mo sensei iu de nai ka*" or "Keep the waters clean, isn't that what teacher says?" (p. 55). Hearing this the Monopoly Bureau man purses his lips and says, "*Kono mizu nomu no ka, kokora de ha*" or "Do they drink the water around here then?"; when the boys repeat their chant he asks, "*Kawa wo aruite warui ka?*" or "Is it bad to walk in the river?" (p. 56). Confused, the Monopoly Bureau man stalks off the page and out of the story.

In the schema of Miyazawa's children's story, this is the closest we come to outright conflict between the regional and national, that is to say, the hegemonic forces that surround and command the locality. And yet, in these scenes, it is the marginal, provincial boys who get the better of the adults. Their local ways of knowing make the river and its banks their territory, and, to a limited degree, they push back against the mine workers and the Monopoly Bureau man.

These acts of resistance figure a broader regional discontent with the project of modernity, which can be found in many of Miyazawa's stories and poems. The story points out one of the most obvious contradictions of modernity as it was articulated during the Taisho era: in order to develop their region, the local working classes are forced to exploit and potentially destroy the very land and natural resources that have provided their livelihood for generations. To have a future, they must willingly sacrifice their only real heritage. Thus, the narrative enacts the contradictions between region and nation, between familiar and foreign, and between development and ecology. In so doing, "Kaze no Matasaburo" shows how the provinces become what historians call internal colonies and what environmentalists often refer to as sacrifice zones.[4]

IV. Conclusion

Of course, even today there is no ultimate resolution to this larger contradiction between ecology and the imperatives of development. It is a contradiction that has reached a point of global crisis, and, in Tohoku, has been actualized in the ongoing environmental tragedy that is the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster. If anything, the past hundred years of material history should be sufficient evidence to show that trading-off ecology for development often resounds in losses on the local level and is rarely a recipe for prosperity.[5]

However, in narrative terms "Matasaburo of the Wind" does offer a sort of resolution, which gives us some insight into Miyazawa's view of a healthier, we might even say utopian, relationship between the region and the nation. As noted above, through his affiliation with his engineer father, Saburo arrives as a representative of the modern and for much of the narrative there is an undercurrent of tension in his interactions with the local boys. In the episode where Saburo unknowingly picks a tobacco leaf, a younger boy named Kosuke bitterly complains about Saburo. Kosuke clearly still associates Saburo with the magical

---

[4] See M. Hechter (1999). *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. (pp. 15–43) on internal colonies and D. L. Johnson & L. A. Lewis (2006) Land Degradation: Creation and Destruction (pp. 207-208) on sacrifice zones.
[5] Indeed, it is more often the case that regional prosperity is associated with economic systems that work in tandem with the environment, growing in parallel with the local ecology, rather than by exploiting limited resources.

wind spirit and he angrily says, "*Uai Matasaburo unanadoa sekai ni nakute mo ii nai… una midaina kaze nado seikai chyu ni nakute mo ii naa…*" or "No one needs you Matasaburo… we'd be better off with no wind at all" (p 46). However, following this incident Saburo makes a joke that points to the benefits of air currents, and he and Kosuke are able to mend fences. By the time of the scene at the river featuring the miners, Saburo has been fully absorbed into the local boys' group.

In fact, he is so much one of them that he taunts one of the miners by returning two of the fish the children have pilfered. Moreover, the following day, a boy named Satarobrings to school an illicit powdered herb that can be used to paralyze fish in an attempt to help his classmates pull another catch from the river. However, when the children do eventually sprinkle this powder on the water, no fish float to the surface; the river has been depleted, and thus the narrative gives a tacit lesson on the limits of ecology. Finally, a few days later, in the last gesture of the story, Ichiro wakes from a dream where he has heard a song Saburo taught him and rushes off with Kasuke to find his new playmate. However, when the two boys arrive at the schoolhouse, they find that Saburo has already left, departed with his father, whose company has decided not to exploit the molybdenum deposit in the area. By chance, the locality has avoided further development, but, in the process, Ichiro and Kasuke have lost their companion, and the story closes on a somber note, as the windowpanes of the school rattle in the wind. The sense of absence is evidence of the attachment both the children have formed with this strange boy, who blew away just as swiftly as he blew into their lives.

In a post-3.11 world, we should keep in mind the futility of the abovementioned protest made by Kosuke: "We'd be better off with no wind at all." There is no keeping out or wishing away the wind, just as there is no way to wall off the region from the forces of modernity. What "Matasaburo of the Wind" shows is how Ichiro, Kasuke, and the other boys establish a relationship with Saburo where the knowledge of the metropole does not simply overwrite the local. Like the earlier story examined by Long, the later version of "Matasaburo of the Wind," asserts the importance of local ways of knowing, while also narrativizing the threat posed by the forces of modernity. What this later story also shows, through the more human character of Saburo, is how modernity might come into dialogue with regional culture in a positive way and be transformed and improved by it.

A decade after 3.11, with the reconstruction effort in the disaster-affected region in various stages of progress, it is worth asking which readings of Miyazawa's works have endured in the culture and which readings have dissipated or proven inert in the intervening years. We might also question which readings of his work we might privilege in order to better envision a resilient future for a region still on the road toward recovery. Now more than ever, we should set aside superficial readings of his work which emphasize the passive and self-sacrificing ethos of provinces, as with the recitations of "Strong in the Rain." Instead, we should try to envision a version of the region that is willing to engage with new forms of knowledge, but does not let them dominate over local understandings, and, indeed, pushes back when they threaten ecological balance.

It is the kind of reading described above that we should seek out in Miyazawa's writings, those moments that work against, as Siercks says, "[the] urge to classify and dominate knowledge of the folk or the rural" (2016, p. 3). Although the rural schoolhouse had little to teach Saburo, his extra-curricular adventures gave him lessons about ecology and the value of rural locality that he will carry wherever the wind takes him.

References

Birmingham, L. & McNeil, D. (2014). *Strong in the Rain: Surviving Japan's Earthquake, Tsunami, and Fukushima Nuclear Disaster*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Curley, Melissa Anne-Marie. (2014). Fruit, Fossils, Footprints: Cathecting Utopia in the Work of Miyazawa Kenji. In D. Boscaljon (Ed.), *Hope and the Longing for Utopia: Futures and Illusions in Theology and Narrative* (pp. 96-118). Cambridge: Pickwick Publications.

Hagiwara, Takao. (1992). Innocence and the Other World. The Tales of Miyazawa Kenji. *Monumenta Nipponica. 47(2), 241-263.*

Hechter, M. (1999). *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Johnson D. L. & Lewis, L. A. (2006) *Land Degradation: Creation and Destruction*. Washington, D.C.: Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Inc.

Long, Hyot. (2011). *On Uneven Ground: Miayzawa Kenji and the Making of Place in Modern Japan*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Miyazawa, Kenji. (2021). *Kaze no Matasaburo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko.

— Kaze no Matasaburo (1934). In K. Takamura, S. Miyazawa, K. Fujiwara, S. Kusano, & R. Yokomichi (Eds.), *Miyazawa Kenji Zenshu* (pp. 217-271), Tokyo: Bunpodo Shoten

Pulvers, R. (2011). Night on the Milky Way Train: Miyazawa Kenji's Space Odyssey 銀河鉄道の夜—宮沢賢治の宇宙空間オデュッセイア. *Asia-Pacific Journal, 10(1), 1-4.*

Sato, Hiroaki. (2007) Introduction. In S. Hiroaki (Ed.) *Miyazawa Kenji; Selections* (pp. 1-58). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Siercks, E. (2016, Jun. 5*). Truly Honest: Miyazawa Kenji as Resistance to Modern Folklore* [Individual paper]. Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast Conference 2016, California State University Northridge, Northridge, CA, United States.

Vries, P. (2020) *Averting a Great Divergence: State and Economy in Japan, 1868-1937*. London, Bloomsbury.

Yu, G. (2008). "Kaze no Matasaburo" no seisei: "Saikachi Buchi" oyobi "Taneyamagahara" "Kazenomatasaburo" to no kakawari wo chushin ni. *Jissen kokubungaku, 74, 60-73.*

Contact Email: mwlarson@keio.jp

The Role of Soft Power along the Current Silk Road

Mitrajit Bakshi, Independent Scholar, India

Abstract

The Silk Road/Routes have long been a passage for exchange of goods and commodities as well as the exchange of religion and culture. One aspect in the exchange of culture, was the soft power that was generated along with it, which in turn facilitated closer ties between states and/or formed unique bonds between people of different cultures. Soft power is the ability of obtaining the desired result through attraction and cooperation and hence, it arises due to the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. The network of Silk Routes helped with the exchange of various aspects of civilization's culture, like art, religion, technology, language and science, which had been carried along with commercial goods the merchants traded. Hence, cross border trade and cultural exchange helping to build mutual respect and trust between states became the legacy of the Silk Routes. The current Belt and Road initiative seeks to directly build upon this legacy, increasing economic and cultural connectivity to reduce suspicion and promote common prosperity.

Keywords: Soft Power, Silk Road, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

With the recent advent of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the relations between states who have joined the BRI has popped as a question in the international sphere. Since China, who is at the helm of the BRI, is building upon the old overland and marine time trade routes in order to connect all the member states, they have a variety of interaction options at their disposal. One of the more subtle options, but important in understanding the relation between states on a micro and macro level, Soft Power, was also available. Since soft power was also a force on the old Silk Road, it can be used as a measure of amount and depth of interaction between states. Hence, the objective of this paper is to compare the role and flow of soft power between the old Silk Road and the Belt and Road initiative and understand the role it plays in their respective time periods. To help this comparative review, a definition of soft power and the brief backgrounds of the BRI and old Silk Road will be looked into. The methodology adopted for this paper was a review of research articles and books done on this topic.

Soft Power

Power wielded by the state can be divided into types, soft and hard power. Wagner (2005) states that hard and soft power are two extremities on a continuum of power. Wagner (2005) further explains that hard power strategies focus on military intervention, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions in order to enforce national interests resulting in confrontational policies vis-à-vis neighbouring countries. Soft power is the ability of obtaining the desired result through attraction and cooperation and hence, it arises due to the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies, that is, through elements which are 'real but intangible' (Mohan, 2003). The importance of soft power is due to its ability to influence others unintrusively and unconsciously (Purushothaman, 2010). It has been said that greater attention to soft power itself reflects the changing landscape of international relations (Chatin and Gallarotti, 2016).

Soft power comes from 3 sources:
Culture - The way of thinking of a culture, cultural tradition, ethnic customs, social system, lifestyle etc. can be a source of attraction and can influence the international scene into taking positive and cooperative attitudes towards the state (Rahman, 2019).

Vuving (2009) said the following about this aspect of soft power:
"The various forms of culture can generate admiration, which can lead to imitation, or emulation, and respect, or fear, or reverence. Consequently, in international relations, other countries may adopt part or whole of the successful country's practices, policies, institutions, ideology, values, or vision".

Domestic political values and ideas - The ideology and domestic values of a state can set internal practices and policies which can influence the ways on how to states interact with each other (Rahman, 2019).

Vuving (2009) said the following about this aspect of soft power:
"Shared or admirable ideals, values, causes, or visions creates a resonance that draws states closer to each other. This gives states a sense of warmth and security, hope and self-extension, identity and community, and vindication and praise. Jointly pursuing ideals, values, causes,

or visions will allow states to create. Shared values lead to the perceiving the other states as beautiful and opposite values lead to seeing each other as ugly".

Foreign policy – A state can generate soft power by making foreign policies which prioritizes the other state's interest (Rahman, 2019).

Vuving (2009) said the following about this aspect of soft power:
"The attractiveness of these polices can lead to cooperation. Policy directed towards foreign actors is stated to produce gratitude and sympathy. It reassures others of the state's peaceful or benevolent intentions, thereby inviting cooperation which then translates into soft power. It is paradoxical in nature, with aggressive attitudes begetting resistance, while benevolence and kindness beget reciprocation".

Background on the Silk Road

Ghosh (2015) says that the term Silk Road was first coined in 1887 by German geologist Ferdinand von Richthofen. It refers to the multipurpose, multi-directional flows and networks of an ancient world trade system, consisting of both overland routes and marine time routes, which connected China and the Far East to middle eastern and European countries. The Silk Route started as a channel through which silk textiles and yarn were exported from the ancient Chinese empires of the Han dynasty and later Tang Dynasty to the West in Persia, India and the Mediterranean in the second century BC. The network included trading posts, ports and markets that were used to store, trade and exchange goods. Ghosh (2015) states that goods such as glasses, grapes, horses went east towards China, while silk, papermaking, printing, gunpowder, the compass, windmills and porcelain made their way west. Ghosh (2015) further states, that along with goods, technology, art, culture, philosophy, religions like Christianity and Buddhism, were exchanged along the route and this helped create and shape the many states and civilizations which emerged during this period of archaic globalization.

Background on the Belt and Road Initiative

The Belt and Road Initiative is a modern day Silk Road, initiated by China as a long term project that seeks to integrate and strengthen the economic and diplomatic ties of Asia, Europe, the Middle East and Africa (Hielscher, 2019).Launched by President Xi Jinping in 2013, BRI includes 65 countries, 4.4 billion people, about 40 per cent of global GDP and 70 per cent of the world's energy reserves (Hielscher, 2019).The road consists of two branches, the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) (Hielscher, 2019).

The Silk Road Economic Belt connects China, Central Asia, Russia and Europe, and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road runs along China's coast towards Europe in one direction and from China's coast, cutting through the South China Sea and the South Pacific, in the other direction (Lu, Rohr, Hafner, & Knack, 2018). The overland path will leverage existing international transport routes and key economic industrial parks as springboards for cooperation, while the sea route aims to build transport routes bridging major seaports across the BRI (Lu, Rohr, Hafner, & Knack, 2018).

The BRI is based around 5 coordination properties (Hielscher, 2019):
Policy coordination – Promotion of intergovernmental cooperation around various projects.

Facilities connectivity – Improvement of connectivity of infrastructure construction plans and technical standard systems.

Unimpeded trade – Encourages the reduction of investment in trade barriers and the promotion of regional economic integration.

Financial integration - This refers to the coordination and cooperation concerning monetary policy and the setting up of finance institutions.

People-to-people bonds – This is the cultural and academic exchange between states and the cooperation of their media.

Soft Power along the Ancient Silk Road

Though soft power was a term coined by Joseph Nye in the late 1980's, examples of this phenomenon of intrinsic and domestic traits being a source of attraction and cooperation for states are as old as civilization itself. Due to the exchange of goods, art, philosophy, culture, religion etc., individuals and groups of individuals were aware of another state's policies, political and domestic values and the various aspects of their culture. The admiration of these various aspects of the states lead to imitation and emulation by individuals or/and groups. If the states recognized this positive and cooperative attitudes taken towards them because of one these intrinsic traits, they could capitalize and create various policies based on these attitudes.

The Silk Road/Routes, throughout its 1500 years of existence, was a hub of cultural knowledge and its exchange. Multicultural civilizations rose and fell along the routes and further prompted cultural exchange among states and eventually states began using their cultural exports and foreign policies as the basis of their soft power. The role and flow of soft power along the routes can be viewed through the lens of a few examples.

The Kushans were one of the five tribes of the Yuezhi nomadic confederacy, who migrated to Bactria (modern-day Afghanistan) and united all five tribes to form the Kushan empire (Liu, 2010, pg. 15). They were key players in the creation and trade on the Silk Road. According to Liu (2010, pg. 47), the Silk Road trade had created connections from China to the Mediterranean Sea by the first century CE. With the Chinese and the Romans being on the east and west ends of the Silk Road respectively, Liu (2010, pg. 47) states that the Kushans began to issue coins that both displayed their authority and facilitated the trade between the states along the routes. The Kushan empire was a multicultural civilization, being nomads from the Eurasian steppes who had taken up the culture of the Hellenic influenced region they migrated to. As a result, they understood the importance of accommodating their major trading partners and hence as a foreign policy move, based their coins on the aureus, a Roman gold coin according to Liu (2010, pg. 47). This can be seen as soft power achieved through foreign policy. The Kushan empire accommodated the need of the Romans by establishing a similar coin and hence facilitated more trade through the Silk Road.

The next example of soft power can be seen in the spread of Buddhism along the Silk Road. The Kushan empire is once again important to this story. According to Liu (2010, pg. 43), the empire embraced the beliefs and practices of the Buddhists after they crossed the Hindu Kush Mountains. Liu (2010, pg. 43) mentions that many believers of the Buddha were attracted to the flourishing commerce in the Kushan-held areas of north-western India. Liu further states that during the Kushan period, stupas, or monuments containing the relics of the Buddha, as well as pilgrimage sites commemorating the Buddha's life were built in north-western India and that the statues of the Buddha were erected and became idols for worship. For people

outside India to understand and become proponents of Buddhism, a branch called Mahayana Buddhism rose into prominence. It emphasized the doctrine of eliminating material desire, which traders were able to understand as making payments for religious merits, according to Liu (2010, pg. 52). Thanks to society at the time being extraordinarily rich, generous donations were made, and Buddhist monasteries came to possess many material things, including grandiose stupas and monastic buildings (Liu, 2010, pg. 52). The valuable goods of the trade on the silk routes, such as silk textiles and rare gems, became the primary donations to Buddhist monasteries, changing the way the religious society operated. Liu (2010, pg. 52) observes that, thanks to the large wealth of Buddhist monasteries, they became huge economic enterprises which were involved in all sorts of businesses, from trade to alcohol. This facilitated their primary activity of building, maintaining and expanding monasteries, in order to promote the spread of Buddhism. The luxuries of the Silk Road adorned the monasteries and helped attract more followers.

With the help of the Kushan Empire and wealthy traders, Mahayana Buddhism travelled upwards towards Central Asia and into China. Liu (2010, pg. 85) states that despite the collapse of urban centres from the Kushan period in the 4th century, Buddhist stupas became pilgrimage sites and the monasteries which enclosed the stupas provided both facilities and guidance for the travellers on the trade routes. With the help of these basic facilities, Chinese pilgrims eventually made their way to India in the 5th and 6th centuries. Liu (2010, pg. 85) mentions that The Northern Wei ruler, an empress dowager, sent a group of pilgrims representing her to the court of Gandhara. They carried silk textiles, which had seen increased use in Buddhist ceremonies, as donations to the monasteries in the region. As the monasteries could also use them as commodities by selling them, this benefited the entire region as well. With pilgrims facilitating trade and communication, the states in India and China were able to establish stronger ties with each other based on religion and trade. Here, Buddhism acted as a soft power for the states in India, allowing them to establish connections due to the spread of a religion from their region.

The Byzantines were also prime examples of the usage of soft power. Liu (2010, pg. 91) states in his book that the quality of the sophisticated designs of silk textiles created by the Byzantine looms kept increasing thanks to improved technology and that this continued development made them extremely precious. In particular, purple silk textiles symbolized the highest prestige in the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantines used resources from the Roman empire to develop a sophisticated silk industry under state monopoly, which was able to produce fancy silk textiles comparable in quality to those from China and Sassanid Persia (Liu, 2010, pg. 74). Due to the limited amounts of silk with royal and Christian themes released to Rome and to churches in western Europe, the Byzantines maintained their monopoly on the purple silk textiles. This associated the textiles with royalty and sanctity and increased their perceived value. Since the acquisition and association to these royal silks were desired by all Christians, rich or poor, common or noble, these purple silk textiles were an effective tool for diplomacy in the Byzantine emperors' efforts to manage domestic and international crises (Liu, 2010, pg. 92). Liu (2010, pg. 92) lists of the different ways the silks were used, from making political allies to sending silk gifts to the powers in the Islamic world as well as the rising powers in western Europe. They were also used in the eighth century, to negotiate and arrange more than sixteen marriages with the German empire and many envoys were dispatched from Constantinople to the West with gifts and dowries as stated by Liu (2010, pg. 92). In conclusion, the Byzantines were able to monopolize their purple dye and silk textiles to create objects of admiration, using them as tools to gain

outcomes in their favour and hence demonstrate an effective use of soft power via culture and foreign policy.

Soft Power along the Belt and Road Initiative

The soft power produced along the BRI can be divided along the three sources of soft power.

Culture as Soft Power

According to Rahman (2019) culture, which is a set of practices that have been normalized, can be transmitted by commercial activities and visits. The BRI intends to embody a set of practices through trade and exchange programs and China hopes that normalizing these set of practices will help soft power manifest by itself (Rahman, 2019). Rahman (2019) states that the BRI has two ways of proliferating trade: first by reducing trade barriers and costs between countries perceived to be important trading partners and secondly, exploring potential trade routes with isolated states. Rahman (2019) notes that by August 2018 China had signed 5 free trade agreements and the traded goods between the companies have exceeded 5 trillion dollars. In terms of exchange programs, Confucius Classrooms, Confucius Institutes, academic programs and partnership programs between China and BRI countries have been started, states Rahman (2019). China hopes that the academic exchange and cultural events held by these institutes will generate goodwill for the host countries and eventually these individuals will contribute to a set of practices that the BRI embodies and hence become cultural practices and exchanges which will benefit the BRI over time.

Domestic Values as Soft Power

According to Rahman (2019) the Confucian ideal of harmony is embedded into Chinese domestic values and at the same time is the core of their soft power strategy called peaceful development. Rahman (2019) notes that, according to the White Paper, which is a report or guide on complex issues, titled China's peaceful development (State Council, PRC,2011), the distinctive features of the path to "peaceful development" are, a path of scientific development, self-reliance, opening to other nations, and seeking common development. Through economic progress, social development, applying science and technology, enhancing social services and utilizing resources, the BRI intends to promote the path of scientific development and by extension, of the path to peaceful development (Rahman, 2019). An example of this can be seen with China's plan to develop its western regions, which has fallen behind its urbanized eastern regions, using the BRI. Rahman (2019) observes that the BRI is used to connect the western regions like Xinjiang and Tibet to neighbouring countries and will be used to mobilize more economic activities with these countries so that the gap with the east can be closed. In return, the landlocked neighbouring countries of Central Asia can gain access to the global trade routes, be connected to China and European countries, as well as gain access to seaports. This will help them gain access to the global economy and improve their infrastructure. This example of peaceful development centring on domestic policy should appeal to the common desire of economic prosperity and make the BRI attractive in terms of economic cooperation.

Foreign Policy as Soft Power

Rahman (2019) states that the expression of "mutual benefit" is the spirit of BRI in dealing with other nations. Rahman (2019) mentions infrastructure development as a common ground to for mutual benefits. One way according to Rahman (2019) is that the BRI intends to improve accessibility to advantageous locations and resources and offer various choices of transportation modes and routes through the combination of land use and sea channels. Additionally, China has taken the lead in funding BRI by means of foreign aid which plays a double role. Besides helping to legitimize China as a state actor, it also leads to China gaining benefits from BRI development according to Rahman (2019). Developing countries can at times fail to meet the conditions for financial aids by traditional donors like IMF or the World Bank. Also, these donors usually only offer 3 types of financial foreign aid namely, grants, interest-free loans and concessional loans. Rahman (2019) states that the financial foreign aid provided by China are of 8 different types and all the aids allows recipient the freedom to use it however they see fit. As a result, China's foreign policy allows developing countries to gain funds in times of emergency and otherwise. This legitimizes China as a dependable state actor in their eyes, prompting further cooperation from their side.

The following are a few small illustrations of how China's soft power proliferates through the BRI.

Kenya's role in the BRI

China was the fourth country to recognise Kenya's independence in 1963 and since then the countries have been taking apart in an increasing number of political and military engagements. Kenya is a natural point of entry for the MSR into Africa from Asia (Farooq, Yuan, Zhu, & Feroze, 2018). Farooq, et al (2018) says that the state is a major source of raw materials for China's industry, whose finished products constitute the largest imports for Kenya. It is also mentioned that Chinese businesses in Kenya have an average employee count more than twice of the size of the employee count of local businesses. To Kenya, the most salient impact of the MSR is on improvement of its infrastructure (Farooq, Yuan, Zhu, & Feroze, 2018). Hence the cooperation of the two states on the Marine time Silk Route part of the BRI has proven beneficial to both the states, with China at least benefitting financially from this endeavour.

Myanmar's role in the BRI

Malik (2018) states that China is flexible on loans and pricing to enmesh Myanmar in China's regional economic network provided its government 'remains friendly and cooperative'. Malik further explains that this enmeshment strategy also has gotten China deeply involved with Myanmar's domestic politics and has a role as a mediator in peace talks between rival ethnic groups and governments, making China better placed to tailor investment projects to bring peace to insurgency-hit impoverished areas. Myanmar provides access to the Bay of Bengal and by extension the Indian Ocean. Hence, it can allow China to establish a presence there. As a result, China's maritime strategy considers Myanmar as 'a strategic asset', and its long shoreline is seen as 'China's west coast' (Malik, 2018). But due to China's one-sided investment into the state, there has been pushback on China's methods and the hold they have on the country. Debt accumulation, poor environment standards, imported labour and foreign investment from other states are some of the reasons, Malik (2018) states, that are causing a pushback in Myanmar towards China.

Conclusion

Although soft power exists and plays a role in relations between states in both the current Silk Road (Belt and Road initiative) and the old Silk Road, their role, the directions they flow in, and types of sources are all different. Soft power of the old Silk Road freely encouraged trade between multiple nations and the incentives to join in on this vast network were abundant, from prosperity of states to greater relations between states and the procurement of rare goods or objects of admiration. The soft power involved all 3 of its sources. Foreign policy was used to accommodate, and help states when in need. Culture created objects of admiration which led to cooperation among states, the construction of settlements meant to come together and appreciate these objects and even state policies were created for these objects. Domestic values were transported along the silk routes by the proponents and traders of a state. States which came to admire or share these same values, came together and established ties with each other. The role that soft power had on the Silk Road was to encourage states to interact with each other, create and capitalize on their own sources of soft power as well as increasing and diversifying the cultural exchange on the Silk Road and as a result leading to the rise of multicultural civilizations. The effects of soft power on the Silk Road echo to this day.

On the other hand, with China's hegemony over how the BRI operates, most nations are required to interact directly with China via foreign policy. This results in the flow of soft power mainly coming from China. China must actively encourage cultural exchange via foreign policy (like investments in academic and partnership programs), but as we can see from the previous illustrations of their soft power, this mostly benefits China, with the soft power of other nations not reaching China. This is mostly because China is in the driver seat of the BRI, but it could be also because the soft power of the other states is stunted by their lifestyle being in constant turmoil or not having enough wealth and resources to propagate and capitalize on their soft power. Or in some cases, China's soft power fails to keep the promises it espouses and fails to generate the goodwill it needs for cooperation. So, the role that soft power currently has is to propagate China's culture, values and foreign policy amongst the countries of the BRI.

Since the paper attempted to do a comparative review of soft power in the two routes, certain limitations became clear. First is the use of secondary sources such as research articles and books pulled from the internet and the lack of primary source materials. This severely limits the depth of research that can be done on both past and present-day cases of soft power. Secondly the scope of the paper as most present-day research is focused on China and its relationship with the BRI countries and hence there is a lack of research of soft power between BRI countries. Thirdly, the BRI is a fledgling state, so a lot of the relationships in this project are yet to be tangible. Due to these reasons, it will take some time before a paper on this topic can reach completion. Going forward, researchers should look at the active or potential soft power of different countries in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative so there can be interaction and cultivation of relations between states.

References

C. Raja Mohan (2003), "Indian Diaspora and 'Soft Power", The Hindu, 06 January.

Farooq, M. S., Yuan, T., Zhu, J., & Feroze, N. (2018). Kenya and the 21st century Maritime silk road: implications for China-Africa relations. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, *4*(03), 401-418.

Gallarotti, G. M., & Chatin, M. (2016). The BRICS and Soft Power-An Introduction. *Journal of Political Power*, *9*(3), 1-35.

Hielscher, A. L., & Bold, A. S. (2019, June 17). *Belt and Road Initiative* -. Belt and Road Initiative. https://www.beltroad-initiative.com/ belt-and-road/

Lu, H., Rohr, C., Hafner, M., & Knack, A. (2018). China Belt and Road Initiative. *RAND Europe*.

Liu, X. (2010). *The Silk Road in world history*. Oxford University Press.

M. Ghosh (2015) "Silk Road: A Glance at Archaic Globalization", International Writing program, University of Iowa.

Mohan Malik, J. (2018). Myanmar's role in China's maritime silk road initiative. *Journal of Contemporary China*, *27*(111), 362-378.

Rahman, S. (2019). Does the" belt and road initiative" possess soft power. *Contemp Chin Pol Econ Strateg Relations: Int J (CCPS)*, *5*(1), 301-31.

Purushothaman, U. (2010). Shifting perceptions of power: Soft power and India's foreign policy. *Journal of Peace Studies*, *17*(2&3), 1-16.

State Council, People's Republic of China (updated: 30 March 2015). Full text: Action plan on the Belt and Road Initiative (issued on March 28).
<http://english.gov.cn/archive/publications/2015/03/30/content_281475080249035.htm>

Wagner, C. (2005). From hard power to soft power? Ideas, interaction, institutions, and images in India's South Asia policy.Beck, Ulrich, 2005. Power in the global age: a new global political economy.

Vuving, A. L. (2009). *How soft power works*. Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies Honolulu United States.

Contact email: mitrajit.bakshi@gmail.com